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LETTERS

TO

THE PROTESTANTS OF SCOTLAND.

BY

SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, BARONET,
OF ULBSTER.



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LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.

I.—THE BIBLE THE PARAMOUNT ARBITER IN MATTERS OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

At my first entrance into public life, my friends, in 1811, I was a zealous advocate for Roman Catholic Emancipation, in opposition to the cabinet of Mr Percival, whose administration I was desirous, whenever I could do so conscientiously, to support, and for whom personally I entertained the highest respect. After having thus sacrificed, at the shrine of conviction, every hope of personal aggrandizement and advantage, I have lived to witness the entire frustration of all the hopes, which the specious professions of the Roman Catholics had led me (in common with so many wiser and abler politicians) to entertain. But after having taken such a part, at such a crisis, and thus contributed to arm the adherents of Popery with a power which they have so signally abused, I should tax myself with a signal dereliction from the path of duty, if I were to shrink from earnestly and affectionately warning you against a danger, which the circumstances of the times in which we live render peculiarly imminent and alarming. Let me entreat you to take every possible precaution against the cholera of Popery, which is making such rapid and gigantic strides throughout the length and breadth of the land. When

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Antichrist has arrogantly drawn the sword, it is the part of every consistent believer to throw away the scabbard, and to be prepared, if needful, to resist unto blood, striving against that audacious usurper, who "curses those whom God has not cursed, and defies those whom the Lord has not defied." You are all aware, that he last year aimed a daring blow at the authority of our most gracious Queen, and inflicted an unprovoked insult upon our Protestant institutions. It is, no doubt, consolatory that this unhallowed and unheard-of outrage has excited an all but universal feeling of indignation and disgust. We have not yet forgotten the blood shed by Popish tyranny, nor ceased to value the inestimable heritage of civil and religious liberty, bequeathed to us by the heroic martyrs who perished on the scaffold or at the stake.

Well might Christian Scotland exclaim, in reference to the free and happy land in which our lot is cast—"O sanguinary and remorseless apostasy! thou art cursed from the earth, which hath so often opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto *thee* her strength!"

I may premise, that although I have introduced many arguments and illustrations, which may possess some interest even for those persons whom education and leisure have enabled to study this controversy in works of deeper research and greater merit, my chief object is to bring the subject under the consideration of that numerous and respectable class of individuals who, being devoted to laborious and useful occupations, have not time or opportunity to consult the more bulky volumes of more eminent authorities.

Let me implore you, then, to beware of Popery, and of the crafty and unprincipled emissaries who are striving to fasten upon our intellects the manacles of a soul-ruining superstition. "Avoid them—pass not by them—turn from them and pass by." If you are not prepared to

surrender your Bibles to the hands of impious bigots, who long to seize them with tongs and consign them to the flames—if you are not willing to adopt a creed, according to which your parents, ancestors, and relatives are “drowned in destruction and perdition,” not for having rejected the righteousness and mediation of the Redeemer, but for having trusted exclusively in his sacrifice, and refused to place any reliance on creature-merits, or unite in creature-worship;—let me admonish those amongst you, who are entering the world, never to become the inmates of a Popish house, and least of all, to take service in any family which has been perverted into the adoption of that false and spurious Christianity; for these infatuated proselytes are far more bigoted, and far more sunk in idolatry, than those who, from their infancy, have been included in the Romish fold. I would advise you rather to take lower wages, or discharge more onerous duties, in a Protestant dwelling, and especially in one where domestic prayer is wont to be made, than to barter your religion, and endanger your salvation, by exposing yourselves to be tempted and misled by the specious sophistry of unscrupulous and wily priests.

There is no point, my dear friends, on which I lay so much stress, or to which I attach such grave importance, as that we should regard the inspired Word of God as the paramount and unerring arbiter in regard both to doctrine and controversy. Whether you are weighing in the balance the articles of your personal faith, or whether you are discussing with others any tenets respecting which there exists between them and you a difference of opinion, remember that an appeal to the law and to the testimony is the only authority which our Presbyterian forefathers, either by precept or example, enjoin or encourage us to acknowledge. We may, no doubt, often consult, not only with impunity, but with advantage, the works of uninspired writers, whose praise is in the churches, and who have long been

esteemed highly in love, for their work and for their Master's sake. But even these are only to be followed—and would themselves only wish to be followed—in so far as they were the followers of Christ; and the greater their eminence, the more would they disclaim with abhorrence the arrogant and unhallowed pretension of being placed on a level with the authors who spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Believe every doctrine implicitly, for which such Scripture proof can be offered, as can satisfy an intelligent and sober-minded inquirer. Reject every tenet unhesitatingly which rests on the presumptuous assertions of fallible men, and which is either at variance with, or not borne out by, the living oracles of the living God. As long as you cling to this principle, you are protected by a celestial panoply, which all the fiery darts of the wicked one, and all the poisoned shafts of his Popish militia, would in vain attempt to penetrate. You need the whole armour of God; but you need nothing more. The antichristian Goliath may march to the conflict, with the sword of patristic tradition, the spear of bloody persecution, and the shield of usurped domination; but if we calmly sustain his furious onset, in the name of the Lord of Hosts, and wield the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, we shall not only maintain our ground, but repel him with disgrace and discomfiture.

Our Lord says (John xvi. 12), "I have yet many things to say unto *you*, but ye cannot bear them now." He there points to some future disclosures, which were to be made to the apostles themselves; but says not one word as to any further development of his religion, which should involve the inculcation of tenets, to which his personal friends and followers continued to be strangers. On the contrary, he immediately adds:—"Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will guide *you* into ALL truth." This promise was accomplished when (Acts i. 3) "he showed himself alive

after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." The sum and substance of these momentous communications may be gathered from the discourses, and still more from the epistles, which have been handed down for our instruction, in which the great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh, and the precious truths connected with it (all of which are embodied in our Presbyterian standards, and in the creeds of other orthodox denominations), are elucidated with that fulness and perspicuity, which our Lord's most explicit and gracious promise entitled his church to expect. Not one of the sacred writers ever gives the faintest intimation, that it would ever become necessary for salvation to believe any doctrine which had been unknown to, or untaught by, themselves. "I declare unto you the gospel, which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand, *by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory that which I have preached unto you.*" Nothing more, then, was necessary for salvation, but to (Jude 17, and 2 Peter ii. 1, 2) "be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of the apostles of our Lord and Saviour." It may be added, that when Luke "takes in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us" (Luke i. 1), he declares, that he had "perfect understanding of all things from the very first." He informs us, at the close of his gospel, that our Lord opened the understandings of his apostles, "that they might understand *the Scriptures.*" His own appeals, when arguing with the Jews, or explaining past or future events to his disciples, are uniformly made to the written Word: "What saith the *Scripture?*"—"How *readest* thou?"—"It is *written.*" That he says nothing about the New Testament Scripture, is not more wonderful than that Moses does not quote the psalms of David, or Joshua cite any passages from the books of

the Kings. The gospels and epistles were all committed to writing after his decease had been accomplished at Jerusalem ; but were just as essential for the preservation of the facts and doctrines connected with his divine character and mission, as were the writings of Moses and the prophets for preserving the history and ritual belonging to the old dispensation. How confused and vague our knowledge would have been on all these points, if we had been left to grope our way in the dim twilight, or rather total darkness, of hearsay and tradition ! How meagre and defective would our acquaintance with the fundamental truths of the gospel have been, if the Holy Spirit had not caused to be *written* for our learning all that it is essential for us either to practise or to believe ! The sentiments of Paul and Peter, of James and John, on every point of importance, may be gathered with certainty from their writings ; but tradition has not added one single aphorism or illustration to those which are recorded in the written Word ; and of the sermons preached, the doctrines taught, the conversions achieved in individual instances, by those disciples and teachers who have left no written memorials behind them, we do not possess a single fragment.

I am bound, however, in candour, to admit, that there are not a few members of the apostolic college, of whose labours and lucubrations we know little or nothing, "*cadent quia vate sacro*," because they have not been recorded in the pages of inspiration. The Pope is, undoubtedly, entitled to the full benefit of their silence. It is possible, that Peter, animated by the same commendable spirit of humility, which led Xavier to say nothing about his own miracles, and leave them to be recorded and attested by his disciples, may have modestly abstained from affirming (to use the language of the not yet, I believe, beatified Boniface), that "it is of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the human Pontiff," and consigned that all important truth (to deny which is felony without benefit of

clergy), to be "declared, asserted, and delivered" by his beloved brother (or perhaps first cousin), Andrew, in a ponderous tome of "extravagants." I am not prepared to prove, that Philip did not side, in respect to the adoration of images, with the infallible councils by which, in subsequent ages, that practice has been commanded, and not with those equally unerring authorities, by which it has been condemned. Bartholomew, for aught I know to the contrary, may have been present at the execution of his colleague James, the brother of John, and have afterwards besought Herod, that he might take away his body; he may have preserved the head in spirits, together with a phial of his blood, and by exhibiting the one, and crossing himself with the other, he may have removed mountains, quenched the violence of fire, and stopped the mouth of lions. The James who did not write a canonical epistle, may have dissented as widely from the James who did, as our own James the Sixth, who was a Protestant, differed from his son James the Seventh, who was a Papist; and as the inspired apostle commanded that invalids should be anointed and prayed over, in the hope that they might be saved, and that the Lord might raise them up from the bed of sickness, by giving efficacy to the means prescribed, his namesake may have ordained the sacrament of extreme unction, which is only to be administered when the awful "twelfth hour" seems about to strike; and he may also have recorded a recipe for that composition of oil and balsam which is used (perhaps on his traditional, if not written authority) in the not less important sacrament of chrism, as to which all the apostles, whose writings are embodied in the canon, are strangely and unaccountably silent. It may, perhaps, with some semblance of probability be contended, that, before he by transgression fell, Judas Iscariot may have fully elucidated a point of great moment, on which Judas (not Iscariot) has omitted to touch, namely, the inestimable benefits which accrue to all believers from "signing themselves

in the form of a cross,"—a not less easy than infallible expedient for "giving spiritual strength against the devil to drive him from us." It may have been Judas who first informed the church that this salutary usage "is intended to represent the passion and death, and consequently the incarnation of the Son of God; that, putting the hand first to the forehead, saying, 'In the name of the Father,' means that the eternal Father, the first person of the most holy Trinity, is the first cause of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; that putting the hand afterwards to the stomach, saying, 'Of the Son,' shows that the Son, the second person of the most holy Trinity, is eternally begotten of the Father, and temporarily descended into the most pure womb of the most blessed Virgin; finally, that moving the hand from the one shoulder to the other, saying, 'Of the Holy Spirit,' signifies, that the Holy Spirit, the third person of the most holy Trinity, is love, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son." Although, however, the somewhat questionable authority of Judas might in some measure invalidate our objection to this unscriptural practice, we should still retain a portion of our surprise, that neither our Lord himself, nor any of the evangelists, nor any of the apostles, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, should have said one syllable in commendation of a rite, which the Pope enjoins all believers to perform "as often as they commence any work, or in beginning prayers, rising from bed, going out of doors, entering church, sitting down to table, going to sleep, and finally, as often as possible." The "sign of the holy cross" (which any one is at full liberty to make without a licence), is probably intended as a convenient and adequate substitute for the reading of the Scriptures, which, *sine permissu superiorum*, it is a mortal sin to peruse, and which we, poor blind and benighted Protestants, consider that we, and all believers whom the gospel reaches, are not only entitled, but bound, to "have in our hearts, and to teach them diligently unto our children, and to

talk of them when we sit in our houses, and when we walk by the way, and when we lie down, and when we rise up." It is also by no means unlikely, that Thomas, in order to make amends for not having believed in the resurrection, until he saw in the Lord's hands the print of the nails, and put his finger into the print of the nails, and thrust his hand into his side, may have been a zealous champion of Mary's title to be called the Mother of God,—may have been not faithless, but believing, with regard to her assumption to glory, without having himself "stood gazing up into heaven," when that marvellous event took place. Had an essay or epistle from his pen been permitted to reach posterity, we might have been edified by learning, in how many instances the blessed Virgin healed the amputated fingers of little girls; appeared to other devout children, with the child Jesus in her arms, and said, "Take him, my daughter, and play with him;" or, how in the case of Dominica, to whom "her mother bought a piece of cloth, and desired her to make a dress of it for herself, but who unfortunately could neither shape nor sew," the Virgin, on being applied to, immediately appeared, took a "pair of scissors, and began to cut the cloth, and afterwards to sew it with a needle." If any such dissertations were ever given by Thomas to the world, they have unfortunately perished, together with any learned tract which Simon the Canaanite may have written on the value and efficacy of Holy Water.

The only allusions which our Lord makes to traditions, are for the purpose of warning men against using them as a pretext for making void the commandments of God. Paul admonishes the Colossians to beware of being spoiled after the traditions of men; and although he warns the Thessalonians to hold the traditions which they had been taught, it is obvious that these were of great value, when a considerable portion of the inspired canon of the New Testament had not been committed to writing, and when copies were rare, and could only be multiplied

through the slow and expensive channel of transcription. Even in our day, a faithful preacher, who laboured in word and doctrine, and expounded the Scriptures without circulating any written or printed discourses amongst his hearers, would affectionately exhort them to keep in memory the doctrines which he had delivered unto them, not only without intending thereby to supersede or nullify the written Word, but with a perfect conviction, that, however useful his instructions might prove to the generation in the midst of which he lived, and moved, and had his being, they would gradually fade away from the recollection even of his most devoted auditors; and the few disjointed fragments which they might communicate to their children, would prove comparatively unimportant, and soon be forgotten. I do not believe that there is a single individual in Scotland, who could, on the authority of a tradition received from his grandfather, mention the contents of one of the many lectures and sermons, which were delivered seventy years ago; and within the same space after the death of Paul or Apollos, I doubt whether any notes of their most eloquent discourses could have been quoted from recollection, or had been committed to writing, either at Corinth or Colosse.

When we take the written Word for our test, we shall find it no difficult matter to deduce from them the most conclusive arguments in behalf of all the great doctrines which Protestants regard as fundamental,—but not one syllable in favour of the numerous unauthorized codicils, which the Pope and his councils have daringly appended to the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour. Now, the inspired apostles either did or did not know and believe the dogmas laid down by Popish councils and casuists, in reference to the intercession of the Virgin, the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, and unbloody sacrifices, and the primacy of Peter; and if they did know and believe them, why did they pass over these tenets in complete silence, since all who refuse to admit

them are to be condemned to everlasting destruction? And if the apostles are saved, as the Papists admit, who implore their assistance and protection, why should not we, who only refuse to believe what they, when moved by the Holy Ghost, say nothing about, be saved as well as they? In fact, the Romanists have adopted precisely the course which Paul has anathematized,—they preach “another gospel, which is not another” in name, but in substance and tenor wholly different from what was taught and handed down by the apostle himself. And this is the true reason why the Papists so cordially detest the Scriptures, and are so opposed to their dissemination. The leaving out of Hamlet in the play is of little moment, compared with the omission of Mary in the Gospels and Epistles. They have no alternative but to contend, that the apostles knew and concealed the fact, that she ought to be an object of confidence and worship to every believer, or to admit, that no such tenet was countenanced by the early church, and that we, and not they, are the genuine representatives of “primitive antiquity.” There are some fastidious epicures, who cannot endure the smell of toasted cheese; and there are delicate females, whom the appearance of a cat causes to fall into a swoon; the sight of a Bible is just as hateful to a Jesuit, one of the most recent and flagrant proofs of which has been furnished by that zealous and intrepid teacher, Dr Marriott, who heard a “man of God” belonging to that fraternity, in a sermon preached at Halberstadt on the 29th September 1850, exclaim, “When Bibles are brought to you, burn them;” and blasphemously added, “The Saviour knew nothing of the Bible,”—although our Lord expressly commands his hearers to “search the Scriptures,” and makes frequent and forcible appeals on all occasions to the canonical books of the Jews, the only ones then in existence. Our Lord, whom this genuine disciple of Loyola represents as knowing nothing of the Bible, expressly tells the Sadducees (Matt. xxii. 20), that the source of error

is, "not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God,"—whereas the Jesuit would have us to believe, that Protestants are in danger of hell fire, because they know not the traditions, nor the power of the Pope. Of such matters, the Corinthians were as ignorant as we are,—and yet Paul tells them (1 Cor. vi. 11), that they are "*washed, sanctified, and justified* in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." The case of two converted priests, as stated at a recent spirit-stirring meeting, held in the metropolis, in opposition to Popery, may here be quoted, on the authority of one of the most pious and efficient ministers of which the Church of England can boast in the present day:—

"The Rev. F. Close, incumbent of Cheltenham, would call attention to a recent pamphlet, stating the case of two Italian priests who were converted from Romanism in Egypt, where they had been sent as missionaries, and one of them was chaplain to the Bishop of Grand Cairo. The priest met there a Protestant clergyman, who mentioned that the Roman Catholic Church had tampered with the commandments. The priest, born and bred in Italy, knew nothing of the Scriptures but by the extracts in the Breviary, and he considered this a wicked slander. There was but one vulgate copy of the Scriptures in all Egypt, and that was at Alexandria: so he went to the Jewish rabbi at Cairo, and got him to read the 20th of Exodus in Arabic; and when he found there was mutilation of God's Word, his blood curdled within him, and he said, 'Can I have been deceived for thirty years? Can the Pope have tampered with God's Word? It is impossible. If it is true, I am an infidel.' After many struggles, he determined to escape and join the Protestants. He observed that it might be asked, why did he not declare himself a Protestant in Egypt; and his answer was, that it was the custom—he had practised it himself—that if a French priest inclined to Protestantism, the French consul in Egypt was applied to, and packed him off as a prisoner to Rome, and he was put into the Inquisition, and that our consul stated that the consuls there considered an Italian as a French subject, which was natural enough, as Rome, the Pope and all, were guarded by French soldiers. Except in one country—Western Africa—there seemed to be no part

of the world where we had planted missionaries to which the Popish priest did not track them. We had to fight Romanism, not here alone, but throughout the world."

The Papists, indeed, assert, that we only know the authenticity of the Scriptures through the medium and authority of their apostate church; but the fact is, that it is on the concurring testimony of all churches, and not that of Rome only, that the canon of holy writ has been defined. They are quoted and appealed to by heretical as well as by orthodox writers—by the Eastern as well as the Western Churches; and the Romanists might as well say, that the doctrines, which are most assuredly believed amongst us, are derived only from Peter, and not from the other apostles, as that their church, and not the churches generally throughout the world, are relied upon as sufficient guarantees for the authenticity of the Divine record, as handed down from primitive times.

I have often regarded it as a strong and striking proof of the Divine wisdom and goodness, that the New Testament Scriptures were "given by inspiration" in the Greek language—a language of all others the most copious in its vocabulary, the most exact in its idiom, the most rich in its literature, the most general in its diffusion. The Hebrew Bible being chiefly intended for a "peculiar people," was written in their own tongue; and as there are few, if any, other works in that language calculated to invite the attention of the scholar, the number of persons who can read the Pentateuch or the Psalms in the original, has always been comparatively small. But the learned men of every age and nation have been anxious to make themselves masters of the Greek language, in order to peruse the exquisite productions of human genius with which it abounds in every department; and have thus been enabled to read the Scriptures as they emanated from the immediate dictation of the Holy Spirit. From the earliest period, however, a desire has been felt (as in the instance of the

Syriac version) to render the Scriptures accessible to the multitudes who were incompetent to peruse them in the original Greek. The ancient Church of Rome, instead of being in this respect "jealous with an *ungodly jealousy*" (as is the case with modern Romanism), hailed with satisfaction the appearance of the Latin vulgate, at a time when Latin was the language in ordinary use throughout the empire. What Wicklyffe did for England, is precisely what Jerome did for Italy; but the folly and inconsistency of modern Romanists consist in this, that when Latin has ceased to be spoken or understood by the great mass of the population, they have retained in their churches the use of a translation, drawn up and employed at first for congregations to whom it was as familiar as the language of our authorized version is to ourselves. Why, they might just as well have at once reverted to the Greek original, as have retained the Latin translation, when Latin was as little resorted to as Greek in the usage of ordinary intercourse. We, Protestants, and not the Papists, are following the custom of the *primitive* Church of Rome, because the English tongue is to us what the Latin was to them. There are many districts in the Highlands, in which, whilst the service was conducted in Gaelic, it would have been a great and palpable anomaly to have read portions of the Scriptures in English, though not more absurd than the practice of the Church of Rome to perform the mass in Latin; but in the numerous parishes where Gaelic has ceased to be spoken or understood, how preposterous would it seem to read a chapter in that language every Lord's-day, even if a version in English were printed in parallel columns! Why not read to the people that version at once, and omit the Gaelic altogether, for the same reason that prevents you from making use of the Greek original? In any other case, the absurdity of the Romish custom would at once be made plain and palpable. More than one Latin translation of Homer has been completed for the benefit

of those who had learned that language, and were ignorant of Greek. But of what use would the most clear and eloquent of these translations be to an Englishman who was as little conversant with Latin as Greek? and should we think it wise or consistent, if we *really* wished to convey to unlearned readers a notion of the beauty and sublimity of the Iliad, to prohibit them from using the versions of Pope and Cowper, and insist upon their either remaining altogether unacquainted with the writings of the Greek bard, or laboriously groping their way through the Latin version, with the aid of Ainsworth as their lexicographical pioneer? The decree of the Council of Trent, that mass should be said in Latin, under the altered circumstances of the world, is one of the numerous instances in which it appears as if God had allowed these assemblies to arrive at the most absurd decisions, in order to guard men of common sense from believing in their infallibility.

Being aware that none of the doctrines, which are a matter of controversy between themselves and the Protestants, are borne out by Scripture testimony, the Papists have adroitly endeavoured to call in to their aid a very formidable band of auxiliaries,—namely, the Fathers (as they call them)—whose uninspired writings they place almost on a level with the Scriptures, and, on the *omne ignotum pro magifico* principle, claim as sufficient and unanimous authorities on behalf of the unscriptural monstrosities by which their cumbrous creed is disfigured. It would be easy to show, that there is the greatest diversity in opinion upon almost every point between the Fathers, not only belonging to different periods and countries, but between those who were contemporaries and countrymen, and even in different writings of the same Fathers, drawn up at different periods; and there are few, if any, in whose writings many passages might not be found, which refute Popery and favour Protestantism. But this task has already been anticipated by abler hands, and would occupy

too large a space in so humble a publication as this. The Papists affirm, that there is a "Holy Mother Church, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, which cannot err." To this proposition I most fully assent, but then I utterly deny that it is applicable to the Church of Rome, or to any visible church which the world has ever seen. The infallible church comprises within its pale every believer of every age and nation, to whom the Holy Spirit has imparted a saving knowledge of the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ—the things which accompany salvation—the things which belong to our peace. This is the church which is without spot or wrinkle—this is the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven—written in a register, where the names of wicked popes and wily cardinals, and of all who resembled them in heart and life, will be sought for in vain. I contend, that the Presbyterian Churches in these realms will furnish at least as large a number of worthies to that illustrious catalogue, as any that have ever existed. Ours, my dear friends, is the most ancient and most apostolic of communions—our doctrines and practices are all derived from the fountain-head of Scripture. The first two-thirds of the first century comprise all the authorities on which we rely, so that, at all events, in point of antiquity, we may be said to carry every thing before us. We are too tenacious of the good old paths to go one step beyond the precincts of revelation in regard either to doctrine or practice. We think no more, nay, we think much less, of Jerome or of Justin, than of Matthew Henry or of Thomas Boston:—the memorials of the former are locked up in a dead language, accessible to few, and by many of these few seldom read and little valued,—the evangelical writings of the latter not only enlightened their contemporary generation, but are found throughout Scotland not only in many a manse, but in many a cottage. In truth, the writings of authors so little known to the general reader, as Gregory of Nyssa, Basil

of Cæsarea, or Ephrem the Syrian, may be compared to the coins of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Louis the Stammerer, or Edward the Confessor, which are much more curious than useful, and are only met with in the cabinets of a few numismatic *virtuosos*, who are fond of hoarding up treasures, which none of their neighbours either covet or possess, and which they themselves perhaps hardly look upon half-a-dozen times in the year. But our own catechisms and other standards (which, I believe, contain more sound and scriptural divinity, unalloyed by dreamy subtleties and unencumbered by fantastic speculations, than all the Greek and Latin fathers put together), or the plain and practical writings of Boston, Ralph Erskine, Henry, Flavel, Baxter, Scott, and John Newton (however little prized by learned critics of the High-Church school), are like the current money of the realm, bearing the honoured image and superscription of George III. or Victoria, which are constantly passing from hand to hand, influence all the daily transactions of life, and are familiarly known amongst the humbler classes throughout the length and breadth of the land. I remember, about fifteen years ago, reading through the scanty remains of the "apostolic fathers" of the first century; and I must admit, that the most important lesson which I derived from the perusal was to prize more highly the canonical Scriptures, and become (if possible) more convinced than ever (from the immense disparity discernible between the epistles of Paul or John and those of Barnabas and Ignatius), that the apostles wrote under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. I found nothing in the lucubrations of their successors, which might not have emanated from authors of very ordinary abilities or superficial acquirements. But no one, I think, can attentively ponder the gospel of the beloved disciple without arriving at the conclusion, that the composition of so sublime a work by an "unlearned and ignorant" fisherman involves at least as great a miracle as the alternative, that he was guided and influenced by

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“the interpreter among a thousand.” Believers might be pardoned for saying,

“What’s Chrysostom to us, or we to Chrysostom?”

but the more frequently they feed upon the wholesome words of the inspired penman, the more intense will be the gratitude and earnestness with which they exclaim, “Lord, ever more give us of *this* bread!”

In truth, my friends, I have often thought, that so far as theology is concerned, the fathers may be regarded as holding the same relation to the Bible, in which commentators stand towards the ancient classical writers. About thirty years ago, I occupied—or rather wasted—a large portion of my time in reading all the remarks of some ancient Greek commentators and modern critics upon Demosthenes, and all the notes accumulated from various sources upon Cicero, in the ponderous edition of Grævius. I was astonished to find how much chaff had to be winnowed, in order to obtain a few grains of wheat—how often the greatest discordance in opinion prevailed amongst different authorities of equal weight as to the meaning of the same passage. The most ancient critics—Asconius, for instance, in the case of Cicero—were often found to be in error by the superior ingenuity of their successors; and I no where discovered so many absurdities, or so much trash, as in the notes of the very earliest scholiasts who undertook to explain the difficulties occurring in the writings of the illustrious Greek orator. The perusal of these heterogeneous compilations threw, indeed, from time to time, some light on certain passages, which might otherwise have been obscure or unintelligible; but I always considered it as a relief and a recreation to recur to the writings of the great authors themselves;—and this is precisely the case in reference to all comments, sermons, or disputations, which stand in connection with the sacred Scriptures. I think the modern writers far transcend the more ancient ones in point of acuteness, ingenuity, and erudition; but to a spiritual mind and renewed heart it is

always a comfort to lay them all aside, and, like Mary, sit at the feet of Jesus, and hear his words of encouragement, warning, and instruction. We pay no more respect to the Councils of Nice or Chalcedon, than to the Synod of Dort, or last year's meeting of the General Assembly ; —we apply to all writings, and to all decrees, precisely the same test,—we go to the law and to the testimony, and search the Scriptures, whether these things are so. When Paul tells the Romans his contemporaries (Rom. xvi. 17, 18) to “mark them which cause divisions and offences *contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned*, and avoid them ; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly ; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple,”—we consider this advice as tendered unto us, as well as unto them ; and cleaving steadfastly to every principle which Paul has laid down in this and in every other epistle, we repudiate the pernicious and unscriptural system of development, and refuse to believe either less or more than these divine writers inculcate. We shrink back from the contamination of the Romish heretics, who “cause divisions and offences” by their impious and unauthorized additions to the ritual and doctrines of the primitive church. When Paul tells us that Christ is all and in all—that he is over all, God blessed for ever—we reverently assent to the inspired testimony ; and for that very reason we reject as blasphemous and damnable the Popish figment, that “through his mother, the Virgin Mary, we may obtain the joys of life eternal.” We no where find Paul enjoining us to pray for the dead, or intimating that the dead can pray for us ; and, therefore, we abstain from a practice, and discard a reliance, for which Scripture affords no sanction or encouragement. For baptizing with water, we find abundant warrant in the Word of God ; but it is no where hinted that, in apostolic times, it was customary “gently to blow three times in the face of the creature to be baptized,” or to give “salt to be tasted by

the creature," or to "touch with saliva its nostrils and its ears," or to "place a lighted candle in the hand of the baptized." We revere the memories of righteous Abel—of Abraham, who saw the day of Christ afar off and rejoiced—of Moses, who esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt—of Elias, who, together with the illustrious Jewish lawgiver, appeared and talked with Jesus on a high mountain apart; and the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthah, of David also, and Samuel and the prophets, who, through faith, subdued kingdoms and wrought righteousness; and yet we do not, nor indeed does the Romish Church, say, "Sancte Abel, ora pro nobis;" or, "Sancte David, ora pro nobis;" and on the same principle we consistently refrain from imploring the aid of Paul, or John, or Peter—of Clement, Cyprian, or Augustine, and are unable to discover any valid reason for conforming to the usage adopted by Popish superstition, and entreating the favour and intercession of St Pantaleon on the 27th of July, of St Willibrod on the 7th of November, and of St Philogenes on the 20th of December. With Melancthon we proclaim the great principle, that the fathers are to be interpreted by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by the fathers; and we contend that the same infallible record of the law and of the testimony, is the criterion by which all the decisions of all ecclesiastical assemblies must be either ratified or rejected. On the first day of the week, in conformity with the usage of primitive antiquity, we rest according to the commandment; and we believe that the experience of every nation, family, and individual will bear out the assertion, that the souls of believers prosper and are in health, in proportion to the strictness and sanctity with which that not less salutary and merciful than sacred and obligatory institution is observed. There is, however, on this point, a striking and palpable discrepancy between the sentiments and

usages of Romish and reformed divines; in order to illustrate which, I shall place extracts in juxtaposition, taken from the Larger Catechism of our own church, and from Bellarmine's Catechism, as printed at Rome in 1824, for inculcating which on feast days (by a bull of Paul V.) every teacher gains seven years of indulgence. I may premise, that the fourth, or as the Papists style it, the third commandment, is extended to all "feast days," without any distinction between the "Lord's day" and the days appointed by the mere authority of man.

CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC VIEW OF SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

What is to be done in order to observe the feast days ?

To abstain from servile work.

Since ringing the bells, making preparations in church, laying the cloth, and cooking victuals, are servile work, may they be performed ?

All these things, which are necessary for the worship of God, the service of the church, the support of human life, may be done.

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May we go to hunt on a feast day ?

This is become lawful by custom, and also by reason, because this work is not in its nature servile.

What is the public occasion which permits us to work on a feast day without sin ?

On occasion of any public rejoicing, or of shows, or of plays, this is commonly considered as lawful, because such works are necessary for the convenient accommodation of the public, or of the community. It will, however, be proper to obtain a licence for it from the prelate.

HERETICAL DIRECTIONS IN REFERENCE TO SABBATH OBSERVANCE.

How is the Sabbath, or Lord's day, to be sanctified ?

The Sabbath, or Lord's day, is to be sanctified by an holy resting all the day, not only from such works as are at all times sinful, but even from such worldly employments and recreations as are on other days lawful, and making it our delight to spend the whole time (except so much of it as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy) in the public and private exercise of God's worship ; and to that end we are to prepare our hearts, and with such foresight,

and diligence, and moderation, to dispose and dispatch our worldly business that we may be the more free and fit for the duties of the day.

What are the sins forbidden in the fourth commandment ?

The sins forbidden in the fourth commandment are, all omissions of the duties required ; all careless, negligent, and unprofitable performing of them, and being weary of them ; all profaning the day by idleness, and doing that which is in itself sinful ; and by all needless words, works, or thoughts about our worldly employments and recreations.

I need not attempt to delineate any further, my dear friends, the contrast between the ancient and orthodox system, in respect to doctrine, principle, and practice, as adopted by our church in conformity with the scriptural and apostolic pattern, and the modern and monstrous innovations by which, wherever Rome predominates, it has been sullied or superseded. I merely, however, reiterate my conviction that, unless we speedily retrace our steps—unless our rulers cease to foster and patronise error, and lift up a standard in behalf of the truth as it is in Jesus, we shall, ere long, reap what we have sown, and gather what we have strawed. Our statesmen carry out, even beyond their most liberal construction, all enactments in favour of Popery ; whilst every provision intended for the defence of Protestantism is either openly violated or virtually set at nought. Instead of enforcing that clause in the Act of 1829, which contemplates the “ gradual suppression and final prohibition of Jesuits within these realms,” many run to and fro in all quarters, and the knowledge of Popery is increased with impunity. We pass an act of Parliament for regulating the sale of dangerous drugs, but we establish at the public expense wholesale manufactories of that moral arsenic by which the minds of our unwise and unwary countrymen are every where poisoned and debased. My friends, God is visiting us for these things, and shows us wherefore he is contending with us. Our statesmen in 1814 concurred in again imposing the yoke of Popish superstition and despotism upon astonished and disappointed

Italy, and have ever since submitted to the extension of concessions, which the prudence and piety of our ancestors would have steadfastly resisted, and which remain as so many monuments of our credulous and infatuated pusillanimity. The lamentable divisions in the Church of England, and the numerous secessions from her pale, are an element in Britain's punishment for having fostered that apostate power, which is equally opposed to the law and authority of God and to the freedom and happiness of man. Already is Rome triumphantly exclaiming (Ezek. xxvi. 2), "Aha, she is broken, that was the gates of my people: she is turned unto me: I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste." But, my friends, I still indulge in a humble, but hearty hope, not only that her triumph, if accomplished at all, will be short, but that it may yet be averted by fervent prayer, by national humiliation, and by persevering and united exertions. Whilst, on the one hand, her temporary success is problematical, her ultimate downfall is as certain as the unerring word and testimony of God; and although the youngest amongst us may not live to witness it, the day must at length arrive, when the vengeance of the Saviour, whose name she has blasphemed, and whose saints she has massacred, shall be accomplished in her destruction. (Ezek. xxviii. 6-8), "Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness. They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas."

And here, my friends, I may notice another expedient, to which the Papists unblushingly have recourse,—I mean, that of speaking lies in hypocrisy, in order to perpetuate the dominion of human error, and retard the victory of divine truth. Of the calumnies invented against the Waldenses in the 13th century, it is scarcely necessary

to speak. False witnesses did rise up, who laid to their charge things that they knew not. Because they were opposed to the Romish apostasy, Dr Doyle, in his evidence, denounces them as favourable to Manicheism (perhaps because they were opposed to Monachism), and addicted to unnatural crimes. I shall content myself also with barely alluding to the base charges, reiterated even by their most modern historians, against the memory of the great and good Calvin—charges which the illustrious D'Aubigné has irrefragably demonstrated to be applicable to another individual, who bore the same name, but died in the communion of the Popish Church. I shall, therefore, only mention one instance of perverse and palpable misrepresentation, to which the Romish priesthood in Ireland unscrupulously have recourse, although it is wholly impossible that they themselves should not be fully aware of its groundlessness and absurdity. As a preliminary illustration of this proposition, let us suppose for a moment, that sundry Protestant divines were in the habit of asserting, through the press, or from the pulpit, that, on every Sunday or saint's day, immediately before mass, Dr M'Hale and every other Romish prelate played a pibroch on the bagpipes; that all officiating priests immediately joined in a reel, whilst the entire congregation united in this part of the service by snapping their fingers and stamping with their feet. Now, such an assertion would not be one whit more false, or more preposterous, than the statement so pertinaciously reiterated by Popish priests, that the Episcopalian or Presbyterian missionaries, who are illuminating the darkened minds of deluded Popish votaries, by imparting to them the light of apostolic Christianity, are "Jumpers." At the very time when these sacerdotal cursers are uttering this charge, they themselves are quite aware that it is false; but though I reprobate jumping (when practised as a devotional exercise), as a most unbecoming and ridiculous freak, I think it is at least as much countenanced by Scripture,

as the sprinkling of holy water, or making the sign of the cross. It is a lame defence, indeed, of these "pious frauds," and unhallowed misstatements, to remind us, that there has been, and I believe still exists, an obscure and fanatical sect, which has either assumed, or been branded with, the appellation of Jumpers. The question is, whether such holy and excellent men as Nangle, O'Sullivan, or Brannigan belong to this denomination; or whether, in any single instance, either at home or abroad, instruction into the mystery of jumping constitutes any part of the religious instruction imparted either to converts, or to candidates for holy orders? If a Protestant were to assert, that Archdeacons Wilberforce and Manning, Father Newman, and Father Ignatius, place themselves three times a-week at the head of a chosen band of zealous devotees, who strip themselves naked down to the waist, and lash themselves and each other with whips, would it be any justification of such a calumny to state, that during the prevalence of that mediæval superstition, which many are now labouring to revive, the Flagellants adopted this expedient as a suitable atonement for sin?—or if, in order to divert the unwary from being fascinated by the graceful elocution, and overpowered by the subtle dialectics, of Cardinal Wiseman, I were to tell them, that, instead of inhabiting a comfortable mansion in Golden Square, his Eminence has been enjoying a useful and contemplative existence on the summit of a column sixty feet high, bending himself 1244 times in succession from the forehead to the feet, and resisting the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters, where "habit and exercise have instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion" (*Gibbon*),—would the guilt of disseminating so absurd and palpable a fabrication be less glaring, because these details are true concerning Simeon Stylites, who flourished 14 centuries ago? There is, however, a considerable difference between the

two cases. I have vainly sought in Fox's Book of Martyrs, and in the Annals of the Scottish Worthies, for even a single instance, in which jumping is enumerated amongst the graces or accomplishments by which these eminent Protestant champions were distinguished. I am quite certain, that skill in jumping did not form an element amongst the qualities on account of which my venerable and excellent brother, the Archdeacon, attained his present high and well-earned elevation. But it would be no disparagement to the merits or reputation of the illustrious Cardinal, if it were true that he had actually passed the best years of his life in the hourly performance of sacerdotal evolutions on the summit of a lofty pillar; for it is notorious, that the far-famed anchorite who actually achieved this exploit, was consulted by a Popish emperor; saluted by crowds of Popish pilgrims from Gaul and India; his obsequies attended by prelates and civil dignitaries (to say nothing of six thousand soldiers); his bones revered at Antioch by multitudes, whose faith rested more upon relics than reasoning; and his memory has been hallowed by the apotheosis of canonization. If, as seems to be the judgment of eminent Popish authorities, Protestants and Jumpers are convertible terms, we should feel ashamed and concerned when, after hearing of the influence and veneration which, both in life and after death, the great Stylites enjoyed, we contrast with these interesting details the meagre mention which is made, in the obituary of the Annual Register for May 1771, of the decease of the Rev. Fluellen Apshenkin, who had spent as many years of his long and laborious life in jumping on the floor of a brick chapel at Caermarthen, as the Romish saint had devoted to incessant genuflexions on the holy pillar erected by his holy hands in Antioch. I have in vain ransacked all the histories of that period, in the hope of discovering some evidence that the reverend Welshman had been consulted on state affairs by George III.

If any such event actually took place, it has escaped the research even of Wraxall and Horace Walpole. That monarch's thoughts and ways were not as those of Theodosius the Younger. It was not so easy to jump into the good graces of the one, as to climb into the confidence of the other. It is nowhere stated that the funeral of worthy Fluellen was attended by the Bishops of St Asaph or St David's, or by the lord-lieutenant of the county, at the head of the noblemen and gentlemen enrolled in the commission of the peace, though the *programme* of the saint's obsequies would have furnished a precedent for such a procession. Six thousand soldiers, in the one case, marched reverently behind the bier; but, in the other, not only was the military not called out, but the yeomanry abstained from testifying their respect, nor did even the local volunteers fire a complimentary volley over the grave. It is possible that, on the day of Apshenkin's interment, some "old prophet," who had been his colleague in the fraternity of Jumpers, may have mourned over him, saying, "Alas! my brother! When I am dead, lay my bones beside his bones." But Antioch, that populous city, revered the bones of Stylites as "her glorious ornament and impregnable defence;" and his fame, as well as that of the other anchorites, gradually eclipsed that of the apostles and martyrs.—(*Gibbon*.) If there is not (as has been said) a royal and compendious road to knowledge, there is at least a saintly and strange road to glory, honour, and immortality, through the medium of monkery and maceration. We, Protestants, are taught to reverence, as worthy of all acceptance, our Lord's own gracious declaration, "*I am the way*,"—the true way, the sure way, the living way, the only way,—we believe, that with him there is no danger, and that there is no safety without him. We repudiate the by-way of human merit, and the cross-road of human intercession; and we cannot hold it to be "a more excellent way" to trust in self-devised and self-exalting austerities, which

God has not required at our hands; which often leave their unhappy victims to be "disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires" (*Gibbon*); and which, whilst some of their votaries have drawn the prize of beatification in the lottery of Romish superstition, have driven others to the "extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy."

I may here observe, that the deadly hatred with which Popish priests regard the Bible, extends to every nation, and every society, and every individual, by whom that blessed book is circulated and revered; and their enmity is always most intensely cherished towards those Protestant institutions, or labourers in the gospel vineyard, whose labours of love are most assiduous and abundant. I may illustrate this by citing that memorable declaration of Priest Cahill, which cannot be too frequently or too prominently brought under the notice of every Protestant Englishman. His reverence has been pleased to express himself as follows: "There is not *one* French man, or *one* French woman, or *one* French child, who would not dance with frantic joy at the glorious idea of having the opportunity, before they die, of burying their eager swords, and plunging their crimsoned French steel into the inmost breast of every man bearing the hated name of Englishman." Whether such a sentiment, expressed in such terms as to prevent the possibility of doubting for a moment that the wish of its author was father to his thought, is more worthy of the minister of a God of love, or of an emissary of the prince of darkness, judge ye. The reverend father, however, may be allowed to indulge in this fondly-cherished speculation, and (if he thinks proper) may mark upon a piece of wood the number of days which he thinks must elapse before his bloody visions are realized, and cut off a notch every morning, whilst gloating over the delightful anticipations that this longed-for British St Bartholomew is one day nearer at hand. But if he were to revisit the shores of that blessed land, where the whole population is in-

tent upon slaking its thirst in British gore, and, like another Peter the Hermit, were to proclaim another crusade, and exclaim to the men, women, and children of France, Why stand ye here all the day idle? and, placing himself at the head of a mixed multitude, of every age and sex, were to land at Portsmouth with a club in the one hand and a crucifix in the other, and with either weapon (or both) were to dash out the brains of the first "hated Englishman" who came in his way, I almost doubt whether even Lord Aberdeen or Sir James Graham would contend that such a procedure, however necessary for the full development of "*Catholicity*," should be encouraged, or even allowed, under the plea of its forming an essential element in the Popish code of "civil and religious liberty." I may perhaps, however, be here permitted to do that justice to Dr Cahill, which many Protestants, in the excess of their indignant horror, have most unfairly denied to him. They at once are so bold as to maintain that his far-famed proposition is altogether unfounded and untrue. Now, I confess that, in the teeth of such high authority, I am unable to be so dogmatical; and I shall lay down an axiom, necessarily involved in his more extended principle, though by no means so general and comprehensive. Dr Cahill asserts, that "every French man longs to bury his eager sword in English blood;" I regret that I can only go so far as to state,—which, with Dr Cahill's experience before me, I do with unhesitating conviction,—that "every French man," who is a cardinal, a prelate, a mitred abbot, a Jesuit, a Franciscan, or a Dominican,—"every French man" who, like the perjured French despot and his ministers, or M. de Montalembert and the ultra-montane deputies, sent republican soldiers to subvert republican institutions abroad, and re-establish Antichrist and the Inquisition; and not "*every* French woman," but every French woman who is an abbess, a prioress, a nun, or a sister of mercy; and not "*every* French child," but every French child who

is trained in the schools of the Jesuits, and imbibes the faith of the Cahill's,—I say, going so far hand in hand and heart in heart with the Doctor, that every French man, every French woman, and every French child belonging to these classes (though I am constrained so far to dissent from the reverend gentleman as to acquit all other French men, French women, or French children of harbouring any such desire or design) would dance with frantic joy (and perhaps are all engaged in doing so at this moment to the tune of *ca ira*, or, it may be, whilst chanting a hymn in honour of St Scholastica) at the glorious idea of plunging their crimsoned steel in the inmost heart of hated Englishmen. At one time, indeed, I faltered at the thought of adopting, even in this imperfect and limited sense, the Doctor's at first rather startling proposition. For a few minutes I ventured to imagine that, if his reverence had a hundred children under twelve years of age, however well instructed in the theology of Dens, however well acquainted with the notes appended to the Rhemish Bible; or even a hundred Jesuits, however familiar with the writings of Bellarmine, and the Bull in *cœnâ Domini*, all marshalled under his command, all armed with their well-whetted daggers, and some of them, it may be, furnished with cups, that they may tender to their great leader and commander, when spent with the burden and heat of the day, breathless and faint, leaning upon his sword, a copious libation of British blood,—I did, I say, for a few minutes, venture to imagine that one child, or even one Jesuit, might (Deut. xx. 8), become “fearful and faint-hearted” at the prospect of “plunging his French steel” into the heart of some British victim, from whom he had never experienced the slightest injury. But the language of the Doctor proves that his own nature is impenetrable and inexorable. Instead of ordering such a recreant soldier of the cross to “go and return unto his home, lest his brethren's heart should become faint as well as *his* heart,” he would leave the ninety and nine in

the wilderness, and never rest until he could exultingly exclaim to the Grand Inquisitor, the General of the Jesuits, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, "Rejoice with me, for I have found the sheep which was lost." I therefore dismiss all my doubts and difficulties,—the Doctor's information, being derived from the infallible medium of his own eyes and ears, must be more correct than my unsupported and unauthorized surmises. I dare say, he has seen the French sisters of mercy sharpening their daggers before the image of the Virgin; and that when feasting at a convent of French Carthusians, he has "shouldered his cross, and shown how fields are won." I could not, on any less unquestionable testimony, have believed such facts to be true. I should have deemed it not altogether impossible, that mercy and justice might have, here and there, dwelt in the bosom even of a Capuchin or of a Jesuit.

" But Cahill says they are ambitious
(Of shedding English blood,)
And Cahill is an honourable man—
A peaceable, a humble, holy man."

If the reverend orator should think fit to render his proposition still more comprehensive, (a proposition which every Protestant has deemed so revolting, and which no Papist, so far as I know, has controverted or disclaimed), and were to announce, that all Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, and Irish, men, women, and children, long to imbrue their eager hands in the blood of hated Englishmen,—although here again, in spite of my deference for such high authority, I could not find it in my heart to credit such startling assertions,—I should (though not without reluctance) be prepared to assent to it in the same restricted acceptance as before, and admit, especially, that all priests, prelates, and Jesuits, all abbesses, nuns, and sisters of mercy, whether Spanish or Italian, Irish or Portuguese, are whetting their daggers every morning, and are impatient to plunge them into the hearts of British men, women, and children; and it

is not, perhaps, difficult to assign two excellent reasons for undertaking such a crusade against our lives and liberties,—first, because we are rebels ; and next, because we are heretics.

I have always regarded persecution, my dear friends, as the essence and characteristic of a religion which is “ of the earth, earthy,” and altogether opposed to the spirit and principle of that system which has for its author “ the Lord from heaven.” When Saul was a persecutor, he was also, according to his own admission, “ a blasphemer and injurious,” haling men and women to prison, and breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord ; and it is observable, that he was then the bigoted champion of a degraded and degenerated Judaism. But no sooner was his heart touched by divine grace—no sooner did he become a preacher of the faith which once he destroyed, than he loathed himself in dust and ashes at the remembrance of the very actions by which, at the time when they were perpetrated, he fondly thought that he had been doing God service ; and in all his speeches and writings he utterly condemns persecution for conscience’ sake. It is no doubt true, that he had no longer the power to exercise the cruelties, which he had practised before his conversion, because the civil authorities, both Jewish and heathen, took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed. But there is not, I think, a single expression, emanating either from his pen or from his lips, which tends, in the remotest degree, to sanction the infliction of death or torture under the pretence of religious zeal. On the other hand, I ask in what age, or in what nation, have Popish bigots hesitated to imitate the example of Paul the bigot and the persecutor, and disregarded the injunctions of Paul the convert and apostle ? Is there any land in which the spurious and usurped sceptre of Antichrist has not been illuminated by the glare of the faggot, and stained by the effusion of blood ? It must be admitted that Protestants have been persecu-

tors also ; but I would, in the first place, remark,—though rather in order to extenuate, than for the purpose of justifying their conduct,—that they acted on the principle of retaliation, and not on that of unprovoked aggression. It is not, I think, possible to name any nation under heaven, which has been the scene of religious persecution, in which the Papists have not set the first example. In Scotland, for instance, and in England, during many dark and dreary centuries, the entire population “wondered after the beast,” and bowed beneath the iron yoke of a tyrannous and brutalizing superstition. Persecution was coeval, in both realms, with the earliest and faintest dawn of pure and scriptural piety ; it was then that the fiercest anathemas were hurled ; it was then that the first victims of lordly priestcraft dyed the scaffold with their blood. When Protestantism at length achieved a hard-earned triumph, the enactment of pains and penalties against their base and unprincipled foes, though no doubt partly dictated by a spirit of revenge, almost warranted by the merciless atrocity of the cruelties which provoked it, was chiefly resorted to on the principle of self-preservation, because the Papists were avowedly the devoted slaves of a foreign usurper, who arrogated to himself the attributes of omnipotence, and assumed (as in the case of Queen Elizabeth) the power of even absolving subjects from their oath of allegiance, and pronouncing an impious sentence of deposition and damnation. Why were the Jesuits expelled from every country in Europe, whether Protestant or Popish, and put down by the fiat of the Pope himself ? Not because they were Papists, but because they laid down and acted upon principles incompatible with the order of society, with the laws of morality, or the peace and well-being of mankind. It is doubtless a most merciful and well-timed providence that, after having been fostered and favoured during a long course of years, the Romanists not only in this country, but throughout the world, have at last thrown off the mask, and shown that their bigotry

is as intense, their arrogance as outrageous, their ambition as ardent, their intolerance as offensive, as during the ages most fearfully characterised by the prevalence of ignorance and superstition. And yet, why do I call them Romanists? It is we, my dear friends, who are the genuine representatives of primitive Romanism, as defined in the epistle addressed to that church by Paul himself. We implicitly believe every tenet which he lays down,—we reverently adore every mystery which he develops; and we only reject the pernicious errors, and repudiate the palpable idolatry of modern Rome, because they are wholly at variance with the principles on which the apostle exhorted the Romans of his day to ground all their hopes of acceptance and salvation. All that is inculcated, whether with respect to God's ways or Christ's work, by Paul, John, James, Peter, or Jude, we account to be worthy of all acceptation; and all that is superadded on the basis of such human traditions as make void the Word of God, we "reject, condemn, and anathematise."

But in order to make more clear to you the extent to which hatred of the Scriptures predominates in the Popish creed, let me attempt to illustrate its intensity by an example, which, though it has not as yet actually occurred, is not only in itself very likely to be realised, but is borne out, in many similar instances, by the actual procedure of Antichrist and his adherents. Many of you, doubtless, have heard of the Island of Rarotonga, which, not much more than twenty years ago, was discovered by some enterprising mariners, who found the inhabitants addicted to cannibalism, and immersed in the grossest idolatry. Under the superintendence of Protestant missionaries, and through the blessing of the Lord upon their labours of love, these remote and interesting islanders have been brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan into the glorious liberty where-with the Saviour of sinners makes his people free. A vessel quitted our shores, not many months ago, in which

one of the faithful and devoted men, who have been the Lord's instruments in achieving their deliverance, accompanied by a converted native, distinguished both by piety and intelligence, conveyed 5000 copies of the Scriptures to these humble and devoted neophytes, which were welcomed with far greater joy than thousands of gold or silver from California or Peru. Now, what is the impression which this fact is calculated to produce? The infidel, though he may regret that the benefit was attended by the adoption of a creed which he himself believes to be false, would, at all events, rejoice that so many members of the great human family had been reclaimed from barbarism to civilization. The Unitarian, besides participating in these feelings, would go a step farther, and derive satisfaction from their having become Christians, although alloyed by the reflection, that they had been led to acquiesce in certain mysterious tenets, which he himself condemns and repudiates. Every sound and right-minded evangelical believer, whether Episcopalian, Independent, or Presbyterian, would hail the glad tidings with cordial delight and thankfulness, and exclaim, as the infant church did of old, "Then hath God to *these* Gentiles also granted repentance unto life!" and their emotions would be shared by the angels in heaven, who witness with intense rapture, from the realms of bliss, the conversion even of a single sinner. The same event, however, which enhances the happiness of the heavenly host, excites weeping, and wailing; and gnashing of teeth in the regions of darkness, prepared for the devil and his angels, who murmur and repine at the emancipation of the thousands whom Satan has so long been leading captive at his will; and these feelings of jealousy and bitterness will find a striking and complete response in the breasts of the Pope and all his adherents, whether civil or ecclesiastical, throughout the world. Methinks I see Father Ignatius rushing half frantic into the apartment of a venerable cardinal, and exclaiming, "O, my lord, I grieve to say, that I have painful tidings to con-

vey to your eminence !” “What calamity has occurred ? has the French garrison evacuated Rome ?” “No, my lord, my intelligence relates to a very different part of the world. You have probably heard of the Island of Rarotonga.” “I have. I think it was discovered some twenty or thirty years ago.” “A most awful calamity has befallen it.” “Indeed ! what, has it been visited by the plague or the cholera ?” “O no.” “Or perhaps destroyed by an earthquake ?” “The catastrophe is still more appalling. I have heard that there have been landed on its shores five thousand”——“Barbarians ?” “No—but, Bibles !” “Bibles ! That is indeed a dreadful judgment ! I suppose some heretical teachers have been at their dirty work again.” “It is even so.” “I hope the natives had the good sense to do as we should have done, to burn the hateful Bibles, and order the unprincipled incendiaries to depart from their coasts.” “Alas ! no, my lord. Each of these wretches was received by the infatuated islanders as an angel of God, and they would have plucked out their own eyes, and have given them unto him ! A fearful and unhappy change has taken place throughout the length and breadth of the land. Thousands, who were formerly unable to read, are now constantly employed in imbibing the poison which lurks in every page of the Protestant Bible.” “Their primeval ignorance was bliss compared with such pestilential knowledge as this.” “To be sure, my lord. In their former condition, they were only heathens ; and consequently, in virtue of invincible ignorance, they had some prospect of bliss in the world to come ; but now that they are infected with heretical pravity, they must, without doubt, be doomed to everlasting destruction. Before the arrival of these accursed men of Belial, they feasted every day, when they could get it, upon human flesh ; but now, alas ! they presume to call themselves Christians, and yet dine every Friday upon Guinea fowls or boiled beef ! One cannot help exclaiming, ‘*O tempora, O mores !*’ ‘*O Sancta Ursula, et undecim*

mille sorores!” “My heart bleeds, my dear Ignatius, when I reflect how much worse their last state is than their first! But what is best to be done?” “Why, my dear lord, I for one intend to devote myself to the glorious cause. I mean to proceed in person as soon as possible to the island, and wrote by last night’s post to Father Newman, to see if he can borrow for me St Raymond’s vesture, in which the saint formerly traversed the sea; as I hope, by taking his old cloak about me, I might obtain the saint’s special aid, and perhaps accomplish the voyage at the rate of 1000 miles per hour.” “Why, I am rather inclined to think that, on the whole, it would be more expedient to have recourse to a steamer. I would advise you to take with you some living saint,—for instance, Rose Tamisier,—well furnished with relics and rosaries; for a bleeding picture, or a winking Madonna, would probably have a great effect on the unsophisticated minds of these misguided men.” “At all events, my dear lord, no time should be lost. Think, O think, of the multitudes who are there dying with a lie in their right hands!—think of those who are labouring under such awful delusions as that ‘the reading of the sacred Scriptures is for all;’ that ‘faith is the first grace, and the fountain of all others,’—propositions pronounced by the Bull Unigenitus to be ‘ill-sounding, offensive to pious ears, and scandalous, impious, and blasphemous.’ These poor deluded islanders have been led to adopt the fatal error, that the blood and intercession of Jesus Christ are sufficient to ensure acquittal from all guilt, without invoking or adoring the holy Virgin and the saints.” “Say no more, my dear Ignatius, my very hair stands on end when I think of these things. I shall instantly write to the Propaganda, and recommend that a ship should be obtained from the King of Naples for your use; and you should secure the powerful aid of a staff both of friars and fiddlers, the former to instruct the natives in our catholic mysteries, and the latter to teach them how to turn their Sundays to a proper ac-

count, which, you know, with us are justly regarded as 'a time to dance.'* I have always observed that a Pharisæical observance of the Sabbath (as they call it) is the stronghold and safeguard of heresy; and nothing can be more wise, more just, or more necessary, than the condemnation fulminated by the same bull against the 'impious and blasphemous' proposition, that 'the Lord's day ought to be sanctified by Christians for reading works of piety, and, above all, of the sacred Scriptures. It is damnable to wish to withdraw a Christian from this reading.'" "What a sad thing it is, my dear lord, that God, in his inscrutable long-suffering, should still allow this country to foster and cling to doctrines so absurd and so flagitious!" "It is so, indeed."

C. W. "The true church, as you are well aware, my dear Ignatius, has always attached great value to the fascinations of music. I am not sure whether we are not as much indebted for many of our recent conversions to Pergolesi as to Paul. It may be very well for the starch and stubborn Calvinists of Scotland to put up with the humdrum and monotonous drone of their uncouth and drawling psalmody; but if you are furnished (as I trust you will be) with a goodly supply of cornets, flutes, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and all kinds of music, you will soon, through the medium of the senses, (especially if further aided by clouds of fragrant incense), obtain a salutary influence over the minds of these misguided natives; and they may be so allured and overpowered by these soothing appliances, as to fall down and worship the winking image (if you are permitted to

* Sunday is, in Spain, a regular day of toil. The poor man has no day of rest. All the in-door trades are carried on till the evening or late afternoon, such as those of shoemakers, tailors, &c. Masons, carpenters, and labourers may be seen commonly engaged at work on Sunday. This is directly contrary to the rules and canons of the church, but there is no public opinion against it. The amusements of Sunday are the most objectionable, and often shocking, such as the bull-fights. It is the great day for the theatre.—*Meyrick*.

borrow it for a season) which our late holy Father, Pope Gregory, honoured by following in solemn procession; and if not, why the good time may not be far distant when all, whether here or there, who worship *not*, shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

“ ‘O that I were made a judge in the land, that every man which hath suit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice!’—(2 Sam. xv. 4).”

F. I. “Ah, my dear lord, if that were the case, and every informer against heretical pravity could bring such wretches before your tribunal, the golden age of peace and unity might again revive in these dark and benighted realms.

“When I first resolved to take the field against the teachers of blasphemy and error at Rarotonga and elsewhere, I intended to have fortified myself for the combat with the Benedictine editions of St Athanasius and St Augustine, but it afterwards occurred to me, that ‘I cannot go with these—for I have not proved them,’ and that such ponderous folios might only encumber and embarrass me. I have, therefore, provided myself”——

C. W. “With a copy of the two duodecimo volumes of the extracts from their writings, in the English translation?”

F. I. “O no, my lord; I have secured far more powerful auxiliaries than these. The Carthusian convent at Seville has supplied me with a jaw-bone of St Augustine, and my friend Lord Fielding has presented me with the thumb of St Athanasius, which he had the good fortune to purchase, dog-cheap, from a Franciscan friar, at Verona, for £750. I have not succeeded as yet in acquiring even a splinter of the true cross, but I possess, what I believe is quite *unique*—namely, one of the arms of the cross of the penitent thief, which I trust will be found almost equally serviceable to our sacred and glorious cause.”

C. W. “I am glad that you have been so provident,

and so successful in obtaining for your holy enterprise such important and admirable relics.

"I must own, that when I read in the proceedings of last session the frequent debates as to Smithfield, I often thought, with a sigh, of the halcyon days of blessed Queen Mary, and holy Bonner." "And I, my dear lord, for this same reason, used formerly to make a point of attending at Bartholomew fair, to reflect upon the glorious event irrevocably associated with the great apostle's name." "Are you so fortunate as to possess one of the medals which that eminent Pope, Gregory XIII., caused to be struck in honour of that memorable day?" "No, my lord, I do not—but I have happily procured a printed fac-simile, which I have pasted into my breviary, and which I never fail to contemplate when I pray for the conversion of Britain." "It is time, however, my dear Ignatius, to proceed to action. I shall instantly write a dispatch to Cardinal Antonelli. And do you, my dear Ignatius, desire Newman not to take any further trouble about St Raymond's cloak—but to be sure to provide you from Birmingham 50 pair of brass tongs, for hurling, as soon as you reach the island, and have made (through the aid of St Veronica) a suitable impression on the unhappy natives, every copy that you can procure of these detested Bibles into the flames!"

This colloquy, my dear friends, although fictitious, is, I verily believe, a faithful portraiture of the feelings entertained by a vast majority of the Roman Catholics in all lands towards Protestantism, and towards the Bible. They have, since 1829, and especially during the last four or five years, been labouring assiduously to demonstrate the hollowness of all their solemn protestations, the futility of the arguments adduced in support of their claims, and the validity of the objections so forcibly urged against them. The opinion is daily gaining ground, that George III. was a more far-sighted monarch than any of those who have followed him—that Eldon

knew the Papists better than Pitt, Wetherell than Wilberforce, M'Crie than Chalmers. Before emancipation was conceded, Dr Doyle assured the world that, if that question were favourably settled, "we would view the clergy of the Established Church as brethren labouring in the same vineyard with ourselves, seeking to promote the interests of our common country"—whereas now their titles are pronounced to be an usurpation, their orders disparaged, their very Christianity virtually denied. The decretal of Boniface VIII., in which he "declares, asserts, defines, and pronounces it to be of necessity for salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff," is accounted by every genuine and thorough-paced Papist to be as "worthy of *all men* to be received," as the declaration of the inspired writer, that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." I am much inclined to concur in the opinion of those who believe that a temporary triumph will be achieved in this country by the Papacy, for two great purposes,—first, that they may be enabled to display, by a reiteration of all the crimes which were perpetrated some centuries ago in the name of religion (crimes of which they lament, not the commission, but the inadequacy, for they are more sorry for having spared Luther, than for having murdered Huss), that their system is as unchangeable as it is monstrous, and can only be upheld by "cruel mockings, and scourgings, and bonds, and imprisonments;" and next, in order that both rulers and people may endure the righteous chastisement of their lukewarmness, ingratitude, and apostasy from the principles of their martyred progenitors.

Our rulers seem intent upon ascertaining how they can shape their tortuous course (without an entire forfeiture of the name of Protestants) so as to do as little as possible for checking Popery on the one hand, or fostering Protestantism on the other. I believe that, in high places, a loyal and honest Orangeman is more an object of distrust and detestation, than the most

bigoted and turbulent Papist; and that a greater number of titled and wealthy subscribers contribute to the erection of Popish chapels, than to the support of such institutions as have been formed under humbler but holier auspices, for disseminating throughout the Popish districts of Ireland that knowledge of scriptural truths, which I hold to be the only effectual panacea for its morbid and melancholy condition. Let us, however, my dear friends, hold fast, without wavering, the profession of our Protestant faith. Let us remember that we are the descendants of that "chosen generation" to which, in former times, the Lord of glory was pleased to say (Ezek. xx. 18-20), "Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols: I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know, that I am the Lord your God." May the Lord warn us, and all right-minded Presbyterians, against endangering the purity of our faith, and incurring the risk of falling from our steadfastness by unnecessary intercourse with the designing emissaries and intriguing satellites of Popish tyranny and superstition; but let all genuine Protestants (as they have opportunity) concur in evincing their sympathy and admiration towards the apostles and martyrs of divine truth, whom intolerance has driven to our shores—the Gavazzis, Nicolinis, Achillis, and Guicciardinis. What champion of true religion, what lover of disinterested patriotism, could hesitate to address to each of these intrepid and zealous martyrs in the cause of that civil and religious liberty, which Papists claim as loudly as they infringe them audaciously, the emphatic language of that divine record, for the sake of which they have endured the loss of all things, Ruth ii. 11, 12, "It hath fully been showed me all that thou hast done, how thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which thou knewest.

not heretofore. The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust." I am quite aware that Popery, as well as Protestantism, affects to cherish a great veneration and a sincere regard for the inspired volume. But these rivals have adopted very different methods for evincing the sincerity of their confidence and respect. Protestantism opens her house and her heart for the most free and unfettered converse with the Bible. They take sweet counsel together, and go to the house of God in company. Their intercourse is equally characterised by cordiality and single-mindedness, and Protestantism thinks that her "chief friend" cannot possess too much influence over her children and dependants. But Popery warns her votaries against listening too readily to the instructions and warnings of the friend, in whose inspiration and infallibility she professes to believe. They may listen to him with impunity, so long as he addresses them in a dead language, which they do not comprehend ; but if they attend to him when he speaks in their vernacular idiom, all parents are emphatically warned that, although he is admitted to be a wise and holy man, he will mislead, deceive, and destroy them, unless a still wiser and more holy friend be present to control, to explain, and to set him right. In fact, his most plain and emphatic declarations require to be understood in a precisely different sense from that which they are apparently intended to convey. When he asserts that marriage is honourable in all, and that bishops and deacons not only *may* but *must* be the husband of one wife, he means, that ministers of every rank must remain single, on pain of degradation in this world, and damnation in that which is to come. When he proclaims the equality and identity of bishops and presbyters, his real intention is, that the former should have the pre-eminence, and lord it over God's heritage, and indulge in all the pomps and paraphernalia of an ensnaring world, whilst the latter are consigned to comparative

poverty and degrading subordination. When he states, in reference to the passion of the Son of God, that it is finished, he means that it is only just beginning; and that, from the moment of his ascension until the consummation of all things, he must be descending many thousand times every day, to as many thousand places, in order to be in each simultaneously offered as an unbloody sacrifice, and glides, in the form of bread, down the throats of ten thousand human beings, to undergo within their bowels the process of assimilation. If he asserts that the blood of Christ cleanses from every sin, and that his righteousness justifies from every accusation, he means that these are of no avail without his mother's intercession, with respect to whose influence or authority he never utters a single word.

The rule laid down in reference to the Scriptures is as follows:—"Since it is manifest by experience, that if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue is permitted to be read every where without discrimination, more harm than good arises, let the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor be abided by in that particular. After consulting with the parish minister or confessor, they may grant permission to read translations of the Scriptures made by Catholic authors, to those whom they shall understand to be able to receive no harm, but an increase of piety and faith, from such reading; which permission they must have in writing. But whoso shall presume to read, or have them in possession, without such permission, shall not be capable to receive absolution until he have first delivered up his Bible to the ordinary." This index was issued under the sanction of Pope Pius the Fourth, who, in this respect, only followed the example of his predecessor, Innocent the Third (Council of Toulouse, anno 1229); and who has since been followed by Clement the Eighth, and Clement the Eleventh, in the Bull *Unigenitus* (anno 1713); by Pius the Seventh (1817), and Leo the Twelfth (1824.)" In fact, the Bible is to the Protestant like bread, on which he him-

self feeds thankfully—which he rejoices to distribute to all who need it—and which bakers may sell in any quantity without a licence. But to the Papist, it is as a drug which should neither be sold nor swallowed without the prescription of a “medical man,” because without professional advice and superintendence it is far more calculated to injure than to benefit, to kill than to cure.

Next to the diligent, the daily perusal of the Scriptures, and earnest supplication to the throne of grace for the power of “seeing light in the light of God,” there is, I think, no antidote to Popery so powerful and so decisive as the perusal of the lives of eminent saints, and especially of those most distinguished as the victims of Popish vengeance, and the antagonists of Popish error. Additional confirmation to your faith might doubtless be derived from contrasting the simplicity, the piety, the straightforwardness of such men as Knox, Melville, Brainerd, Newton, M’Crie, William Allen, Buxton, and (above all) Chalmers, with the lying legends, spurious miracles, puerile will-worship, and not unfrequently the persecuting and intolerant bigotry, which characterise the biographical account of the saints who occupy the most prominent place in the calendar of Popish worthies. And when you have perused and admired all that is exalted and excellent in the lives of these great and good men, and who are numbered amongst the luminaries of the evangelical world, remember that, according to the Popish system, not one of these illustrious men was a Christian—not one of them belonged to the only church, without the pale of which there is no salvation. Voltaire, according to the dogmas of the Cullens and M’Hales of our day, has a fairer prospect of eternal felicity than Carey, or Scott, or Andrew Thomson, or Robert Hall. Voltaire was, at all events, a member of the Romish Church, and perhaps may atone for his blasphemous ribaldry by passing a few centuries in purgatory, and

may be prayed out of it by the intercession of dead saints, or the masses of living monks ; but for Chalmers, whose entire life was devoted to his Saviour's cause—for Chalmers, whose sole hope was centred in his Saviour's righteousness—for Chalmers there can be no salvation ;—for Chalmers was not a Christian—Chalmers was not included in the Good Shepherd's fold. O, my dear friends, one knows not whether such a principle as this should excite, in the greatest degree, our compassion or our disgust ! For my own part, I can only say, that, absurd and impossible as I hold transubstantiation to be, I would rather, much rather, believe that the body, soul, and divinity of the Redeemer were all concentrated in a wafer upon Dr Wiseman's tongue, than agree with him in denying (as his creed compels him to do) that Chalmers is or can be in heaven, or that Christ did not dwell by faith in his enlarged and sanctified heart.

And I may here remark, my dear friends, that between the creed of Paul or that of Peter, and the theology of Calvin or Chalmers, there exists the most complete and palpable identity. Let any one, whatever his own religious belief may be, take in succession the entire writings of these two apostles, and extract from them every doctrine which they teach, and every duty which they enjoin, and he will be unable to discover any doctrine or duty, which is not also enforced and inculcated in the writings of these illustrious champions of Protestant truth. On the other hand, he will not, in all the apostolic epistles, discover any one of the tenets, for the rejection of which these great and noble-minded men are declared by the Romish apostasy to be excluded from the pale of salvation. The Virgin Mary is not so much as named amongst them ; still less is she represented as possessing any power to intercede, to protect, or to save. The supremacy of Peter is virtually denied, both by Paul and by himself, being quite incompatible with what the former says of Peter, and what Peter

says of himself; and the most profound silence is observed as to the invocation of saints, the efficacy of human merit, the value of voluntary penances, the respect due to dead men's bones. If, therefore, Calvin and Chalmers are consigned to the regions of despair, I contend that Paul and Peter must be found there also, as they all four promulgated precisely the same sentiments, and held fast, without wavering, the profession of the same faith. I for one, then, my dear friends, have no hesitation in averring, that I would rather dwell in the Popish hell, with Paul and Peter, with Wicklyffe and Huss, with Luther and Melancthon, with Knox and Melville, with Rutherford and Henderson, with Chalmers and M'Crie, than seek admission into the Popish heaven, with all the blood-stained and unprincipled monsters who have stained the triple crown or disgraced the Romish purple; and the thousands of canonized assassins—the Dominics and Torquemadas—who have made themselves drunk with the blood of saints and martyrs; and all the self-torturing zealots, who are supposed to have merited immortal happiness, as well as earned imperishable renown, by standing for years on the top of lofty pillars, or wearing shirts of hair or chains of brass; thus vainly striving to establish a spurious righteousness of their own, instead of trusting to the finished work of Him, in whom those whom they sentence to everlasting burnings placed an exclusive and unconquerable reliance.

Let me also advise each of you, my dear friends, to peruse another book with care and attention, which I cannot too strongly recommend to your notice—I mean my excellent friend Christopher Anderson's History of the English Bible—a work which, of all that I have ever perused, is the best calculated to establish the paramount supremacy of the Scriptures as the only channel for the transmission of divine truth, and the most sovereign antidote against the predominance of Popish error. You will there see how “the kings of the earth

set themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord," and against his Word—with what inveterate enmity and cunning craftiness the abettors of darkness resisted the entrance of light. But although "there were many adversaries, a great door and an effectual had been opened," by Him "who openeth and no man shutteth," and the glorious path of gospel illumination, through the medium of the written Word, has been "shining more and more unto the perfect day;" although, even at the present time, the same spirit continues to animate the sovereigns, the priests, and the nations who are "wondering after the beast." In Popish countries, and especially in Italy, it is at least as heinous a crime to give away a Bible to a family, as to infect them with the plague. The Jesuits are well aware that all their menaces and machinations would be unavailing, if Spaniards and Belgians, Irishmen and Italians, and the dwellers in Bavaria and Portugal, were allowed to read "in their own tongues the wonderful works of God."

I entreat you, then, my dear friends, "if there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit," be on your guard against Popery, and its insidious, unprincipled emissaries—men who never scruple to do evil, that what they regard as good may come. A fanatical convert openly exhorted his hearers, a short time ago, to insinuate themselves in disguise into the bosom of Protestant families, in order to effect their conversion. This nefarious system of treachery has been notoriously practised by Popish bigots, in every country and in every age. But to you I would tender the very opposite advice. Do every thing candidly and manfully. Denounce, whenever you can, the anti-Christian absurdities of Popish superstition; but never stoop to appear what you are not, or hesitate to appear what you are. Use great plainness of speech, and trample under foot with contempt all the mean and unworthy artifices of ambiguity and dissimulation. Pray

also fervently to God, that our rulers and senators may, in this crisis of peril, be found valiant for the truth, and uncompromising in their hostility to error. I own that, in this respect, I am dissatisfied with the course hitherto pursued by our most eminent statesmen of all parties. They seem to consider the daring affront offered to our beloved Queen, and to our free and independent country, in a subordinate and secular point of view. I wish I could find all or any of them denouncing the arrogant pretensions of Antichrist, and his sacerdotal myrmidons, as insulting to the majesty of our Divine King and Lawgiver, whose authority he usurps, whose Word he insults, whose people he persecutes, and whose ordinances he perverts.

The politicians, whether Whig or Tory, who have held office during the last twenty years, in their eagerness to earn the palm awarded to religious toleration, have gone to the opposite extreme in reference to Popery; and given to that system, which they profess to regard as fraught with danger and degradation, a degree of preference and encouragement, which it is difficult for any genuine Protestant to regard without surprise and alarm. The college at Maynooth has been enlarged and endowed; the colonies have been garrisoned at the public expense with Popish emissaries, whose name is legion; the utmost latitude is afforded for the promulgation of Romanist delusion; and an attack upon a chapel where Mary is worshipped, and wafers become shrines in which the divine and human nature of the Redeemer are enveloped, would be resented and punished as a flagitious and unmanly outrage. To this I have not the slightest objection: let them by all means be protected to the utmost extent in carrying on the work of proselytism or of perversion; but what I do complain of is, not only that few, if any, of our leading statesmen give any sanction or encouragement to the societies established for reclaiming Romanists from their errors, but that attacks perpetrated by Jesuits or Popish zealots upon converts to Protestantism are noticed with indifference, or re-

main unheeded and unpunished. Not only are Popish lepers allowed to spread this infection far and wide, but Protestant champions, who wish to arrest the progress of the contagion, are reviled and assaulted with perfect impunity. Whilst Maynooth is supported by profuse grants, a single pound would be grudged to the Free Church College at Edinburgh, or to any of the respectable Dissenting establishments now supported by voluntary contribution for the diffusion of Protestant truth. Supposing that there was a college of homœopathic physicians, who contended that they had emancipated the science of medicine from the antiquated and pernicious dogmas and drugs of allopathy, it would, of course, be highly improper that they should be invested with any power to interfere with the free action of those practitioners who obstinately adhered to the old system; but it would indeed be anomalous and inconsistent, if members of the homœopathic college were to endow a large institution, in which all the well-paid and carefully-encouraged professors were zealous advocates of allopathic doctrines, and employed the greater part of their lectures in decrying homœopathy as a system of imposture and absurdity. No one would imagine for a moment that the homœopathists were in earnest as to the importance of their views; and as little value can be attached to the religious convictions of parliamentary latitudinarians, who, whilst they profess to be sincere Protestants, are fostering institutions avowedly established for the inculcation of Popish delusions.

No ministers of state, who were well-instructed and genuine Protestants, could reconcile to the dictates of conscience and duty the endowment of Maynooth and the other Romish colleges, the awarding of salaries out of the public treasury to mitred promulgators of falsehood in the colonies, or the sanction given to any national system of education, in which the Bible did not constitute the chief corner-stone of the edifice.

Again, I say, my dear friends, young and old, beware, beware of Popery—a system of falsehood—the more fraught with danger, because of the partial and insidious admixture of truth. Poison, when administered alone, is apt to excite a salutary alarm by the effects which it produces on the organs of taste or smell; but when cunningly blended with wholesome food, it is often unconsciously swallowed by its unsuspecting and ill-fated victims.

But, my friends, it is time that I should conclude this letter, although I do not find it easy to do so, when I am addressing you out of the abundance of my heart on a theme of such paramount importance. It is probable that many of the readers, whom I wish more particularly to address, may never be great in this world; but they may all be more than this, since they are all invited to be good, and by good I mean godly; for, in a scriptural sense, I consider goodness and godliness to be synonymous. These are only different names for the same vital principle, to which is annexed the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. I repeat then, my dear friends, to be good or godly is more than to be great or glorious. Many who have been great in this world,—great in power, great in talent, great in learning, great in popularity, will, in the solemn day of account, be consigned to the regions of despair; whilst all, however obscure in station, however deficient in ability, who have trusted in the righteousness of Jesus, and experienced the sanctifying influence of his grace, shall attain a degree of elevation and felicity, which the pencil of the sublimest artist has been unable to pourtray, or the mind of the most imaginative poet to conceive, and of which (from the poverty of human language) the page of inspiration itself can only convey to the soul of the most enlightened and enraptured believer a very faint and inadequate conception.

II.—MARIOLATRY.

THE next subject, to which I propose to invite your attention, my dear friends, is the consideration of the place which the Virgin Mary is entitled to occupy in the creed, and in the confidence, of every genuine believer in Christianity. On this point, as well as on most others, the Romish Church and ours are as diametrically at variance as it is possible to be. The Pope commands us to rely upon her intercession, and to worship her as the Mother of God. We speak of her with all becoming respect, as having miraculously ushered into the world the holy humanity of Him who died for our offences, and rose again for our justification; but we refuse to ascribe the slightest efficacy to her merits or mediation. On this most important subject of controversy, it can easily be made to appear, that we have on our side the four evangelists, the sacred historian of the Acts, and the unanimous consent of all the inspired apostles, by none of whom, our enemies themselves being judges, we are encouraged or enjoined to invoke the name of Mary, or to erect churches, altars, or images in her honour. In that ancient creed also, which is stated to have been drawn up by the apostles, all we are told concerning her is, that our Lord was “born of the Virgin Mary,” a truth which we cheerfully admit as being worthy of all men to be received.

You would all, I am sure, participate in the abhorrence with which I cannot help contemplating Romanism, if your eyes had seen, as mine have, in Popish countries, an image of Mary erected in the centre of a bridge, or placed on the side of a highway, or enshrined in what must in courtesy be denominated a Christian place of worship, and a lamp burning before it, with crowds of abject devotees kneeling at its feet, telling their beads, beating their breasts, and all but “cutting themselves with knives and lancets,” whilst imploring her assistance; or,

if you had beheld her effigy carried in pomp along the streets, decked out in the tawdry paraphernalia of some antiquated court dress, and regarded as an object of ardent and universal adoration. I need not caution you against the will-worship of the deluded nations who, at one time, worshipped Jupiter and Mercurius; but I would lift up my voice against the far more revolting Polytheism of Rome; and call upon all sincere Protestants to unite in destroying Popery; for otherwise they may rest assured, that Popery will succeed in destroying them. Has any idolatry ever been more gross than that which the Papists offer to the Virgin? If a mitred prelate were to present to me an image of Mary, and command me to kneel before it, I should say, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" The very appellation of "woman," given to the Virgin by our Lord himself, implies that she was subject to like passions, and stood in need of like mercy, with ourselves. Disclaiming all belief in her power to succour me in life, or at death, I would adopt her own language as recorded in the inspired volume, and say, "My soul doth magnify the LORD, and MY spirit rejoiceth in GOD MY SAVIOUR." You see, my friends, that the Lord was HER Saviour, as he must be ours, if we are saved at all; and there is "no salvation in any other" (and therefore not in the Virgin), "for there is none other name" (nor, consequently, that of Mary) "under heaven, given amongst men, whereby we must be saved." "Precious marbles (says Dr Arnold, vol. ii. p. 369), and precious stones, and gildings, and rich colouring, are to me like the kaleidoscope, and no more; and Popish churches are almost as inferior to ours, in my judgment, as their worship is to ours. I saw these two lines painted on the wall in the street to-day, near an image of the Virgin:—

'Chivaole in morte aver Gesu per Padre.
Onori in vita la sua Santa Madre.'

I declare I do not know what name of abhorrence can be too strong for a religion which, holding the very

bread of life in its hands, thus feeds the people with poison."

I have observed with admiration, not, however, unmingled with pity, the subtlety and adroitness with which the worshippers of Mary endeavour to reconcile what is recorded concerning her in the Scripture, with what is proclaimed concerning her by their church. Hear, for instance, the statement of the eloquent and ingenious Massillon with regard to her:—"Always submissive, whilst on earth; and in all the conditions of her mortal life, she had always respected this way of dependence as that by which grace intended to conduct her—at one time living in an entire submission to the will of Joseph—at another, attached to the orders and destiny of her Son—at one time entrusted to the beloved disciple, and looking upon him as the master of her actions and the arbiter of her conduct—at another time appearing amongst the followers of the disciples after the death of Jesus Christ; like one of the other faithful women—appearing to take no part in any thing—ascribing nothing to herself—not desiring to participate with the apostles in the government of the infant church—submitting herself to their laws and to their authority—affecting no pre-eminence in that holy assembly—every thing taking place without any mention being made of her—without her assuming any authority—and conducting herself as a simple daughter of the church, she who was its protectress and mother," &c.

Now, if, in considering this highly-wrought statement, we separate what is matter-of-fact, as to which all parties agree, from gratuitous assertions, or far-fetched inferences, which form the subject of doubtful disputation, we find this eminent Romanist admitting, that Mary lived in a state of entire submission—that after the death of Jesus Christ she appeared like one of the other faithful women—that she was subject to the laws and authority of the apostles—claimed no pre-eminence—and that every thing passed without her being so much as named

amongst them. And is not this precisely what all Protestants concur in maintaining? Is there a single verse or expression in Scripture, which compels or warrants us to believe one jot or one tittle more, with respect to her influence or authority? How, then, is this same eminent writer justified in asserting (vol. vii. p. 286) that “she assumed” (*i.e.*, on the day of her pretended assumption) “in heaven, at the right hand of her Son, that power which she had not been willing to exercise upon earth—she re-enters (?) into all her rights—she is established under Jesus Christ the mediatrix of the faithful, the channel of graces, the hope and support of the church, the asylum of sinners, the protectress of the just, the resource of nations and empires, *the Queen of heaven and earth*. Yes, my brethren—the power of Mary has no other bounds than those of the love of her Son for her. He divides, so to speak, his authority with her—he renders her the distributress of his favours—he wills that we should address ourselves to her, if we would obtain every thing from him.” Now, I challenge this most expert and experienced Romish casuist to produce a single text in confirmation of these assertions.

If, as the Papists maintain, Mary was wafted by angels to heaven, it is all but certain that this “assumption” must have taken place in the lifetime of John, who attained an extreme old age, and to whose care she was confided, when he was young enough to have been denominated her son, and probably also before either Peter or “Paul the aged” expired; then how does it happen that no mention is made in any of their epistles of an event so important and so glorious? I may also remark, that if Massillon be right, we should expect to find our Lord saying, “Go to my mother, all ye that are weary and heavy laden,” instead of uttering the benign and condescending invitation, “Come unto me.” When he says, “No man cometh unto the Father but by me,” would he not have added (to prevent the possibility of our incurring eternal damnation by taking him at his word),

“remember also, that no man cometh unto me but by my mother.” Our Lord himself says, “*I will send you another Comforter;*” but what says Massillon? (p. 238) “We require her interposition, to obtain the light of the Holy Spirit” (!) But it is not less painful and humiliating to find Mary herself represented (p. 265) as guilty of a heresy altogether at variance with the fundamental doctrine of the gospel—that there is no salvation for a sinner but through Emmanuel’s sacrifice and intercession. “The calamity of her brethren according to the flesh constituted her saddest and most ordinary occupation. She offered incessantly for them the merits of their ancestors—of Abraham, of David, and the prophets, to appease the anger of God, and soften, by the memory of these faithful men, the crimes of their descendants.” No hint is given in Scripture that it ever entered into the heart of Mary to conceive, what she is here represented to have regarded as her “most ordinary occupation”—but if she did, and was right in doing so, why, the inspired apostle is undoubtedly in error when he says (Rom. iv. 2), that “Abraham had not whereof to glory before God;” since he had not only enough, but to spare, of justifying righteousness to appease the divine anger, and avert the divine chastisement from the heads of his guilty descendants. And here I cannot help remarking, that a portion of the power and influence ascribed to Mary is (p. 266) attributed to the nuns, in whose presence this sermon was delivered. They, too, are represented as “the continual mediatrices of the faithful—the resources of the church’s sufferings—the victims of the sins of others—and in the tears and privations of their retreat *taking upon themselves the iniquities of their brethren;*”—so that Romanists place these sinful mortals on a level with Him, on whom “the Father laid the iniquity of us all.”—(Isa. liii. 8.) The preacher indeed adds (p. 287), that “nothing is more remote from the spirit of faith than to think, that we honour the power of Jesus Christ by diminishing that of his holy mother.

We honour him in her—it is his gifts that we exalt in exalting the ineffable gifts of Mary—it is his power that we maintain, in maintaining that of his holy mother, and she and we are only what we are through him—and our confidence in her has no other source than in the miracles which Jesus Christ is pleased to perform through her.” Again, however, I call for a single Scripture text on which this frail and flimsy superstructure can be erected. “All power,” says our Lord, “is given to *me* in heaven and on earth”—but where or when did he declare that he divided this supreme authority with his mother? Granting for a moment, what I hold to be altogether untenable and unscriptural, that this delegated pre-eminence is vested in Mary, she is placed in the same relation to the Saviour in which the moon stands to the sun, which is the sole fountain of light to the system with which our world is connected. The borrowed radiance of the moon is, indeed, precious, when the sun no longer illuminates the sky—but the “Sun of Righteousness” never sets in the spiritual horizon, or ceases for one moment to shine in unborrowed and uncreated effulgence. So long as the sun illuminates the firmament, the moon is either invisible or unobserved. And why should we be censured or condemned, my dear friends, if, when permitted to bask in the sunshine of the Redeemer’s countenance, we should refuse to turn our eye from that transcendently glorious object, and seek for secondary light from an inferior source, which, by the admission of its most ardent votaries and admirers, derives all its splendour from himself?

It is allowed, or rather asserted, by Massillon himself, that “it was necessary” (vol. vii. p. 291) “that the church, then in its infancy, should render solemn honours to this Queen of Heaven; because there arose at that time amongst believers certain ignorant and superstitious men, who, struck with the eminence of her glory and of her dignity, changed piety into superstition and idolatry; offered sacrifices to her, and paid honours to her which are due only to the Eternal One.”

But I ask, my friends, how it is possible that these "ignorant and superstitious men" can have proceeded greater lengths in the career of idolatry, in reference to Mary, than by bestowing upon her, as this eminent writer himself does in this very passage, the title of "Queen of Heaven"—and maintaining, as he does almost immediately afterwards, that it is "blasphemous" to deny to her "the august title of Mother of God?" How could these "ignorant and superstitious men" have gone farther than popes and cardinals do at this moment, and have done in every age, when ascribing their salvation in the world to come, and their comfort in the world that now is, to her grace, to her power, to her intercession?—how could they confer upon her a nearer approximation to the honours of divinity, than by declaring in their general councils, that it is as indispensable to believe in the pre-eminence of the "Mother of God," as in the existence of the Father, the mediation of the Son, or the sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit, whose enlightening influence, he states in the sentence already quoted, can "only be obtained through her intercession?" Have we not within the last few days been gravely informed, in regard to her "Most Catholic Majesty," that several country churches, which have miraculous images of our Lady of Childbirth, have not failed to send them to Madrid for the Queen *to avail herself of their influence*. Her Majesty has locked up in her private oratory several relics brought to the palace for the same purpose. And I should be glad to see any extract from the culpable writings of these "superstitious and ignorant men," who lived in the earliest ages of the church, which transcends in the idolatrous ascription of power and pre-eminence to Mary the solemn and deliberate language of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1832:—"Let us lift up our eyes and hands to the most blessed Virgin Mary, *who alone has destroyed all heresies*, who fills us with the greatest confidence, or rather, who is the sole foundation of our hope." Instead of concurring

in the opinion of Massillon, that the tendency to Mariolatry was at its height in the church's infancy, it seems to me quite evident, that there is far more justice in the following observations of the profound and acute Bayle : " Those who have examined all that is said concerning the power of the blessed Virgin, and the share that is given her in the government of the universe, have observed, that succeeding authors, by endeavouring to surpass their predecessors, have brought this matter now to the very extremity of flattery, so that it is impossible to go further in their compliments. But the efforts of that extravagant humour of exceeding each other have never been discontinued, (for when the devotion of the people must be the spring of riches for a great number of men, who are willing to live in ease and affluence, there is a necessity for awakening this superstition, and keeping it alive from time to time by the entertainment of new inventions) : as this, I say, makes it useful to break through all bounds of probability, it is wonderful that they have not gone one step further, and that, among so many monks and nuns who have indulged this humour of invention, there has not been one yet who has asserted, that the blessed Virgin governs the world alone." St Bonaventure and St Alfonso de Ligouri, as well as many other canonized saints and grave authors of acknowledged authority, have transferred to Mary most of the passages in the Psalms and Litanies, which nothing but our belief in his divinity would justify us in applying to Christ himself.

The state of religion in Spain has lately been portrayed in a series of interesting letters, addressed by two respectable correspondents to the Rev. F. Meyrick. The substance of what is called a novena to the Virgin Mary, is given (pp. 16, 19, 20) from a work sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authority, in which she is described as " suffering in Jesus"—as " obeying more than all creatures united"—and by her obedience " supplying the want of obedience of all the evil angels in

heaven, and all the ungrateful men upon earth." The supplicant is directed to say, "Instructress of the church, *by whom, and of whom, the apostles learned to celebrate the mysteries of the mass*, I adore thee;" and this adoration is shown afterwards to be that of the highest kind of worship. Men are said to be "indebted to her for their redemption—angels for their special joys." Mr Meyrick, himself a sincere and learned high-churchman, in a series of very seasonable questions, addressed to wavering Tractarians, asks them, Whether they are prepared to worship the "blessed Virgin Mary" in such words as these:—"We praise thee, O Lady—we acknowledge thee—all the earth shall worship—holy, holy, holy Mary, Mother of God and Virgin, in thee do we put our trust—we sinners do beseech thee to hear us, good Lady;" or to say with Ligouri, canonized only twelve years since, "all is subject to Mary, *even God himself*."—(See January number of that very useful and able periodical, the *Christian Observer*.) "In the religious regards of the people, the blessed Virgin stands in the place of God, satisfaction for sin is bought and sold, and the Bible is a closed book for the laity."—(*Meyrick*.)

There is not a devout person here, who does not hold it quite as certain that the thief on the cross was called Demas, *and that he was forgiven at the intercession* of the blessed Virgin, as that he was crucified at all. Now, the result of this is, that while among the uneducated, or little educated, you may meet with much devotion and faith, you find also the strangest mixture of legend and holy writ intertwined inextricably together, while among the more educated there is a dangerous tendency to disbelieve all. They find that they have been deceived and imposed on in some things, and that throws a doubt on all. There are very many who believe nothing.—(*Meyrick*, p. 9.)

When the blessed Virgin fled into Egypt, she fell in with a band of robbers, whose captain was named Demas. He was a very wicked man; but something in

her appearance struck him, and though he did not know that she was such "a great lady," he not only did her no harm, but escorted her on her way. After this, he went on in his wickedness; and at last, thirty-three years afterwards, was taken, imprisoned, and condemned to death. When our Lord was crucified, to put him to more shame, Demas was chosen to be his companion. On the cross, he prayed to our Lord to save him; the Virgin remembered his kindness to her in past years, and asked our Lord to have mercy upon him; and thereupon he said, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." From this the padre drew the lesson, that there is one advocate able to save the most wicked, namely, the blessed Virgin.—(*Meyrick*, p. 31.)

Doctrinally it will be seen, that, in spite of all that has been said and unsaid, all that has been asserted and denied, *it is true*, that, IN THE RELIGIOUS REGARDS OF THE PEOPLE, THE BLESSED VIRGIN DOES STAND IN THE PLACE OF GOD,—that *it is true*, that satisfaction for sin by way of penance is turned into a calculating mechanical process of buying off certain pains by certain other painful expiatory acts,—that *it is true*, that the Bible is a closed book to the laity.—(*Meyrick*, p. 36.)

The following conversation took place between the writer and an old woman in Rome last year:—Q. "Do you pray to la Santissima Madonna?" A., with a smile of pity, "Of course." Q. "Do you make any difference in your prayers addressed to her and to Jesus Christ?" A. "Of course not." Q. "Which do you pray most to?" A. "La Santissima Madonna." Q. "Why?" A. "Because I am a woman, and so I pray to her; you are a man, so you pray to him." The men in Italy do not pray; their faith has been overturned, and they have, in the middle classes, in numberless cases, cast away belief.—(*Meyrick*, p. 40.)

At Pombal we saw our Lady's oven, where annually a fire is kindled, a wafer baked, and a man, the Shadrach of the town, walks round the glowing oven, and

comes out unhurt and unsinged, by special miracle of our Lady of Cardal.—(*Southey's Life*, vol. i.)

If the spirits of the just made perfect are conscious of what passes upon earth, and could give utterance to the feelings which the knowledge of sublunary events must excite, how eagerly and how earnestly would Mary deprecate the idolatrous homage, of which she is the object, on the part of so many millions of deluded votaries, and say, "Look not to me, but to Him to whom alone I myself looked for pardon and acceptance. O, 'whatsoever *He* saith unto you, do it.'"

Perhaps, however, the most important question connected with the subject is to consider, whether the inferences, which may be logically and legitimately deduced from our Lord's own conduct towards his mother, are most conformable with the Popish or with the Protestant view concerning her? In order to avoid the charge of partiality, I shall translate literally from Massillon the narrative which he has drawn up on this head. After speaking of "the indifference and apparent rigour with which Jesus Christ always seemed to requite her tenderness and her most holy aspirations," he adds, "We nowhere perceive, that he distinguishes her by the respect and the tender attentions, which the authority she had over him, and the love he felt for her, appeared to require. And in the temple, at the age of twelve, he seems to blame the disquietude, into which she had been thrown by the fear of having lost him; and far from being touched by the alarms and the eagerness of her love, he only speaks to her of the Father, whom he has in heaven, as if he had forgotten that he had a mother upon earth. At the marriage of Cana, for fear (as it seems) lest Mary should share with him, in the mind of the guests, the glory of the prodigy he was about to perform, he declares, that he has nothing in common with her, and that it appertains to his Father alone to point out to him the times and the seasons, in which he should manifest himself by miracles, as it is from Him

alone that he derives the power of performing them. If the women of Jerusalem call the womb blessed which bare him, he appears to snatch away from Mary a praise which the angel himself had given her, and announces to them, that none are blessed on earth but those who observe the law of God. If, on another occasion, he is reminded that his mother and his brothers are waiting for him with impatience, he answers, that he recognises as his mother and as his brothers those only who do the will of his Father who is in heaven. In short, every where she seems to be forgotten; and whenever the evangelists speak of her in the history of her Son, it is to relate to us some apparent neglect of Jesus Christ."

Now, if it had been our Lord's object to countenance and confirm the opinions, which we Presbyterians hold in reference to Mary, and to prevent us from converting her into an object of delusive, idolatrous, and soul-destroying will-worship, I ask, whether he could have adopted a course more admirably fitted for the accomplishment of that end? I may add, too, that, in order to encourage the hearts of his apostles, he hesitates not, in the midst of their anxious forebodings and discouraging humiliations, to tell them of the glory, which should be revealed on their behalf, when they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. But of any throne, which his mother is to occupy—of any prerogatives to be exercised by her in heaven—of any altars to be raised to her on earth—not one word is uttered by our Lord himself, either during his personal ministry, or subsequently to his resurrection. He showed himself twice to his apostles after his passion, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; but we are not told, that he held any communication on these subjects with his mother, or said one word concerning her impending elevation to any of the disciples whom he addressed. He showed to Peter by what death he should glorify God; but to his mother he never intimates how inef-

fable a pre-eminence was awaiting her above. To the eleven he said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth [the gospel] and is baptized, shall be saved." Now, belief in Mary is never even remotely hinted at by any of the four evangelists as constituting a part or parcel of the gospel; and since our Lord himself declares, that every believer in the gospel shall be saved, can a doctrine be essential to salvation, on which the gospel is entirely silent? To adopt and inculcate the worship of Mary as a fundamental ingredient in saving faith, must, I conceive, as indubitably ensure the damnation of every pope and of every Papist, as the rejection of that tenet would exclude every Protestant from heaven, if our Lord and his inspired apostles had commanded us to acknowledge her as the Queen of Heaven, and to fall down and worship her as the Mother of God.

But however unscriptural are all the idolatrous rites and puerile fables practised or invented by the Romanists in reference to Mary, there is one assertion—namely, that of her perpetual virginity—which is positively and palpably antisciptural. We are told (Matt. i.), that Joseph was minded to put her away privily, but that the Lord said to him, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife,"—which seems to imply a command from the Lord that they should live together as man and wife. Joseph, being raised from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife (to live with him as such), and "knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born son"—a phrase certainly not intended to intimate, that they had never until then been acquainted. Now, we are aware what is the meaning of this expression in the sacred writings. On the very first occasion, on which the expression is used in Scripture, we are told that Adam "knew" Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain. The very circumstance of Joseph not having "known" his wife until a certain event had taken place, implies that he knew her after-

wards. Supposing that it had been stated in the sacred text, "Joseph took unto him his wife, and never knew her," (just as it is said concerning Abishag, 1 Kings-i. 4, that David "knew her not,") and that, for the purpose of invalidating the evidence in favour of her perpetual virginity, that devout and judicious commentator, Albert Barnes, had said (*in loc.*)—"The evangelist means to say, that he knew her not, until she had brought forth her first son,"—why, all the Popish high priests, and scribes, and interpreters, would have exclaimed (and very justly) against the unfairness and baselessness of such an assertion. But is it less uncandid, or less absurd, to insist upon maintaining their own view of this question, in spite of an intimation so clear and so irrefragable? Supposing it were recorded in the Annual Register that, "Cardinal Wiseman did not arrogate to himself the title of Archbishop of Westminster," such a statement would of course imply, that his Eminence never was so presumptuous as to assume that title at all; but if the statement were, that he never did so, *until* the Bishop of Rome issued a wicked and usurping bull for establishing such a pretended see, posterity would naturally infer (however inconsistent such a course might appear to be with the duty of a British subject towards the British throne), that *then*, though not before, such an unlawful and unprovoked act of aggression had really been committed. I may mention, besides this, the assertion of one evangelist, that "neither did his brethren believe in him;" and of another, who represents many as saying, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses, and of Jude and Simon? and are not his sisters with us?" It seems to be as clear from the latter passage that he was the brother of James (whom Paul calls the Lord's brother), as that he was the son of Mary. It appears to be an outrage against common sense, as well as against all the canons of fair and sound criticism, to maintain that, in these passages, "brother" or "sister" means cousins-

german. The argument of John would be weak and unsatisfactory, indeed, if he had stated, that "neither did his cousins believe in him;" and although it might surprise and offend prejudiced Pharisees to see that he possessed so much power and wisdom, when his brothers and sisters were not in any way distinguished by a similar intellectual superiority, there would be far less ground for their astonishment, if founded on the consideration, that these amazing gifts were not enjoyed by the sons of his father's sister, or by the daughters of his mother's brother. When our Lord exclaims, "Behold my mother and my brethren!" is not the beauty of the passage sadly marred if we substitute "cousins" for brethren, as well as if we have recourse to a similar change in the subsequent condescending declaration, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my cousin-german, or second-cousin, or mother!"

Not contented, however, with having sought out many inventions in reference to Mary herself, the Pope has called upon the church to give heed to fables and genealogies with respect to her pretended progenitors. I believe, however, that Levi, Panther, Barpanther, and Joachim, the alleged ancestors of Mary, are, in Jewish history at least, as apocryphal as are, in the Scottish annals, Amberkeleth, Feritharis, Fethelmacus, and Dornadilla; but Joachim, we are plainly told, was the father of Mary, and Ann, his wife, her mother; that after they had been long childless, the high priest Issachar having reproached Joachim with this misfortune, the poor man was ashamed to return home, but an angel announced both to him and to his wife that they should have a daughter. According to some, a kiss from her husband was sufficient to make the highly-favoured mother conceive; but St Bernard lays it down as the opinion of the church, that Mary, although she was delivered, being a virgin, was not brought into the world by a virgin (*Epist.* 174). Epi-phanus, who flourished about the year 370, and is one

of the most credulous of the patristic authorities, is the earliest author by whom this fable is brought forward, on the authority of tradition and of a spurious legend, which also mentions, that Zacharias was struck dumb in the temple, because he had seen there a man in the shape of an ass. Augustine (iii. p. 644) refuses to admit this story as an argument against him, "because it is not canonical." In truth, it seems only to be a very awkward and clumsy imitation of the Scripture narrative; and had the fact been true, it seems highly improbable, that the Holy Ghost would not have inspired one, at least, of the evangelists to have written it for our learning; and yet both Joachim and Ann have been gravely booked in the calendar,—the husband since 1622, whilst the wife was more fortunate in respect of precedence, having been gazetted in 1584. A certain village in Brittany is famous for an image of St Ann; it was revealed in 1625 where this treasure was to be found, and it performed several great miracles as soon as it was dug up. Alms enough were collected to build a beautiful church to the image, and indulgences were granted from Rome for those who, out of devotion, visited it. So important are these pseudo saints deemed by the apostate church, that a violent controversy was maintained in the sixteenth century, between Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated writer, and certain Dominican monks, on this grave and important question, whether St Ann had three husbands, and a child by each, or only one husband, and one daughter by him. On all these matters the Scripture is profoundly silent, although they must have taken place (if at all) before any of the events which are there narrated, and where, had they really happened, they would no doubt have been recorded also.

Supposing that Mary and Jesus were (if I may so express myself) to change places in the sacred record—that it was to Mary that all the prophets bore witness; that she was predicted as the desire of nations; that we

were told, that at the name of Mary every knee should bow and every tongue confess; that her discourses and her miracles were the chief theme of the four evangelists; that she had for our sins been by wicked hands crucified and slain, and afterwards ascended up on high, and led captivity captive; that Jesus, on the other hand, had done no sign or wonder; that little was stated concerning him in the gospels, nothing in the Acts, nothing in the apostolic epistles, and that he was only spoken of as the son of Mary. I ask, whether the divines connected with any church would not have been most justly taxed with being guilty of an unpardonable sin, if they had, after the expiration of several centuries, presumed to inculcate as a tenet, the rejection of which involved eternal damnation, that Jesus, who did not a single miracle during his life, had been performing since his death a greater number of signs and wonders, than are recorded in holy writ as having been performed by his divine mother, and that although Mary invited all transgressors to come to her, no one was entitled to do so without invoking her son's intercession? Would not a worshipper of the divine Mary have indignantly asked, was Jesus crucified for him, or was he baptized in the name of Jesus? Would not the priests, in such a state of matters, have been taxed with idolatry, if they had placed Ireland under the patronage and protection of Jesus, whilst neglecting the weightier matters of Mary's sacrifice and supremacy? This, my dear friends, *mutatis mutandis*, is precisely what Rome has done in reference to the Son of God and the Virgin Mary. They have ascribed to her such prerogatives as it is blasphemous in any creature to assume or to confer. But whilst they, in the impotence of their blind and impious bigotry, anathematize all true believers, who rely exclusively on Jesus, and who repudiate their superstitious figments with respect to Mary, let *us* look up unto Him, and unto Him only, as the author and finisher of our faith; that whilst admitting all that the Scriptures tell us

concerning his mother, and nothing more, "believe we may have life through *His* name, who in all things hath the pre-eminence, and is all our salvation and all our desire."

III.—SAINT-WORSHIP.

THE worship or invocation of deceased believers, is a practice of which the Word of God does not present the slightest vestige. John the Baptist was put to death during Christ's personal ministry; but although there had not risen a greater among them that are born of women, our Lord did not appoint any day to be observed in his honour, nor did the apostles ever exclaim, *Sancte Johannes, ora pro nobis*. James, the brother of John, was killed by the sword for the sake of the gospel; but Peter, the vicar of Christ, did not exercise on his behalf, or on that of Stephen the protomartyr, that power of canonization which has, in later times, been arrogantly assumed, and lavishly exercised, by his self-constituted representatives. We must either suppose, that our Lord and his apostles were deficient in respect and gratitude for the memory of the most eminent of God's servants, or that the Papists have sought out an invention which is unwarrantable and unscriptural. Paul and Peter often beg an interest in the prayers of living saints; but never, in any instance, solicit the intercession, or rely on the merits, of the dead. They were, no doubt, conscious (if, indeed, the notion of doing either ever entered into their heads, which I very much doubt), that it would be as foolish and as criminal to go about to establish the righteousness of departed fellow-sinners, as to rely upon their own works, in whole or in part, as a ground of acceptance at the bar of divine justice. When Paul speaks of believers being "come to the spirits of the just made perfect," by which expression he signifies, that they were all members of the same mystical body,

he does not say one word as to any intercourse subsisting between the saints in heaven and their brethren on earth, or any services which the one could render to the other. On the subject of the images of departed worthies the apostle says nothing. In fact, the word "image" is never employed in the evangelists, except on one single occasion, when our Lord asks a question about the "image" on a piece of money. In the Acts it is also a *απαξ λεγόμενον*, and is only used in reference to the "image," not of the Virgin Mary, but of the great goddess Diana. In the plural it never occurs once in the New Testament, nor are the words "painting" or "picture" found either in the plural or the singular. "Image," though used eleven times in the Epistles, is never associated with any expressions indicative of worship or respect towards the dead; and although it presents itself to our notice eight times in the Apocalypse, it always stands in a very unenviable juxtaposition, being invariably connected with "the beast;" and we are told of the noisome and grievous sore, which fell on the men which had the mark of the beast, and worshipped his image. Without stopping to inquire, who are the parties whom this plague may be expected to invade, it cannot, at all events, affect us Presbyterians, in none of whose temples a martyr's image is worshipped, or a dead saint's aid invoked.

In our Lord's striking and awful parable of the rich man and Lazarus, no encouragement is held out to the belief, that the dead are allowed to interfere in matters pertaining to sublunary transactions. "Moses and the prophets" are referred to as the only sources from which knowledge of the way of salvation can be expected or derived. Of tradition, or miracles, or aid from the departed, Abraham says nothing,—he neither volunteers to make any personal effort nor sanctions the suggestion of Lazarus being sent to awaken sinners to repentance; he even expressly states, that such a messenger from the tomb would not be believed, if Moses and the prophets

were despised. Of what avail, then, can it be to implore the countenance, protection, or guidance of saints or martyrs, when the law and the testimony are placed within our reach, and the aid of the Holy Spirit promised to guide us into all truth, through their instrumentality? We have, both in point of precept and example, abundant Scripture warrant for asking the counsel, or soliciting the prayers, of the living; but where is any similar authority found for making similar applications to the departed? I have no doubt, that Sir Harry Smith would gladly consult Lord Hardinge or Lord Gough, in regard to the conduct of the Caffre war; but would he ever think of kneeling before a portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, to receive directions from him, or think that he should ensure an easy victory by having in his possession a full-bottomed wig of Prince Eugene? My friend Chief Baron Pollock would, in any important and complicated case, be happy to talk over its difficulties with Sir Edward Sugden or Lord Campbell; but he would not think of spreading his notes of the counsel's elaborate pleadings before a bust of Lord Coke, or a portrait of Lord Eldon, although he would no doubt consult their recorded opinions in analogous cases with satisfaction and advantage. Dr Simpson might deem it right, in any perplexing emergency, to call in the aid of Dr Alison or Professor Gregory; but I should be much astonished if I heard that my distinguished friend had made a pathetic appeal to a picture of Hippocrates or Harvey, and that either of these departed worthies had stepped from his canvas, and fallen a-prescribing.

I am at a loss to discover why believers, who rely on the merits of the Redeemer, which on all hands are admitted to be infinite, should be condemned to eternal flames for repudiating every addition to a fund of which they are in possession, and which they know to be inexhaustible. It is as if a Christian, to whom God guaranteed everlasting bliss, should not feel satisfied or

tranquillized, unless a fortnight were superadded to the promised eternity. It seems to me to be wholly unnecessary, and even altogether derogatory to the glorious Redeemer, whose work is not only finished, but perfect, either to solicit the aid of creature-intervention, or to place one particle of reliance on creature-righteousness.

If a nobleman's palace were on fire, and an engine were playing upon the burning edifice, which was admitted on all hands to supply as much water as would prove more than sufficient to extinguish the conflagration, it would not be accounted either foolish or dangerous to decline being encumbered with the help of a hundred officious auxiliaries, who hurried to the spot armed with squirts and with watering-pans.

When angels are invoked by the slaves of superstition, is there one amongst those blessed intelligences who would hesitate to exclaim, "See thou do it not?" And if apostles, saints, and confessors could return for a season to this world, and were to see thousands invoking THEIR aid in seasons of peril and anxiety, would they not "rend their clothes, and run in among the people, saying, Sirs, why do ye such things? we also were men of like passions with you." Would not Paul exclaim, "Plead not any merits of mine. Was I not a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious? Did I not hale men and women to prison? Did I not do many things contrary to the name of Jesus?" Would Peter be less urgent in deprecating all reliance upon himself? Would he not say, "Trust not in me, who denied my Lord with cursing and swearing,—deem not me infallible, whom my beloved brother Paul withstood to the face, because I was to be blamed?" If he could enter Rome at the present moment, and see his pretended successor crushing with the bayonets of foreign infidels every attempt to restore religious liberty or proclaim religious truth, O with what holy indignation would he shake the dust from off his feet for a testimony against him! If, in revisiting this world for a single day, he

were to be ushered into that proud and stately edifice, in which candles and crucifixes, beads and bones, incense, pictures, and splendid vestments, are substituted for such solemn and spiritual rites as prevailed during his own lifetime, would not his spirit be stirred within him, or his soul melt for heaviness? How much would his mind be invigorated, and his heart consoled, if he were afterwards to enter one of the plain and unostentatious fabrics which, in strict conformity with "primitive antiquity," our pious and sober-minded forefathers bequeathed to us as our most precious and most sacred inheritance, and in which not only great plainness of speech, but unadorned simplicity of worship, are the blessed channels through which spiritual instruction is tendered to man, and spiritual worship presented to God!

It is recorded—no matter where—that three occupiers of extensive farms, in consequence of reckless extravagance and rash speculations, were reduced to a state of hopeless insolvency. The landlord, who was an austere man, when the rent-day arrived, and he began to reckon, found that they had not to pay, and therefore gave strict orders for the sale of all they had, in order that payment might be made. A certain nobleman, however, who had lately returned to the neighbourhood from a far country, where he had received for himself large possessions, and who had known them all from their infancy, had compassion on them, and said, "Be of good cheer, and come unto me. I know that you are weary of your foolish courses, and heavy laden with debt, but still there is hope concerning this thing. I have found a ransom. Come unto me to-morrow morning. You know I am a man of my word, and I will give each of you a bill or a draft upon my banker for the entire amount of your incumbrances." The first, transported with joy, and overflowing with confidence, instantly took his lordship at his word. "To whom," said he, "should I go but to him who has freely tendered to me so great a boon, without asking either interest or

repayment?" He accordingly hastened to the hall with alacrity at the appointed hour. To him the porter opened. He required no patronage or intercession,—he was welcomed at once with a benignant smile,—asked and received,—sought and found,—the entire sum which he needed from the hand of his disinterested benefactor, and went on his way rejoicing. The second, however, was more cautious, and less confiding. "I am aware that his lordship is a nobleman who devises liberal things,—his word, they say, is as good as his bond, and his credit unlimited; but great men cannot always be depended on. It is possible he may not have been in earnest, or it is not unlikely he may change his mind, and I may meet with a repulse after all. I am resolved what I will do. His lordship's mother, Lady Bountiful, is a most excellent and charitable woman. I can't do better than pin my faith upon her. I hear it reported that she has thousands of crowns, and half-crowns too, at her disposal. If I can only secure her good word with her son, the thing is as good as done, and in her case it is quite unnecessary to be recommended or introduced. Oh, as good luck would have it, here she comes! May it please your ladyship, your noble son has volunteered to make me a present of a sum of money sufficiently large to extinguish all my debts, and he desired me, nay, he made it an express stipulation, that I should come directly to himself, and never so much as hinted that I should be the better of your ladyship's good word; but I must own that I feel more inclined (between ourselves) to rely on your ladyship's goodness than on his lordship's. I know that your ladyship can make him do what you please, though I have heard that on one occasion he asked what he had to do with you. But if your ladyship will only put in a good word for me, I am certain I shall succeed; and, in return, your ladyship shall not find me ungrateful, for if you will only condescend to let Mrs Dexter come to take your measure, I shall be proud to present to your

ladyship a pair of Bloomer pantalettes of the richest silk, and of the newest fashion."

The third bankrupt thought himself wiser and more excellent than either of his neighbours; for, after preferring his petitions and tendering his gifts to "her ladyship," he lost no time in descending to the housekeeper's room, in order to secure the interest of that important functionary, and of the butler. "Corkscrew," says he, "my dear Corkscrew, I have often found you a friend in need ere now; and you, most worthy Mrs Abigail, are just the person on whose shoulders it is safe to ride through the water in a storm. You can both render me a most essential service, if you will only be kind enough to stir up your noble master's pure mind by way of remembrance, that he may be mindful of his promise to clear off all my debts. Most punctual and conscientious man as I firmly believe him to be, I apprehend that his memory is scarcely as much to be depended on as yours; and, besides, if he gives me a bill for the amount, although I know he is as good as the Bank of England, it won't, at all events, be the worse of being indorsed by both of you. Pray, pardon me if I withdraw for a few minutes, I'll return again directly; but one can't have too many irons in the fire, or too many strings to one's bow; and therefore I am just going down to the kitchen, that I may ask Martha Mop, the chambermaid, and Kitty Crust, the under-scullion (neither of whom can read or write), to put their crosses behind their master's bill; for I am sure they have each a snug little account at the savings' bank, and, as the old proverb has it, every little helps. You may also be assured, that I am not the man to leave your kindness unrequited. You, friend Corkscrew, may rely upon getting a new Kossuth hat, and a box of Havannah cigars; and I have brought for Mrs Abigail four pounds of gunpowder tea, just newly imported from St Petersburg."

I am persuaded better things, my dear friends, of your acuteness and intelligence, than to imagine that you

would require me to declare to you this parable. You will, I am sure, agree with me in contending, that the nobleman must have been better pleased with the man who took him promptly at his word, and relied implicitly on his promise, than with those who had recourse to the intervention of his mother and servants, which obviously implied, on their part, a want of confidence in his own ability or readiness to save them from ruin. And must not this be also the case with our omnipotent and all-gracious Redeemer? Why do we have recourse to him at all, but because he invites every weary and heavy-laden sinner to come directly to himself—to come to him without hesitation—to come to him without delay? “No man,” says he, “cometh to the Father, but by me.” But where has he added, no man cometh unto me, but by my mother? or where has he appointed either saints or angels as indispensable channels for ushering the penitent into his own adorable presence? He, who is a jealous God, and who will not give his glory to another, will never sanction or accept the tender of a divided allegiance. It will in his sight be not less sinful to plead, either in whole or in part, as a ground of acceptance, the intercession or merits of mortals, who were subject to like passions with ourselves, and who, instead of having, in any case, superabundant righteousness to spare, had in no instance enough for achieving their own salvation, than to be willing to justify ourselves, on the solemn day of reckoning, by enumerating the duties we have fulfilled, the temptations we have overcome, or the services we have performed.

Being old enough to remember the battle of Waterloo, I have not forgotten what a profusion of honours were showered down upon the generals, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who had distinguished themselves on that glorious occasion. Peerages, ribbons, pensions, and medals, were distributed far and wide. I recollect, also, how much jealousy and dissatisfaction was excited (and perhaps not unreasonably) in the minds of

many old and weatherbeaten veterans, whose services, though perhaps equally important, had not been equally rewarded. *I* was at the taking of Seringapatam. *I* was aide-de-camp to Lord Lake. *I* lost an arm at Torres Vedras. *I* brought home the news of the surrender of Martinique; and yet what honour and dignity have been done to *us*? The king's servants that ministered unto him might have said, "There is nothing done for *them*." Now *I* must say, that if there be *animis cœlestibus in*e, the noble army of martyrs, and the goodly fellowship of the prophets under the Old Testament dispensation, have just reason to complain, that they, whose exertions and exploits were prior in point of date, and superior in point of importance, to those of many saints who flourished in later times, have been excluded from the "honour and dignity" of canonization. The high priest of the Jews was not, indeed, invested with the office of grandmaster to the celestial order of sainthood; and the Pope, to whom alone appertains that high prerogative (which Cephas may perhaps have possessed, but *certainly* never exercised), informs us, that "the souls of the patriarchs, prophets, and other saints, who had died in grace before the coming of Jesus Christ, were in limbo, and had no need of purifying, but could not enter into paradise before Christ by his death opened the gate of life eternal." Moses and Elias, to be sure, appeared with him in glory; but the time of beatification was not yet. His Holiness, however, further tells us, that our Lord "carried with him the holy fathers who were in limbo." Are they not, then, *I* ask, fully warranted in complaining, that their merits have been overlooked, and that, in the heavenly college of heralds, their names and armorial bearings have not occupied the prominent place to which they were entitled. Why should St Abel, St Enoch, St Moses, St David, not be invoked as well as St Serapion and St Scholastica? Are the miracles of St Martin or St Melchizedec more conspicuous, or better authenticated,

than those of St Elijah or St Elisha, on whom I may, perhaps, *honoris causâ*, or by *courtesy*, be permitted to bestow that enviable appellation? It is no doubt true, that almost every department, in heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth, is already monopolised by some male or female saint, whose day of reception is duly notified in the calendar. One is a "god of the hills," and another "of the valleys"—*hic multum in Fabiâ valet, ille Velinâ*.

Religion in Portugal is kept alive by images, like a fire perpetually supplied with fuel. They have a saint for every thing. One saint preserves from lightning, another from fire, a third clears the clouds, and so on,—a salve for every sore. It is a fine religion for an enthusiast; for one who can let his feelings remain awake, and opiate his reason.—(*Letters of Southey from Lisbon*, ii. 72, 1800.)

At Vienna is a statue of St Christopher on the bridge. Three grains of his leg, taken in a glass of water, are a sovereign cure for the ague; and poor St Christopher's legs are almost worn out by the extent of the practice. Torres Vedras is the place where Father Anthony of the wounds died—a man suspected of sanctity. The pious mob attacked his body, stripped it naked, cut off all his hair, and tore up his nails to keep for relics. I have seen relics of all the saints, yea, a thorn from the crown of crucifixion, and a drop of the redemption blood.—(*Southey*, ii. 130.)

St Anthony of Padua presides over the piscatory department, and, I dare say, occupied a prominent place in the affections of Isaac Walton. Southey (ii. 86) describes a procession in honour of this illustrious saint, in which he speaks of the "trappings" with which the horses were adorned, and adds, that it was "a perfect puppet-show." The large idols were carried upon men's shoulders; there were two negro saints carried by negroes. Mr Soltan of Clapham is not the proto-martyr to the torture of bell-ringing, which the multi-

plicity of saints' days so much contributes to increase. Everlasting noise (says Southey) is another characteristic of Lisbon. Their Monday fire-works, their cannonading on every fool's pretext, their bells to every goat in a flock, and every mule in a drove, prove this, above all, their everlasting bell-ding-donging,—for bell-ringing would convey the English idea of music,—and here it is only noise. A merchant, not far from my uncle's, has a private chapel, from whence his bells annoy the whole neighbourhood. The English hotel, till lately, was near him, and the invalids were disturbed, and, of course, injured, by the noise. They sent to state this, and request that he would have the goodness to dispense with the bell-ringing. He returned for answer, that the prince had given him leave to have a private chapel, and his bells should ring in spite of any body. I would have this fellow hung up by the heels as a clapper to Great Tom of Lincoln, and punish him in kind.—(*Southey*, ii. 82.)

The principle of "development" (I may add), in reference to miraculous legends, is strikingly exemplified in the case of the discourse delivered by St Anthony of Padua, to an assembly of fish, as extracted in Italian by Addison (vol. v. p. 172), from a life of that eminent saint, which "they sell at Padua, and which is read with great devotion." This edifying incident had, during several centuries, been depicted on canvas by many eminent artists, with much diversity in the mode of representing it. In the 17th century, however, under the pontificate of Urban VIII., the prior of a rich convent at Venice offered a large sum of money to a very distinguished painter, for a striking and surprising delineation of this wonderful scene. The artist was anxious to do justice to his subject, to his patron, and to himself. Borrowing a hint from the original history, the fish were represented as "ranging themselves, according to their several species, into a very beautiful congregation, and, like so many rational creatures, presenting themselves before him to hear the Word of

God." Whales and whittings, soles and salmon, dolphins and John d'Orys, were drawn up in mute and motionless groups. But the most prominent figure was a large lobster, which was standing with uplifted claws in the immediate vicinity of the boat, from which the saint was pouring forth that stream of eloquence, which still continues to flow in the pages of his Italian biographers. This lobster, however, was painted *red*, which excited no small astonishment, and some indignation, in the mind of the worthy prior; for, when the work was placed before him, "How could you think," said he, "of introducing such an absurdity as a boiled lobster swimming in the midst of the ocean?" "O, my lord," replied the artist, "this was a new idea of my own, to render the miracle the greater!" It was soon afterwards ascertained, that the painter had judged very correctly in giving a *red* colour to the lobster, as he had been nominated "*sub annulo piscatoris*," a *Cardinal* to preside over the submarine congregation of the faithful, by the title of "*St Peter ad hamum*;" and that he officiated in a spacious cathedral at the bottom of the Mediterranean, which is believed to exist at the present moment, and which contains, amongst other relics, seven backbones, eleven eyes, and a tail in high preservation of the fish which were miraculously multiplied, a fragment of the "broken pieces of the ship" in which St Paul and his companions escaped all safe to land, and the identical hook with which St Peter caught the fish, from the mouth of which he extracted the tribute-money—and from which the piscatory cardinal has for several centuries taken his title.

St Antony, the hermit of Egypt (who must be as carefully distinguished from his namesake as Dromio of Syracuse from Dromio of Ephesus), has a church dedicated to him near Santa Maria Maggiore; and on his feast day, and for eight days thereafter, there is a special service in his honour, with the ceremony of blessing animals. As for St Gregory (I mean Hilde-

brand, not *Thaumaturgus*—*Antipholis* of *Ephesus*, not *Antipholis* of *Syracuse*), I suppose that he and *St Dunstan* continue to preside in heaven over the same department of excommunication and deposition, by which they merited their present high pre-eminence.

“*Cuilibet hic fasces dabit, eripiet que curule,
Cuilibet importunus ebur.*”

Though all, of course, will yield to *Mary*, the universal saint,

“*Tibi numine ab omni
Cedetur, jurisque tui natura relinquet
Quis Deus esse velis, ubi regnum ponere mundi.*”

“Who can doubt,” says a Popish writer in 1828, “but that the blessed *Virgin*, so liberal and magnanimous, of so many crowns of glory which she has at her disposal, will keep one for him who, with unwearied constancy, shall have applied himself to offer to her garlands?” I do think, however, that *St Rahab*, *St Judith*, *St Deborah*, *St Leah*, *St Rachel*, and, above all, *St Eve*, the “mother of all living,” might, with great propriety, be appointed to superintend subordinate departments in *Mary’s* extensive dominion. They, or at least the most distinguished amongst them, might, with no small credit to themselves, and no small advantage to sinners, have, like *St Francis of Assisi*, a church dedicated to them (either conjointly or severally), by simply entering which, any one and every one might “obtain the remission of all his sins, on simple confession, without performing any penance, or making any oblation. This is called the pardon of *Assisi*, and was granted to *St Francis* by our Saviour in person.” It would be well if a church, endowed with the same prerogative, could be erected in every country, or rather in every district, as the necessity of attrition and contrition would be quite superseded. At all events, no time should be lost in laying out lines of railroad from every quarter of the globe to *Assisi*. Special trains would, I have no doubt, be in great request, if penitents could only be persuaded

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to believe, that their sins could be atoned for by so pleasant and easy an expedient.

One of the latest brevets, in which the promotions in the church triumphant have been gazetted at Rome, contains the following enumeration of the grounds on which the "good-service pension," and rank of canonization, were awarded to a certain Maria Francisca in 1839:—"She walked unassisted, when six months old, to a picture of the Trinity, and, 'with many signs of reverence, remained as if enchanted before it.' When grown up, God gave her to know, *ab intra*, that he desired to be espoused to her, Jesus frequently appeared to her as a beautiful infant, and in 1694 married her, actually placing the nuptial ring on her finger. 'In 1696, her loving spouse rewarded her love and constancy by a wound, which he made in his heart.' In the 'holy infant's hand she seemed to see a golden rod, tipped with fire; he placed the opposite end against his own heart, and the point against hers, which was pierced through and through.' A linen cloth which she put to the wound was immediately covered with blood; and when she examined the wound, by the order of her confessor, she found it was large enough to admit the blade of a good-sized knife. The 'evidence' for these figments was adduced in the processes which preceded her canonization at Rome, along with five others."

I should almost feel inclined to ask,—when informed on this occasion, as in so many other instances, that Jesus, who was crucified at the age of thirty-three, appeared as a beautiful infant,—how can a man be born again when he is old? Did Christ enter the second time into his mother's womb to be born, and again be manifested as a child? Was ever a statement palmed upon the world more replete with blasphemous absurdity? Is it possible that any man not bereft of his senses can gravely kneel before the altar, and call on *such* saints to pray for him? Is it from such knavish or crackbrained exchangers as these that a sober-minded man, woman,

or child, would dream of purchasing an I O U, and expect, when he presented it to be cashed at the celestial bank, that he would receive his own with usury, even if indorsed by the respectable firm of Januarius, Tamisier, Addolorata, & Co.? When George III. was almost assassinated by a maniac named Margaret Nicolson, the tide of loyal addresses flowed in copiously from all quarters, and honours were so unsparingly and indiscriminately lavished on many mayors and members of corporations, that the term, "Peg Nicolson's Knight," was for some time a bye-word and a reproach. It was, I believe, about that period that a gallant officer, who had distinguished himself in a naval engagement, was asked, whether the honour and dignity of knighthood would be agreeable to him? "Nothing," replied he, "but the sentence of a court-martial shall induce me to submit to it." Now, I think that the Pope's saints and Peg Nicolson's knights are much on a par. Neither of these constitute the sort of *corps*, at the head of which any sensible man would like to march through Coventry. But that body is surely the most degraded, in which Hildebrand and Dominic are transferred into angels of light, and exalted to the highest rank in that kingdom which neither murderers, nor thieves, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit. The Indians, when expiring under the tortures inflicted by Popish bigotry, deprecated all connection with paradise, if Spanish tyrants and tormentors found admission there. A heaven peopled by Popes, Inquisitors, and Jesuits, would, to every true believer in Jesus, be not less unwelcome as an abode throughout eternity.

It is surely obvious, my dear friends, that an archer, who is satisfied with having one string to his bow, has more confidence in the strength of that string, than a brother sportsman who insists upon having two, and, *a fortiori*, than a third, who thinks it necessary to provide himself with fifty. The Pope, who anathematizes us for trusting in Christ alone, and places any share of his

reliance on the Virgin and the saints, seems as insatiable as the sailor who, when asked what he should fix upon if the fulfilment of three wishes were conceded to him, replied, "I would first have all the rum in the world; next, all the tobacco in the world; and, in the third place" (after a pause and considerable hesitation),—"more rum." Very similar is the case of the vicar of Christ (or, should I not rather say, of the vicar of Mary?) when he insists upon having "more righteousness," in addition to the merits of Christ, which he admits to be infinite, and to his intercession, which he cannot deny to be all-prevailing.

Januarius, we are informed, in the dreadful eruption of Vesuvius of 1631, when a pious cardinal, accompanied by all the nobility and clergy, carried the sacred head and blood to the gate, and saved Naples from destruction. The thickening clouds, which were approaching, withdrew as soon as his Eminence made the sign of the cross towards the infuriated mountain with the holy phials; and I must confess, that I am partly constrained to believe in this well-authenticated statement, because I entertain no doubt of a similar destruction having been averted from the same city, by the same considerate and all-powerful saint, when the French republican troops took possession of Naples. The blood not having liquefied in the usual manner on the usual day, the populace became violently excited against the French; but no sooner had the commander-in-chief planted a battery of artillery opposite the church door, and declared that, unless the miracle was accomplished in a quarter of an hour, he would knock down the church, than the saint, who had until then been so regularly given, at stated seasons, to the melting mood, relented on behalf of the city, where he had so long been proud to be the tutelary genius, the blood assumed its liquid form, and the cannon, like the mountain, was appeased.

It is surely a gross and palpable exemplification of what Paul calls voluntary humility, and worshipping of

angels, when every sinner may have free access to the throne of grace through the one Mediator, who has said, No one cometh unto the Father but by me (and consequently not through the merits or intercession of Cephas, or Mary, or Alfonso, or Ursula), to say, I am not worthy to come to Christ, but must, so to speak, apply through a mediator for his mediation. Is not the Pope vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and does he not intrude into those things which he hath not seen, when he canonizes a Jesuit, or beatifies a Carthusian, with as much *nonchalance*, or as little ceremony, as he nominates his right trusty and entirely beloved proselyte, the learned member for Youghall, to be a knight of the Golden Spur; or as Lord Truro promotes Walter Wiggins and Salathiel Shortreed, Esqs., to be masters extraordinary in the Court of Chancery? I am quite aware, that, as a candidate for admission into the aristocratic chapters of Mentz or Magdeburgh, required to make out his sixteen quarters, so the posthumous dignity of saintship is only conferred upon such worthies, as can be proved to have, during their earthly pilgrimage, performed a certain *minimum* of miracles. But it seems to me altogether antisciptural to consider the performance of signs and wonders to be a necessary or even an important element in estimating the excellence of any Christian character. Our Lord has declared, not except a man perform miracles, but except a man be born again, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. When the eternal King of glory says, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," he welcomes those who fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and came to those who were in prison, but not one word of invitation is addressed to the performers of miracles. Nay, he even tells us, on one occasion, that to some who claim admission to heaven on the ground of having cast out devils, and done many wonderful works *in his name*, he shall reply, "I never knew you!" If, however, it be indispensable (as I am now contend-

ing) to love our God and Redeemer with the whole heart, and ascribe our salvation exclusively to his merits and mediation, I again ask, how the Papist can be said to obey this injunction, when he attributes any part of his deliverance to the prayers and righteousness of canonized or beatified mortals? If a patient trusts his cure *exclusively* to the care and treatment of that eminent and accomplished physician Dr Holland, he may with truth be said to manifest complete faith in his skill and experience; but if he, *pro majori cautela*, encumbers himself with the help of half-a-dozen country apothecaries, and lays in a large stock of Morison's pills, and has frequent recourse to Holloway's ointment, the mercury of the thermometer which indicates the degree of his reliance on Dr Holland's prescriptions would soon descend below the freezing point. I must also again be permitted to observe, that in the College of Saints, one is often surprised, when considering both the admissions and the exclusions, *factos aliquos, et non factos miramur*. They are indeed so numerous, that the Pope seems to have said, as Cardinal Mazarin did in reference to the title of *Due à Brevet*, I intend to make so many, that it shall be disgraceful to be, and disgraceful *not* to be, a saint; and I fear, that the awards of the infallible judge will often give as little satisfaction, either in the armies of heaven, or amongst the inhabitants of the earth, as the recent decisions of juries at the close of the Great Exhibition, and that many respectable saints would return the silver medal of beatification, because others, whose merits have been less conspicuous, or whose miracles have been less numerous, have been honoured with the gold medal of canonization. I am, moreover, inclined to contend, that no true believer would be disposed to ground upon the performance of miracles, his own claim to be reckoned amongst them who are "sanctified in Christ Jesus and called." Judas and Simon the sorcerer probably exercised that power. But the apostles, in their epistles, appeal much oftener to the holi-

ness of their lives, and to the strength of their faith, than to the frequency or certainty of their miracles. "It is somewhat remarkable," says Gibbon, "that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St Malachi, never takes any notice of his own, which in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there exist a single instance of a saint asserting, that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?" and it has been justly observed by Bishop Douglas, that, in the course of a ten years' correspondence in reference to his labours amongst the Hindoos, Xavier never makes the slightest allusion to his alleged possession of miraculous powers, and he laments, that his ignorance of their language prevented him from doing any good amongst these poor people; whereas, in the primitive times, when miracles were really performed, the gift of tongues, which was the most essential, was also the most commonly imparted by the infinite wisdom of Him, who divideth to every man severally as he will. It is not, I believe, pretended, that this supernatural gift,—which of all others is the most important, not only because it facilitates immediate intercourse with "the barbarous people," but because it cannot possibly be counterfeited, and is consequently, of all others, the most convincing,—has ever been imparted to any Romish missionary, however illustrious a place he may occupy in the saintly army-list; and the substitution of winking images, liquefying blood, or the extending of the metallic hand of a crucifix,—any one of which may be so easily got up for a special purpose, and none of which, in themselves, can answer any useful end,—affords (even supposing such miracles to be genuine) a very paltry and inadequate indemnity for its withdrawal; for (as Bishop Douglas well observes), "Xavier's not being assisted in these respects, would render all other miracles, though he had performed ever so many, of no effect. For unless he could draw consequences from the miracles,—unless he

could explain himself to those who were witnesses of them, they would be as far from being Christians as ever." But whether the saints performed miracles or not, it is perfectly clear, that whosoever trusts in part to them, only renders *pro tanto* a divided allegiance, a divided confidence, a divided gratitude to the great Head of the church; and cannot be said, like the Protestant, who rejects all other aid, and builds on no other foundation, to comply with the first and greatest commandment,—that of loving with the whole heart and soul our gracious and only Saviour, God.

IV.—RELICS.

THERE is, my dear friends, no subject on which there is a more complete discordance between Romanists and Presbyterians, than that of relics. If they are invested with all the value and importance which the Pope ascribes to them, we, who place no confidence whatever in their efficacy, stand very much in our own light, and should be commiserated as well as condemned. Our blindness and obstinacy carry their punishment along with them, since so many of us, and of our nearest connections, are labouring under acute or chronic complaints, which the mere application of a tunic or thigh-bone might at once mitigate or remove. I can scarcely comprehend why so many Roman Catholics visit Carlsbad or Graffenberg, when it is highly probable that the nearest church or convent might supply them with a far simpler and less expensive remedy. In Scotland, alas! the case is widely different. No Protestant place of worship between John o'Groat's and Berwick-upon-Tweed can boast of containing the fang of a saint's tooth, or the phalanx of a martyr's thumb. Were a cargo of such precious amulets, with the inscription, "These are ancient things" (1 Chron. iv. 22), to be imported,

and put up to auction, they would not, amongst Protestants, meet with a single bidder; nor would the most adventurous heretical money-lender advance a single sixpence upon such a pledge, although Henry III., in the 27th year of his reign, ordered a valuable image of Mary to be pawned, to assist in raising funds for carrying on his great works in her chapel. The very correctness of the inscription itself would probably be doubted or denied, and, "These are modern rubbish," substituted in its place. If the bones of a holy abbot or hair-clad ancho-rite were dug up at Dryburgh or Dunfermline, the Presbyterian sextons would part with them to any itinerating Popish osteologist without money and without price, although, whilst pressing the highly-prized boon to his lips, he might shake his head and exclaim, in reference to the thoughtless donors—

"O fortunatus nimium, sua si bona norint."

The heretics, unconscious of the importance of their "*treasure-trove*," would be like the unwary bird, which, while picking up a pearl on a dunghill, contemplated it rather with disappointment than with delight—

"Un jour un coq détourna
Une perle qu'il doma
Au beau premier lapidaire.
Je la crois fine, dit-il,
Mais le moindre grain de mil
Seroit bien mieux mon affaire."

Far different are the feelings of the Romish zealot, whose lucrative and laborious diggings extract the long-concealed osseous ore of bygone centuries from the consecrated California of a moss-grown churchyard. The Greek philosopher, who discovered the solution of a perplexing scientific problem, could not exclaim *εὑρηκα* with more intense complacency. It is perhaps no easy matter to discriminate between "the gold, silver, and precious stones" of saintly relics, and the "wood, hay, and stubble" of such bones as appertain to the skeletons of ordinary mortals. But every man's work

shall be made manifest, for the Pope shall declare it. The authenticity of each tooth or toe shall, so to speak, be revealed by the fire of infallible scrutiny, and that fire shall try every man's discovery of what sort it is, and whether an *os innominatum*, rescued from the dark unfathomed caves of the violated sepulchre, shall be carried in triumph to the cathedral, or consigned with ignominy to the charnel-house.

Let us, however, proceed to consider the grounds on which this system is defended, of deriving from the coffin or wardrobe of the dead these hallowed appliances for curing the diseases, or kindling the devotions, of the living.

In order to test the true value of relics and rotten bones, we have recourse to the practice and example of the earliest period in the church's history. We are not satisfied with appealing to the time when the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch—even this is too modern an epoch to satisfy our antiquarian fastidiousness. We may, in the first place, remark, that the apostles were the daily companions of our Lord during the whole period of his public ministry, and the admiring witnesses of all his miracles; but we are nowhere informed, that they availed themselves of the countless opportunities, which this close and uninterrupted intercourse presented, to solicit, or treasure up, the robes or sandals which he had worn, or any other memorials associated with the remarkable incidents of his life—an omission, which can only be accounted for on the principle, that such objects were endowed, in their estimation, with no intrinsic virtue, and would not be valued, in after ages, by the truly spiritual members of his visible church upon earth.

We may next transport ourselves to the solemn and awful moment of the crucifixion, and ask, "What saith the Scripture?" There never was so favourable a moment for securing, at a low price, and with little trouble, "greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." The robe

and the reed, the spear and the sponge, were of as small importance in the estimation of the Romans, who were wholly given to idolatry, and of the Jews, who were contradicting and blaspheming, as the blood of St Januarius, or the cloak of St Joseph, in the opinion of Voltaire or Thomas Paine. We know, that "a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple, went and begged the body of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 57), and Pilate commanded the body to be delivered." It seems highly probable, that the crown of thorns was at that moment still attached to the Saviour's head, and came into Joseph's possession; or, if not, there can be no doubt that it might have been easily procured. "The soldiers (John xix. 23), when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments and made four parts—to every soldier a part—and cast lots for the coat, which was woven from the top throughout." These articles of apparel were of little value to the owners; and Joseph, being "rich," might, if necessary, have given "large money unto the soldiers" in exchange for them. When Pilate gave the sacred body, without the slightest hesitation, to the "honourable councillor," can we doubt that he would, with equal readiness, have super-added the gift of the cross, which he must have deemed as intrinsically worthless as those of the "two other malefactors led with him to be put to death" (Luke xxiii. 32); or, at all events, it might have been without difficulty purchased from the Lord's "betrayers and murderers," in whose eyes it was only fit to be "hewn down and cast into the fire." But when Joseph "begged the body," he said nothing about the cross; and when all these objects, now deemed so inestimable by the zealots of the modern Church of Rome, might have been almost "had for the asking," or at a very moderate price, none of them are, in any subsequent portion of the sacred volume, so much as named or noticed.

We, Protestants, contemplate with respectful interest the armour of the Black Prince exhibited at the Tower

of London, or the uniform preserved at Greenwich Hospital in which Nelson closed a life of glory. These memorials, however, have been preserved ever since the day, in which these illustrious heroes expired, and were doubtless as much prized by their contemporaries, as by all subsequent generations. If any garments worn by the Redeemer, or his apostles, had been collected and treasured up by their immediate survivors, and accredited by the links of an unbroken tradition, we should have looked upon them with a sincere, though not with a superstitious, veneration, and even then should not have ascribed to them supernatural power or efficacy. But we repudiate the relics, which sacerdotal craft imposes on credulous ignorance, because, as we contend, there is not the slightest proof in Scripture, that they were procured or prized by primitive believers, who had so many of these objects in their own hands, and could have kept them in their own custody. Besides which, as I have just stated, they might have easily procured other articles from the heathens, in whose eyes they possessed neither form nor comeliness, nor any beauty or endearing association, on account of which they should desire to retain them. Our Lord himself was, in the estimation of the Pagans, no better, and in the eyes of the Jews, far worse, than either of the thieves who were crucified with him. *His* cross would, in their estimation, be not one whit more valuable than *theirs*. Peter, too, the prince of the apostles, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, would be regarded by high priests or Roman governors as persons "of the baser sort." The shoes of the one, or the stockings of the other, would by them be as little regarded, as an old gaiter of the prophet Richard Brothers, or a flannel nightcap of Joanna Southcote, would be desired or coveted by those who believe that they were fanatics or impostors.

It is also, I think, worthy of remark, that the memorials of an individual, who has been loved and venerated, are in general more prized by the friends amongst whom

he lived and moved and had his being, than by subsequent generations, to whom he was personally unknown. I admit, that my Uncle Toby entertained a prodigious respect for the boots which his distinguished predecessor had worn at the battle of Marston Moor ; but I think it is highly probable, that they were (if possible) still more esteemed by the son or nephew, who originally laid them by, when the warrior had breathed his last. Some of us may contemplate with high respect the carefully-hoarded ring, in which the hair of an honoured great-grandmother is enclosed ; but the son or husband, by whom it was severed from the head of the departed wife or mother, must have contemplated the precious keepsake with feelings of reverence and respect, in which we ourselves, who live a century or two later, cannot be expected to sympathise ; and if our great-grandfather had omitted to preserve such a token of conjugal affection, it would seem strange if a descendant in the fourth or fifth degree were to open his great-grandmother's coffin, in order to supply the husband's lack of respect. How, then, does it happen, that whilst the contemporaries of the Marys, Johns, and Jameses, who flourished in the first century, are not represented as having set apart any relics of these holy men and women immediately after the accomplishment of their decease at Jerusalem or elsewhere, it should have been reserved for a remote posterity to collect a few uncertain and often spurious fragments of some hallowed objects, the whole of which their immediate survivors might at once, and without any difficulty or ambiguity, have collected and treasured up ? The comparative value of various commodities at different periods has often formed the groundwork of learned and elaborate disquisitions. So far, however, as I am aware, the subject of relics has not yet been formally considered in this point of view. The depreciation in their current price has, I fear, been very considerable since the reign of King Canute, at which period Agilnoth, Archbishop of

Canterbury, on his return from receiving the pallium at Rome in 1022, purchased at Pavia an arm of St Augustine for 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold. His grace made a present of this curious and valuable rarity to Leofric, Earl of Coventry. I question much whether, if the other arm of the saint were now to be disposed of by private contract, the venerable successor of Agilnoth would employ his chaplain in negotiating the purchase, or would deem it an appropriate gift for the Earl of Coventry of the present day; nor would the vestments of a beatified prioress be easily converted into bank notes, without being subjected to the same vulgar process by which ordinary rags undergo that almost miraculous metamorphosis.

The strange custom of preserving the bones of the dead in glass cases or velvet bags, in order to perform miraculous cures or revive devotional feelings, seems to have been a notable invention of the successor of Peter, and not a practice derived from the example or command of the apostle, or of his beloved brother Paul. Joseph gave special commandment concerning his bones, that they should be buried in the grave of his ancestors, and accordingly Moses took them with him, and Joshua buried them in Shechem. A finger of St Peter, and one shoulder of St Stephen, are exhibited unto this day at St Peter's; but not one toe of Joseph was preserved, any more than one hoof of the cattle was left behind in Egypt. Nay, such blinded and bigoted ultra-Protestants were the ancient Jews in this respect, that, although when a dead man was let down into the sepulchre of Elisha and touched his bones, he revived and stood up on his feet, they would not believe, although one rose from the dead; and did not collect the precious bones as objects of adoration, to perform similar cures in after ages; although it might just as well have been argued then, as it has been in our own day, that the performance of a miracle is the very ground on which we are warranted to anticipate the occurrence of many. With

the exception of the bones of malefactors, which were formerly exposed on gibbets, or those which are collected and arranged in museums for instructing students in anatomy, I am not at present aware that any osseous memorials of the dead are preserved, excepting for the purpose of being viewed and venerated by Popish devotees. Nay, it is evident that, amongst the Jews, it was only the bones of wicked men that were ever removed from their resting-places, and that it was accounted sinful, or even sacrilegious, to disturb the remains of the just. Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 16) took bones out of the sepulchres in the mount, and burned them on the altar, to pollute it. But, unlike the infallible head of the Popish Church, when, on asking what title it was that he saw, he was informed that it was "the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah and proclaimed what thou hast done against the altars of Bethel," instead of falling down on his knees, and worshipping the hallowed dust, and giving commandment that the inestimable fragments should be collected as objects of admiration or of worship, the pious monarch said, "Let him alone; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria." Had Peter, or any of the saints whose *fibula* or *os coccygis* has been rent from the grave, and worshipped or caressed by "stupid starers," foreseen what a fate awaited them in after ages, I have no doubt that they would have caused to be engraved upon their tombs, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, an inscription similar to that which (it may be for fear of becoming an object of idolatry at any distant period) our great dramatic bard has recorded at Stratford-upon-Avon:—

"Blest be the man who spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones."

I found, therefore, a presumptive argument as to the worthlessness of relics, upon the indifference manifested

with respect to them by the primitive believers, who witnessed the death, the resurrection, and the ascension of our Lord. No pains are stated to have been taken for collecting them; their loss is as little deplored, as their possession is coveted. If all could not have been procured by entreaty, or purchased for money, surely one or two, at least, might have been rescued or secured. If the sponge could not be obtained by Nicodemus, the spear might have been acquired by Joseph, or the cross, as I have already suggested, might have been got without difficulty from Pilate. If the soldiers were inexorable, and could not be induced to part with the robe, or the raiment, then Peter and John, when they entered the sepulchre, might at once have laid hands on the "linen clothes, and the napkin that was about his head," and bequeathed them as a precious heirloom to the church in all time coming, instead of leaving the devout believer of subsequent ages to be fobbed off with the apocryphal handkerchief of St Veronica, of whom, and of her sudarium (which is exhibited in as many rival cities as contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer), not one syllable is mentioned in the sacred volume. Throughout the entire book of the Acts, and the whole of the canonical Epistles, not a trace is to be found of any public collection, or private museum, in which relics were hoarded or revered; and yet in the inspired historical narrative occasions are alluded to, in which such treasures might have been secured, without any opposition on the part of adversaries or gainsayers. Miraculous cures (Acts xix. 12) were performed by the application of handkerchiefs or aprons, brought from Paul to the sick. How happens it that the individuals, whose health was so surprisingly restored, did not preserve these inestimable tokens of the Divine power and goodness, through which, not only their "diseases" departed, but "the evil spirits went out of them?" If they had done so, there can be little doubt that the fact would have been recorded;

but from the silence of Scripture on this point, it seems to be a fair and legitimate inference, that, in the estimation of "primitive" believers, these articles were endowed with no greater power, when the purpose had been accomplished for which they had been endued for a time with such wondrous efficacy, than the phials which had conveyed medicine to Epaphroditus, when healed of a sickness which brought him nigh unto death, or the bottles in which the wine was conveyed to Timothy, which cured him (as we may hope) of his oft infirmities. I do believe, that the early Christians would have listened to the proposal of setting apart such relics as objects of worship with the same contemptuous astonishment as if an attempt had been made to inclose within a crystal vase, and expose once a-year to the gaze of admiring multitudes on bended knees, "the shadow of Peter" (Acts v. 15), by the "overshadowing" of which many sufferers, laid on beds and couches, were blessed with an entire and immediate recovery. If the Lord had intended that such appliances should be resorted to for strengthening (or, as we should say, perverting) the faith and the fervour of his church, would he not have given special directions for the preservation of such important objects,—just as, under the Old Testament dispensation, there was, by God's express command, a tabernacle made, in which was (Heb. ix. 2) the candlestick, the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant? Can any contrast, moreover, be more striking, than between the conduct of Christ's pretended vicar and representative, and that of godly Hezekiah, of whom it is said (2 Kings xviii. 5), that "after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that went before him." On how many occasions does the former consume incense before graven images, and allow or enjoin others to burn it before himself; whilst the encomium passed on the pious monarch is immediately preceded by this declaration, that "he removed the high places, and brake the

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images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it." Would he then, had he lived in our day, or can any true Christian *now*, without being guilty of sacrilegious impiety, "copiously cense the iron crown at Monza," or bow the adoring knee at the feet of a bambino?

And here it cannot surely be unimportant to consider, what was the course pursued, in reference to relics, by the Lord Jesus Christ himself. What opportunities he enjoyed, not only of collecting, but of creating them! He possessed, but did not exercise, a power which his pretended vicars have exercised, but not possessed,—that of separating the wheat from the chaff—the precious from the vile—the genuine from the spurious. He venerated and he outlived John the Baptist; but he manifested no desire to obtain for himself, nor did he advise his disciples to procure, the bones of the holy fingers by which he had been baptized, or a robe or sandal which the saint had worn. It is probable that, after the daughter of Herodias had presented the Baptist's head to her mother, she would have said,—

"Is he then dead? so is my anger too;"

and she would not have made any objection to its being either buried or embalmed. In fact, we are expressly informed (Matt. xiv. 12), that his disciples took up the body and buried it, without any mention being made of the cemetery to which these precious remains were consigned, which might thus have become a place of resort, or a "station" for future devotees. "John did no miracle" while living, and his disciples did not expect that any such power would appertain to him after his death. On one occasion, indeed, after the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, our Lord commanded his disciples to gather up the fragments, that nothing might be lost; but this was evidently done in order to teach us, that none of the gifts of God, whether ordinary or miracu-

lous, ought to be wasted ; and also, that he never performed a sign or wonder unnecessarily ; for the fragments being preserved and used as food, would suffice them during a considerable part of their journey, without any occasion for a fresh exercise of his divine power. When he “ spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay,” he did not desire the man to retain any portion of it as a memorial of the miracle, or prepare at the time as much as might have enabled him to enrich the museums of the apostles with specimens of the clay, which, in the hands of the omnipotent Potter, had effected such a cure ; nor did the man bring back, in either a new or an old bottle, hermetically sealed, specimens of water from the pool of Siloam, which might have been treasured up *in perpetuam rei memoriam*. On one occasion, the woman whose case had baffled the skill of many physicians, touched his garment, and was healed of her plague. We are not, however, told, that she asked leave to cut off any part of the skirt of his robe, in order to have the great remedy at hand in case of a recurrence of the disease, or attempt to do so privily, as David did in the case of Saul. Neither did the disciples, or any of the spectators who witnessed the miracle, say, “ Lord, ever more give us shreds of this most wondrous panacea ;” in which case, had it really been endowed with any intrinsic efficacy, he might, like Ahi-jah (1 Kings xi. 30) have “ caught the garment that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces” (to every apostle a part), and he doubtless would have performed the office of divider so impartially, that there would have been no strife amongst them which should have the largest share. When he was going up to Jerusalem, and knew that he was about to die, if the clothes which he had worn had possessed the virtue of performing miracles, and were entitled to be treasured up and adored in all time coming, we might have expected to find him, when taking leave of the apostles, giving each

man changes of raiment, and perhaps five changes to the disciple whom he loved ; at all events, handing over to them the sandals which he had worn, and the tools which he had sanctified by working with them, and saying, "Take these, and divide them among yourselves—keep them in remembrance of me." It seems to me not a little remarkable, that, when we now hear so much about the holy coat in Germany, it is never so much as named in any of the transactions which occurred at Jerusalem, in the palmy days of primitive antiquity, and when, as believers were of one mind, they must all have been intent upon collecting relics as objects of worship, or with equal unanimity have undervalued and disregarded them. I should have expected, for instance, that Joses, who, having land, sold it and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet, would have devoted a portion at least of his funds to so sacred and salutary a purpose,—that he would have left no stone unturned to trace out the fortunate possessors of the "holy coat," and, if he found them, would have said, "if ye part with this robe, which can, in your eyes, be of little importance, ye shall receive of me gifts and rewards and great honour,"—nor would he have returned, after pursuing it, until every trace of its existence had disappeared. Joses, however, seems to have thought that he chose the better part for the application of his money, when he (if I may so speak) cast it into the treasury of the sustentation fund, and gave all his goods to feed the poor.

It is believed, or at least asserted, that Rome is in possession of one treasure, which probably outweighs in value the entire contents of the British Museum, namely, the Scala Santa, consisting of twenty-five steps, which is affirmed to be the staircase of Pontius Pilate's house, and consecrated by the feet of our Saviour, who had occasion repeatedly to ascend and descend it during his trial. They are an object of great veneration (Thomson, p. 75), and may not be ascended except on the

knees,—a process of exceeding labour and difficulty, as the hands must not be used to assist. On great feast days, vast numbers thus ascend, and in time the sacred steps were wellnigh worn down ; so that Pope Clement XII. was obliged to cause them to be covered with planks of wood, which have repeatedly been renewed. The four parallel stairs may be ascended and descended in the usual manner. It may be incidentally remarked, that there are two stones on the Appian Way, in each of which (the one being of marble, and the other of basalt) the impression of our Saviour's feet is shown, although he placed them only once on the two steps, which have been thus highly distinguished ; whereas it is not, I believe, contended, that the prints of his sacred feet are to be seen on all or any of the twenty-six steps, on which he so often ascended and descended. I am not aware of the time at which this important acquisition was made, or in what manner, or on what terms, or how the transport was effected, whether by the ministration of angels, or through the humbler and more homely medium of a new cart, such as David used for bringing up the ark. But here again I ask the very natural and not, I think, unreasonable question, "What saith the Scripture?" Is there any statement made as to the peculiar veneration with which this staircase was regarded (for instance) either by the apostles or by any of the 500 brethren who saw the Lord at once after his resurrection? We know that Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. He did so when the even was come, and probably called on Pilate at his own house. If he ascended the staircase in the ordinary mode, there was no necessity to say any thing about it ; but if he climbed up on his knees, without the aid of his hands, it is remarkable that none of the four evangelists should have recorded so signal an instance of his dauntless piety, as he would thus have left us an example that we should follow his steps. Nor would he, in all probability, have gone through this trial of his

faith without a struggle; for if Pilate, or his private secretary, or his groom of the chambers, had seen a grave and respectable Jew clambering awkwardly on his knees up the staircase (instead of making use of his feet, and applying, if necessary, his hands to the balustrade), they would have exclaimed, "Joseph, thou art beside thyself!" with the same mingled feelings of astonishment and compassion, as if they had found him scrabbling on the doors of the gate, and letting his spittle fall down upon his beard. In fact, I cannot help thinking, that if it had been the Lord's will or wish, or that of the primitive church, that this consecrated staircase should be treated in all time coming with such unexampled veneration, he himself, in a vision, or the college of the apostles at Jerusalem, would have warned all believers at all events to put the shoes from off their feet when any business led them to visit the governor's house, and to ascend the sacred steps, or if possible to effect this object on their knees, because the place on which they trod was holy ground. I may add, that, as Joseph appears to have been a friend and favourite of Pilate, we may conclude, that he who so readily granted the greater request, would not have denied the lesser, and that a bargain might, without much difficulty, have been adjusted for the purchase of these precious steps, inasmuch as they could not have been, in Pilate's estimation, more valuable than any others. Joseph therefore might, with every prospect of better success than attended Ahab's proposal to Naboth, have said, "Give me thy staircase, and I will give thee for it a better; or if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money." The new steps would, I dare say, have been (if required) constructed of the finest Parian or Pentelic marble, with twelve lions standing on the one side and on the other. By this arrangement, the holy staircase would have been effectually preserved from being sullied by the profane feet of heathen men and publicans; and the apostles themselves, as well as all other devoted be-

lievers, by ascending on their knees, and descending, as the angels did on Jacob's ladder, might have laid in a large stock of supererogatory merit, and saved many hapless souls from enduring (at least during so large a number of centuries) the vengeance of purgatorial fire.

I cannot help, my dear friends, reiterating my conviction, that the silence observed with respect to relics in the entire volume of the New Testament amounts to an irrefragable proof, that they occupied no place in the esteem, and far less in the worship, of the early believers. Even Simon Magus, who seems to have been very willing to part with his money for such objects as might aid him in appearing to be some great one, seems never to have thought of acquiring or increasing the power of working miracles, by the purchase of such precious commodities. If the primitive saints and martyrs had believed that miracles of the most stupendous character would be performed by their remains, when their decease had been accomplished, they would not have been less generous and public-spirited than that eminent philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, and many other noted individuals in our day, who left directions that their bodies should be given up for dissection, in order that scientific inquiries might thereby be promoted. I contend, then, *a fortiori*, that Stephen the protomartyr would not have failed to bequeath, at all events, his skull to posterity, as a certain as well as easy remedy for all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease; and that James, the brother of John, his fellow-martyr, would not have been one jot or one tittle less benevolent and considerate, but that, instead of resorting to the tedious and costly expedient more generally practised in our degenerate days, of founding hospitals and erecting dispensaries, he would bethink himself, in his expiring moments, of Stephen's bright example, and say, "Lay my bones beside his bones."

I have sometimes thought, that if relics had been deemed as valuable and as efficacious in the first cen-

tury, as they are believed by Papists to be at the present day, the magnificent project devised and carried out by the sagacity and perseverance of an illustrious and popular prince would probably have been forestalled by the wisdom and piety of the "disciple whom Jesus loved." He survived (it is believed) all his colleagues in the apostleship, and must have been perfectly aware of the different countries where their remains had either been interred, or collected as medical amulets for the benefit of future ages. He had the best opportunities, whilst the Mother of God was an inmate of his house, to collect and store up memorials of inappreciable importance. We may well imagine, that whilst she dwelt beneath his roof, the very hairs on her head (now so highly prized by Romanists) would almost be numbered, and not one of them, if possible, suffered to fall on the ground. He was doubtless acquainted with the history of the various saints, who had either laid down their lives for the faith, or terminated their useful career according to the common visitation of all men. Towards the close, therefore, of his long life, at some auspicious interval, during which the church had rest and was edified, I can conceive the apostle forming and following out the sublime and gracious scheme of establishing, it may be at Rome, a "grand exhibition" of relics, at which all nations—Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Cretes and Arabians, besides Britons, Spaniards, and Indians, might have transmitted their respective assortments of bones and bracelets, robes and ringlets, and all other suitable memorials of departed sanctity and service. The osteological department might have been rich and precious, for it would have doubtless contained not only all such relics of our Lord's time, and that of the apostles, as still exist, but many which, through the lapse of time, or the neglect of indifference, have been unhappily suffered

to perish. Instead of having, here and there, *disjecti membra apostoli*, the industry of all nations would have gathered them together from the four winds. Wherever one member of the apostolic college, or any other eminent saint, breathed his last, the entire skeleton would have been carefully preserved, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, and would have been forthcoming on this occasion, just as we learn from Stephen, that the bones of the twelve patriarchs were transported from Egypt, not to work miracles, but to be interred in the parental mausoleum. This, however, would not have been all. If relics had, in the primitive church, been deemed as valuable and as efficacious as now, the body-clothes and other effects of the apostles and martyrs would have been carefully laid by at the time of their decease, and consigned by tradition to the advantage, as well as to the admiration, of posterity. Had such an august and appropriate scheme been realized, the sandals of St Bartholomew, the rochet of St Jude, the red stockings of St Thaddeus, the breviary of St Thomas, the tiara of St Peter, the crucifix of St James the Greater, the scarf of St James the Less, the comb of Martha, the knitting needles of Mary Magdalene, might have been exhibited in the space assigned to the different kindreds and nations, within whose limits they had respectively expired. No juries need have been impannelled, to ascertain their entire authenticity or appreciate their comparative worth, nor would the beloved apostle himself have been deemed the fittest person to sit in judgment. *Then*, as is the case *now*, the successor of Peter alone could, while seated on the chair of infallibility, determine a point of such importance, though perhaps whilst discharging this branch of his holy functions, Evaristus, it may be, or Telesphorus, might have ordered a chair (as Solomon did for Bathsheba) to be placed for the aged apostle, on the right hand of his throne, where, reverently looking up to the sovereign vicar of his master, he might wonder at the

gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth, whilst with indubitable certainty he pronounced, that this girdle had been worn by Timothy, and that rosary belonged to St Susanna ; but in the case of any spurious sphenoidal bone alleged to be that of St Lebbæus, or doubtful pair of scissors, supposed to have been the property of St Anne, he might say, the Lord hath not chosen these. This power of infallible discrimination was evinced and exercised in a remarkable manner by Pope Innocent XI. A holy hermit, named Cala, had been long venerated in the kingdom of Naples ; but that pontiff, in 1680, ordered his worship to be suppressed, and his bones carried into a common churchyard, and there mixed with other bones, and never to be carried off again. He also ordered his images, clothes, and other relics to be removed from all consecrated places. After perusing this narrative, one feels inclined to exclaim, "*O si sic omnia !*" O that holy Innocent had collected *all* the bones, which are now dispersed and worshipped in the various churches throughout Rome ; and having purchased back from Donna Olympia the silver chest, by the gift of which he had procured his cardinal's cap, had consigned the most precious of their number to that costly and appropriate repository, and thus given them, and the others also, decent Christian burial,—

"Press'd with a load of monumental clay !"

If relics are indeed more to be desired than much fine gold, and sweeter than the honeycomb, there is perhaps no usage of primitive antiquity, by the discontinuance of which the church has suffered so much loss, as the Egyptian custom of embalming the dead. A group of canonized mummies, comprising all the most remarkable worthies of successive generations, would have been far more edifying than a few disjointed thumbs or fractured limbs. And the survivor of a saintly anchorite might have consoled himself by exclaiming,

"Embowell'd will I see thee by and by,
And swath'd in linen bands, and cas'd in rosewood, lie."

It is evident from Scripture, that Paul did not attach any importance to relics, or regard pilgrimages to shrines or sepulchres as either edifying or meritorious. Immediately after his conversion, he repaired to Arabia, and did not hasten to Jerusalem that he might visit his Lord's tomb, or climb on his knees up Pilate's staircase, or trace to their fortunate possessor the clothes of the protomartyr, which, by accomplishing a diligent search, he might easily have secured, and perhaps even picked up some of the stones by which Stephen had been murdered in his presence; or, at all events, he might have unburdened his conscience by smiting his breast before the tomb, and crying, *Sancte Stephanas, ora pro nobis*. Nay, even when, after three years, he actually went up to Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18), he did so for the purpose of seeing Peter, and we are not told that he collected any of these articles of dress, or fragments of skeletons, which were contemplated with so much veneration during the era of mediæval ignorance. When about to undertake a journey with Barnabas (Acts xv. 36), Paul says, "Let us go and visit,"—not the house where Mary had lived, or the grave where the Baptist was buried, or the manger in which Christ was laid, or the tomb from which Lazarus rose, or the well where Christ conversed with the woman of Samaria, or the dwelling at Cana where he was present at a marriage, and where Paul might probably have acquired, as a gift or by purchase, one of the six jars of stone in which the water was converted into wine,—but "our brethren in every city," thus intimating that a living believer is better than a dead martyr, when we long to be comforted, instructed, or encouraged; and that relics, however calculated to nourish a morbid and misguided superstition, are neither safe nor scriptural channels for increasing faith, confirming hope, or reanimating love.

I have sometimes also reflected with surprise, how it happens that, if Peter believed in the power and utility

of relics as devoutly as his successors do now, he not only says nothing in either of his epistles about their existence, or about their virtues, but does not make some testamentary disposition, in reference to the rich collection which he himself must actually have possessed, if he deemed it apostolic or even lawful to make one; and the same observation is equally applicable to the case of Paul. I know, says the former, that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle. The time, says the latter, of my departure is at hand. What a strong argument might have been adduced in favour of relics, if these solemn declarations had been immediately followed by a bequest to their surviving friends, of the inestimable treasures which must for years have been accumulating in their hands! I may here briefly refer, by way of parallel or rather of contrast, to the case of Dean Swift, an eminent dignitary of an apostolic church (by which I mean, that he held an office, and bore a title, which was never heard of during the apostolic age), when he was far advanced in life, and was, like Paul and Peter, aware of his approaching decease. He did, what I think these wise and holy men would have done, had they possessed relics, as he had property, to devise. Amongst many other articles, I find the Dean saying— I bequeath to Mr John Grattan my silver box, in which the freedom of the city of Cork was presented to me, in which I desire the said John to keep the tobacco he usually cheweth, called pig-tail. I bequeath to the Rev. Mr R. Grattan the second best beaver hat I shall die possessed of. I bequeath to the Rev. Dr Patrick Delany my medal of Queen Anne in silver. I bequeath to the Rev. Mr John Worrall my best beaver hat. These and other gifts, distributed by the very reverend testator among his surviving friends, were no doubt of some intrinsic value, and doubly precious as coming from him; but what were they in comparison with the legacies which the apostles must (if relics were prized either by themselves or others) have had at

their disposal? Besides parting amongst their legatees their own raiment, every article or particle of which might have mystically or magically cured disease, and superseded medicine, might not either of them, it may be, have said, I bequeath to Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, my alabaster vase, which I request that he will use for holy water. I bequeath to Timothy my silver medal of the Mother of God, which is an infallible remedy for the jaundice. I bequeath my best red hat to Linus, and my third best mitre to Apollos. I may just observe also, that Shakspeare was not less considerate than Swift, in bequeathing tokens of remembrance to his contemporary friends and admirers; for besides dividing amongst them a considerable amount of ready money, we find in his last will—

Item, I bequeath to Mr Thomas Combe my sword.

Item, I bequeath to Elizabeth Hall all my plate, excepting the broad silver and gilt bowl.

Item, I give unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture.

Can we suppose, that Peter, James, and John, or Bartholomew, Lebbæus, and Simon the Canaanite (although we know less about the latter, and they seem scarcely to have attained unto the first three), would not, like these two eminent modern authorities, have given commandment concerning their staves, scrips, and sandals, if such relics had been valued by primitive believers, and had been deemed gifted with the enviable faculty of emitting a virtue for the healing of diseases? The sword, with which Simon Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, would have been a far more valuable bequest than the sword of William Shakspeare, which, probably, never was drawn; and the bed, to which Peter's wife's mother was confined, when miraculously cured of a fever, would (if she survived him, and if not, to Marcus, his son) have proved a far more precious memorial than the bed, however costly or convenient, which our great bard's wife inherited from her husband. One of the

foulest blots which stains the harlot church is, that she asserts and acts upon the principle, that the gift of God (the pardon of sin) may be purchased with money, and diseases cured by relics or amulets, which never serve patients for nought. The Pope's motto ought to be, "Gain is godliness." Indulgences, which exempt from the temporal punishment due to venial sins, may be "bought with a price,"—*omnia Romæ cum pretio*. On the same principle, the wonderful *bambino* (or image) which is called in to treat the numerous cases of disease, in which the patient has suffered many things of many physicians, and spent all he had, and is nothing bettered, but has rather grown worse, is carried about in a coach, attended by priests, who perform the service, and apply the image to the sick. The regular fee is one dollar, whilst that to the first Roman physician is half a dollar each visit. The traffic in sins—the sale of indulgences, was formerly a source of great wealth to Rome, and still produces large revenues to the head and members of the great apostasy. We are gravely told also, that chrism (a sacrament of which God's Word says nothing) remits all venial sins, and impresses on the soul a character and sign, which cannot be effaced throughout eternity. It therefore seems to be a much more salutary and efficacious sacrament than that of baptism, though instituted by our Lord himself; for, according to the Romish view, the grace given at baptism may be temporary and evanescent, whilst the character impressed on the soul by chrism is indelible and everlasting,—though I question whether even this all-powerful panacea can, in the case of venial sin, supersede the necessity of a pecuniary expiation.

Far be it from me to question the value or importance of the portable Lilliputian laboratories of homœopathists, on each miniature phial of which might be inscribed—

"My dose is great, because it is so small;"

but I may perhaps be permitted to suggest to Roman Catholic Esculapiuses a new remedy, which might prove

eminently useful in many cases, namely, *ostein*. If a few skeletons of St Ursula's virgins, which are now wasting their sweetness in dark repositories at Cologne, were to be imported and triturated, *secundum artem*, an almost infinite number of infinitesimal doses might be prepared, and the internal operation of relic powder might be found singularly efficacious, where the outward application of a consecrated *tibia* might be wholly unavailing.

In connection with this branch of the subject, I may notice one miracle, which seems to have escaped the notice of Roman Catholic prodigiographers. We know, from the concurrent testimony of the evangelists, that, after the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, twelve baskets-full of the fragments were gathered up. Now it is obvious (although it is a fact which the sacred writers have most unaccountably overlooked), that the wood of the cross must have undergone a similar process, and that at least twelve cartloads-full of splinters, or portions, must have been collected, as the time would fail me to specify the various highly-favoured localities in which pieces of this sacred tree are hoarded up and worshipped.

In fact, one of the most striking differences between the Romanist and the Protestant consists in this, that the latter, when labouring under conviction of sin, or anxious to obtain consolation and guidance, hastens to plead our Lord's own gracious promise of personal aid and cordial welcome, and repairs, on bended knees, directly to himself, under lively emotions of penitence and gratitude, without deeming it necessary to seek for maternal or saintly intervention. In this procedure the Protestant is borne out by the example of the "wise men" (Matt. ii. 1) who travelled to Jerusalem, having seen *Christ's* star in the east, and came to worship *Him* as King of the Jews, and not to salute Mary, as Mother of God, or recognise her as Queen of Heaven. The star (ver. 9) which they had seen in the east, went be-

fore them, till it came and stood over where "*the young child*" was; and when they were come into the house, they saw "*the young child, with Mary his mother*, and fell down and worshipped—not *her*—not *both*—but *HIM*; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto *HIM* gifts; but to *her* they brought no present—to *her* they offered no homage; nor did they avail themselves of so tempting an opportunity for enriching their cabinet of relics by carrying away, as *spolia opernisa*, a paring of the Virgin's nail, or one of her thimbles or head-papers, or a fragment of the Saviour's swaddling-clothes; and with respect to Joseph (who must have been alive, as an angel afterwards, ver. 19, appeared to him in a dream), although I believe he now occupies a niche in the Romish calendar, the men were too "wise" to attach any value to his acquaintance, far less did they solicit his autograph, or carry away in triumph his shoe-latchet or his staff. The Papist, on the other hand, has, under similar circumstances, recourse to "the dead, who know not any thing (Eccl. ix. 5, 6), where love, and hatred, and envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun;" he not only "*praises* the dead, which are already dead, more than the living, which are yet alive," but, by believing that they can, whilst dwelling in the "many mansions" of their Father's house, hear at all times supplications simultaneously offered in divers tongues, from the most distant and unconnected regions of the earth, virtually invests them with the attributes of ubiquity and omnipotence. He entreats with his whole heart the favour, not of the Father, who created all things, or of the Son, who is one with him, or of the Spirit, who divideth gifts to every one severally as he will, but of St Antony, St Pantaleon, or St' Alfonso. He journeys, it may be, to their shrines, or sends votive offerings to their skeletons, just as Balak (Numb. xxii. 5) despatched messengers to Balaam with the rewards of divination in their hands,

saying, He whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed. If not at once successful in obtaining what he desires, he utters more solemn vows, or tenders more precious gifts, gold, frankincense, or myrrh, to his canonized patrons, presents the customary tribute of genuflexions and greetings in the market-place before their uncouth and gaudy images, makes a point of joining in the streets the processions and pageants instituted in their honour, and follows their relics, bare-headed, to the holy repositories, in which they are treasured up as objects of wonder and adoration, believing that their powerful and efficacious assistance can only be secured by endless and monotonous reiterations of *Aves*, or *Paternosters*, or *Ora pro nobis*, by tedious counting of beads, or by offensive chiming of bells, or by rendering the calves of the lips to bones nearly mouldering with rottenness, or to fetters almost gnawed away by rust,—although Peter, when delivered from prison, did not think it worth while to carry away, by way of memorial, the chains which fell off from his hands (Acts xii. 7); and although Paul, when he sent for his “cloak,” does not appear to have done so for the purpose of healing diseases, or accomplishing a voyage to Spain; and whilst anxious for his books and parchments, he makes as little mention of a relic as of a snuff-box. In short, the Romish devotee endeavours to propitiate Christ by the same mean and mercenary expedients, which Horace represents the vulgar and low-minded parasite as having recourse to, for acquiring the favour of Mæcenas:—

“Muneribus servos corrumpam; non hodie si
 Exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quæram;
 Occurram in triviis—deducam—nil sine magno
 Vita labore dedit mortalibus.”

The following may serve as a specimen of the rabid and rancorous rhapsodies, with which Jerome, and other advocates of new-fangled superstitions, in reference to the worship of saints and relics, assailed the intrepid and conscientious champions of apostolic and primitive

simplicity and sacredness:—"Was the Emperor Constantine sacrilegious, who transported the relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, to Constantinople, at whose presence the devils (such as inhabit the wretched Vigilantius) roar, and are confounded? or the Emperor Arcadius, who translated the bones of the holy Samuel to Florence? Are all the bishops sacrilegious, who enshrined these precious remains in silk, or a vessel of gold; and all the people, who met them, and received them as it were the living prophet? Is the Bishop of Rome, who offers sacrifice on the altar, under which are the venerable bones (the vile dust, would Vigilantius say?) of Peter and Paul; and not the bishops of one city alone, but the bishops of all the cities in the world, who reverence these relics, around which the souls of the martyrs are constantly hovering to hear the prayers of the supplicant."—(*Jerome.*) So that, instead of enjoying rest and felicity in the immediate presence of their God and Saviour, the souls of saints and martyrs are lodged and located in the vicinity of their skulls or skeletons, counting, it may be, the number of genuflexions performed by prostrate redemptionists, or estimating the value of the bracelets or bombazeen presented at their shrines by "devout and honourable women," and perhaps exclaiming, when some heretical Mordecai passes carelessly by, and (like Lord Kinsale in the presence of Majesty) omits even to take off his hat, "All these ruffles and ribbons avail me nothing, so long as this 'jumping' jackanapes can give me the 'go-by' with impunity!"

It must indeed, I think, be admitted on all hands, that the duties associated with the office of sainthood, are as onerous as they are honourable. If achievements were at all in vogue during the primitive era, one of the ordinary inscriptions, namely, "*resurgam*," might very suitably have been emblazoned on the escutcheon of an apostle or an anchorite; but "*in cœlo quies*" would have been altogether anomalous and inappropriate. If, as St Jerome informs us, their spirits are constantly hover-

ing around the marble, mahogany, or mother-of-pearl receptacles, in which their osseous remains are treasured up, it is not less certain, that not only by the ordinary expedient of "division," the various bones of their skeletons are often hoarded in different and distant localities, but that, by some more recondite and mysterious *legerdemain* process of "multiplication," the skull of the same canonized hermit, or the great toe of the same beatified abbess, may be wondered after and worshipped simultaneously at London, Loretto, and Lima. Whilst, therefore, I cheerfully concede, in reference to these departed worthies, that their works do follow them, it is far from being equally clear, that they cease from their labours; for, besides the cruel necessity of either being in six or seven remote places at once, or undertaking diurnal itinerations from city to city, and from shrine to shrine, their ears must be lent during every moment of every day to a dissonant chorus of prayers in heterogeneous languages, their noses to inhale every variety of aromatic fumigation, and their mouths to plead the diversified causes of a thousand *ora pro nobis* devotees.

That any manner of sickness, or any manner of disease, should be cured by the application of rags or relics, or that virtue should, for that purpose, issue from a fragment of the cross, is a promise or prediction, as to which the Scriptures are wholly silent. Mark, at the close of his gospel, informs us, in the words of Christ himself, that "he who believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Our Lord is pleased to add, "These signs shall follow them that believe. In my name (not in that of my mother, or of any saint, or martyr, or anchorite) 1. they shall cast out devils; 2. they shall speak with new tongues; 3. they shall take up serpents; 4. if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; 5. they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

Now, according to the Protestant view, these miraculous indications that, "of a truth," God was with his gospel and its promulgators, were only necessary, and

consequently were only granted, during the infancy of the church. I do not believe, that the most zealous or bigoted Roman Catholic doctors would undertake to perform any of the first four miracles. Their missionaries are never gifted with the faculty of at once speaking in foreign tongues. I have never understood that nuns or sisters of mercy evince their "belief" by fondling boa-constrictors, or swallowing bumpers of Prussic acid. To the power of casting out devils by exorcism, I do not suppose that even the converted Puseyites lay any claim. The last of the signs enumerated by our Lord is that of causing the sick to recover, by the imposition, not of the bones of the dead, but of the hands of the living; and this miracle may so often be achieved by the trickery of the priests, the credulity of the patients, or the preconcerted jugglery of both, that it is of all others the most dubious and the most unsatisfactory. The miracles which they profess to perform, are those in the case of which deception is easy and detection difficult; and they are rarely, if ever, witnessed by such spectators as are not predetermined to believe in their reality; but they are too crafty to assume the power of addressing audiences in languages, with which they had been previously unacquainted, or to attempt the exhibition of any other signs and wonders, which cannot be got up or imitated by the ingenuity of imposture. What the apostle says of tongues, is true in some measure of all miracles. They are "for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not." Our Lord and his apostles performed their miracles in the presence of antagonists and gainsayers, as well as before the eyes of their followers and partisans. They did not invite the chief priests or the Pharisees to admit the authenticity of miracles only seen and attested by disciples. The dead were raised, the sick were healed, in so public a manner, that the reality of the facts could not be called in question. But Popish miracles are only vouched for by Popish testimony, and

scrutiny on the part of Protestants is declared to be inadmissible.

Though any suggestion on the subject of an improvement in relic-mongery, which may emanate from me, is not likely to meet with much attention, I cannot refrain from making a suggestion, so obvious and so commendable, that I wonder it has not been devised and carried into effect many centuries ago. My plan is, that the skeletons of all the successors of Peter (his own, if possible, included) should be extracted from the vaults or mausoleums in which they have so long been "wasting their virtue in the desert tomb." I would have them all cleaned and varnished, and fitly compacted together with golden wires by the pontifical chief surgeon; each to be then deposited in a mahogany case, with a front of polished glass,—the right hand to be elevated in the attitude of benediction, and a small circular aperture, with a gold rim, to be introduced into the hallowed shrine, through which the right foot should be made to protrude, and thus be accessible to the kisses of each pontiff's devoted worshippers. Gilt tiaras, with the names of the revered occupants, might be placed on the top, and the whole series ranged in chronological order in one of the aisles of St Peter's Church. No device, I think, could be better adapted to excite such feelings as the sight of relics is said to be intended and calculated to awaken; and each holy father, if, on the day of election, he marched at the head of his cardinals through a long and grim line of his august predecessors, would be more forcibly reminded, than by the burning of a handful of tow, that "*sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Whilst, however, Papists regard the performance of signs and wonders, through the medium of relics or rosaries, within the pale of their church, as an undeniable evidence of its apostolic and infallible character, true Protestants consider the absence of all claim to such superfluous appliances and means to be an indication of the pure and healthy state of their communion. The

milk of miraculous display, which was necessary for the nurture of Christianity in its season of infancy, has long since been supplanted, in the experience of every genuine believer, by the strong meat of faith, and hope, and charity. I remember the following striking passage, in a prayer which I heard from the lips of my late revered friend, William Howels:—"We thank thee, O God, that miracles have been most wisely and beneficently withdrawn, in order that we might enjoy in their history a purer and more spiritual intercourse with Thyself than did they who contemplated their wonderful realities." That this view is more in accordance with some of the most distinguished patristic authorities, may be seen by contrasting certain passages from Chrysostom and Augustine with the principles laid down in a Popish Catechism printed in 1825.

St Paul was formidable to demons,—but all the men of this time, united together, cannot, by many prayers and tears, do as much as Paul's handkerchiefs or aprons.—(*Chrysostom.*)

Miracles are for those who disbelieve, not for believers such as ourselves. But this, instead of being unkind in God, is a proof of the honour he does us, in withdrawing the evidence of miracles.—(*Chrysostom.*)

In the first ages of Christianity, and in order to propagate it in the world, God, in his great goodness, bestowed miraculous gifts upon many, both upon true believers and the undevout. Now they are not bestowed even upon believers, because we do not need such evidence.—(*Chrysostom, as quoted by Sortain, p. 164.*)

In the end of time, power shall be given to the devil to work profitable miracles, so that then we may not distinguish the ministers of Christ in their working profitable miracles, but in their working no miracles at all.—(*Chrysostom against these wonder-workers.*)

The Popish authorities, on the other hand, declare that "relics are holy and venerable things, and God is pleased to work great cures and miracles by them for such as are devout honourers of them. These things have been, and are done in later ages, as you may see in the unquestioned histories and records of all Catholic countries; where many great

miracles are wrought by the servants of God, and especially at pilgrimages and shrines of saints, and are yearly registered under the depositions of eye-witnesses, men above all exception, which cannot be denied, unless we deny all history. In 1790, a Franciscan, in daily expectation of death, fervently recommended himself to the patronage of St Alfonso Ligouri, who had died a few days before, and placed a *relic* of him upon his breast, saying, 'If thou art really in heaven, deliver me from this death, so disgusting, and so much detested by all.' As soon as he had spoken these words, he fell into a calm sleep, and awoke perfectly cured, to the admiration of his friends, who had supposed that he was already dead."

Taking it, however, for granted, that the reality of any specific miracle were established beyond dispute—even then it would be impossible to believe, that it was of celestial origin, and not effected by infernal agency, unless the object for which it was performed was unexceptionable in point of morality, and paramount in point of importance. The signs and wonders wrought by the magicians afforded no proof that the "Egyptian branch" belonged to the "Church Catholic." I must repeat, that I am not aware of any instance in which the cure of any disease, or the accomplishment of any supernatural object, by the application of a relic, has been attested either by a Protestant or an infidel; whilst many of the miracles narrated by mediæval and legendary annalists belonging to the "true church," are doubted or repudiated even by Papists themselves. It is not to be wondered at, that, rather than abandon their worship of images, graven by art or man's device, the Romish Church has sacrilegiously mutilated the decalogue of God by the wilful and studious omission of the second commandment, as is the case "in the reformed office of the Blessed Virgin, printed at Salamanca, 1588, published by order of Pope Pius V., where it is so left out, and so in the English office at Antwerp, 1658," (*Stillington*); and in Bellarmine's Short Christian Doctrine, reprinted at Rome in 1836.

Nor was the transition at all violent or unnatural from Pagan to Popish idolatry, when the heathen Pantheon, which had been dedicated of old by Agrippa to Jove and all the gods, was reconsecrated by the Pope to the Virgin and all the saints. It was quite in keeping on such an occasion to omit any allusion to the Father, Son, or Spirit. "And so was it" (says my eloquent friend, Sortain, p. 257) "that, as every pagan could formerly find his god, so every Roman Catholic of any nation could, and can, here find his patron. The same altars smoke,—the same holy water reservoirs are used,—the same lamps burn, and like priests worship."

I only wish that, as they have converted this Pagan pantheon into a Popish church, they would employ the odes of Horace as a vehicle for hymns or canticles in honour of dead saints and beatified anchorites, instead of parodying and profaning for that purpose the inspired songs of David, or the devout prayers which "holy men of old" addressed to the divine Redeemer. It is harmless, at all events, to substitute Mary for the heathen goddess in the stanzas of the Venusian bard, so as to render,

"Dianam teneræ dicite Virgines,"

Chaunt hymns to holy Agnes every morn, ye tender nuns;
Eat pancakes on Shrove Tuesday—on Good Friday, hot cross-buns;

or,

"O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,"

Hail, mighty Mary, Sovereign Queen of Ireland and Loretto,
To thy good cause I dedicate my scap'lar, and—stiletto;

or,

"Bacchum in remotis carminar upibus,
Vidi docentem;"

and,

I saw most holy Francis in a dark cave saying masses,
He stepp'd forth with uplifted hands to bless grave mules and asses.

There is, in fact, no ceremony in the Pagan ritual, and no tenet in the ancient mythology, which may not in a great measure be identified with the practices and

doctrines of modern Rome. Canonized mortals, who existed *since* the birth of Christ, are now worshipped in the stead of deified heroes, who flourished *before* that period. Romanism is a refined system of Christianized heathenism, and chiefly differs from its prototype in being more treacherous, more cruel, more daring, and more intolerant.

We, then, my dear friends, are the true and genuine followers of the apostles, and of their devout contemporaries, who, through *faith* and *patience*, inherit the promises, and not through rags or relics, which they might so easily have procured, but so wisely and carefully avoided. Let every Papist glory, if he will, in saying, "I am of St Antony; I am of St Gregory VII.; I am of St Pius V.; I am of the Virgin Mary." Be it yours and mine to say, with grateful humility, and without any feelings of sectarian exclusiveness, "I am of Paul; I am of Cephas; I am of Apollos; I am of Christ." We desire not that our preachers should be "skilled in legendary lore," or waste their time, and burden their memories, by poring over the ponderous tomes, which record the miracles alleged to have been performed either by Bishops or Bambinos. The day, we trust, may yet dawn, when those who use such curious arts will "bring their books together and burn them before all men—and when the price of them shall be counted (their name being legion), it will amount to far more than fifty thousand pieces of silver." Our Gordons and our Guthries are, like Apollos, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures—rightly dividing the word of truth; not aspiring to have dominion over our faith—not telling us, in reference to prohibited books (the Bible itself being one of them), that "it is a mortal sin not only to read them, but even to keep them beside one, and that they ought to be delivered up to the Inquisition;" but satisfied with being "helpers of our joy," when we, with them, and with the spirits of just men made perfect, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the

flesh—no confidence but in Him—believing that he that has the Son has life—that God has given us eternal life, and that life is in his Son—in his Son, and no where else. To trust in creature-merits, or invoke creature-intercession, we hold to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. We refuse to put a piece of new Romish clothing into the old garment of the Saviour's righteousness; for that which is put in to fill it up, may indeed render it a spruce "coat of many colours," but taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse. We dare not make God a liar, by believing either less or more than he himself has, in his Word, caused to be written for our learning. Though John, from the hour of the crucifixion, took Mary unto his own home, where she probably remained until her decease, he never alludes to her in any of his three epistles, or hints that all or any power was given to her either in heaven or on earth. No lock of her hair, no article of her attire is sent by him either to the elect lady, or to the well-beloved Gaius; and when Paul tells us, that he gloried in the cross of Christ, and in nothing else, we believe, that there is no more allusion to the wooden cross on which he expired, than there is in the expression, "This is my body," to the body by whose lips these words were uttered. We believe, that God, through the medium of Michael the archangel, buried Moses in a valley of the land of Moab, in a manner so secret and mysterious, that no man knoweth of his sepulchre until this day, in order to exclude the possibility of divine or heroic honours being paid to his tomb or to his bones; and that Satan, on that solemn occasion, "disputed about the body of Moses," in the hope of defeating God's purpose, by causing the great legislator to be interred in some conspicuous place, where his remains might become a "snare, and a trap, and a stumblingblock." And we are convinced, on the same principle, that God put it into the hearts of the primitive Christians to abstain from collecting relics, which they had such excellent opportunities to procure at little cost, and

has not left us in his Word any clue to discover the tombs of the saints and martyrs of the earliest ages, lest these objects, however harmless in themselves, might be perverted to the purposes of idolatry and superstition. In this case, however, the great adversary of vital and spiritual religion has been more successful. If the real objects were neglected, and "have perished in the using," he has substituted fictitious ones in their stead; and the false traditions of men have been employed to palm upon human credulity the most preposterous assertions on matters which the divine record itself had left in impenetrable obscurity. When James says, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you," we believe, that the apostle enforces the necessity of a painful and prayerful struggle, on the part of the believer, against his open attacks and secret machinations. We do not, with the Papists, imagine, that this triumph can be achieved by "signing ourselves in the form of a cross," and that "the sign of the holy cross gives us virtue to resist temptations," and "spiritual strength against the devil to drive him from us, he being terrified, and fleeing away immediately at the sight of it." We cannot help being astonished at the infatuation of the "roaring lion" in thinking it worth while to "go about seeking whom he may devour," when his discomfiture is so easy, so immediate, and so unavoidable. Although I say it with all reverence, yet I scruple not to affirm, that, if any of us, when appearing before the judgment-seat, is sentenced to stand on the left hand, for not having admitted, on the authority of fallible men, whether acting in concert as a public assembly, or promulgating as individuals their opinions *ex cathedra*, such doctrines and practices as are either directly at variance with God's own inspired Word, or passed over in entire silence, such an one would be entitled to say, with equal truth and astonishment, "O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived!"

In truth, my dear friends, as the movements and fluctuations in the religious and political world are so

numerous, so awful, and so unexpected, I was not at all surprised to hear, from a trustworthy correspondent, that when calling lately on Sir Michael Mac-Bifrons, a very canny and far-sighted countryman of ours in the south, he found him seated before a cast taken from a celebrated statue of Jupiter Tonans, and pensively smoking a cigar. On being asked what he was doing, he shook his head and replied, "Our lot has really been cast in most eventful times; we are living at the rate of a century *per* day, and don't know what an hour may bring forth. There is no saying what turn things may take, and I am anxious to provide against every possible contingency. Happen, however, what may, I trust that I, for one, shall not be caught napping. I act like the wary capitalist, who takes care to vest his money in different kinds of stock, and would not risk his all, by foolishly entrusting it to a single firm, however opulent and respectable. I myself, as you know, have a pew at my eloquent friend, Dr Cumming's; but Lady Margaret and both my daughters were continual hearers of Mr Bennett's, and confess themselves regularly to Dr Pusey once a-quarter. Should Popery gain the day, I shall be quite upon velvet, for I purchased last winter at Madrid the lower jaw-bone of St Bridget, which I always carry about with me, in a mother-of-pearl snuff-box of my grandmother's, and shall enrol myself as an obedient subject under the shelter of her 'petticoat government.' I took care to propitiate her favour, when about to return home, by having her image arrayed in a new suit of purple velvet, and presenting at her shrine two cases of the strongest *Eau de Cologne*. But what has of late been uppermost in my mind, is the probability, in these reactionary days, of a *mythological* counter revolution. There was a time when Jupiter had every thing his own way; he took out a patent for the monopoly of thunderbolts, and his divine supremacy was acknowledged throughout the greater part of the civilised world. He has no doubt been labouring during

many centuries under an eclipse, the crowds who flattered him in the heyday of his prosperity have deserted him in his utmost need, and his rations of meat and drink-offerings have been every where retrenched, and long since put an end to. But who knows, whether he may not at this moment be meditating a *coup d'état*, and aim at accomplishing the sudden and entire resumption of his long dormant sovereignty? It is, I think, on the cards, that, on or before the 2d of next December, we may find it announced, in the celestial *Moniteur*, that Mars is appointed commander-in-chief, Vulcan named master of the ordnance, Apollo entrusted with the *portfolio* of foreign affairs, and Mercury named minister of the police. His Olympic Majesty may regard it as *his* 'mission,' to put down that system of Protestant Socialism, which the Jesuits are so bent upon extinguishing; but, in that case, he will probably be no respecter either of persons or of parties, but proceed to take Peter also, and imprison or banish the canonized champions of catholicity, making a *bonfire* of all their relics and rosaries, so that when the assembly of the saints above holds its next quarterly meeting, they may find Hercules stationed with an armed force at the door, to read the riot act, and disperse them. In the event of the seraphic elysium being doomed to witness such an untoward and unhallowed turn of Fortune's wheel, it is probable, alas! that St Winifred and St Walpurgis will, on bended knees, bless their stars and count their beads, if they are so fortunate as to steal across the frontier disguised as groggy gipsies or distressed needlewomen, and be quietly domiciliated at a respectable boarding-house in purgatory. Good St Denis, St Dunstan, and St Dominic will be ruthlessly handed over to the tender mercies of the treadmill, whilst St Sergius and St Serapion, who are rather hot and peppery in their tempers, are dispatched to cool their heels at Cayenne. Tertullian and St Augustine will avail themselves of the first express train to fly to

their beloved Africa, and set up house together as biblioplists at Algiers; whilst St Raymond, when on the eve of being arrested, may have just time to wrap himself up in his cloak (where he would probably find room to accommodate St Melchior and St Melchisedek) and after a safe and speedy voyage in that marvellous conveyance (which, I believe, has, during many ages, been laid up in ordinary), the happy and holy *trio* would be cordially welcomed by Father Newman and the Redemptorists, and regaled, it may be, half-a-dozen times a day with chiming of bells and chanting of *Magnificats*, —(a strain which, if we may judge from what passes every day in chapels, convents, and cathedrals, the whole fraternity of saintly amateurs must take especial delight in *encoring*); whilst the restored usurper will confiscate the domains and accumulate the treasures of the Virgin Mary, and squander them upon the Ledas and Semeles, the Hebes, Europas, and Ganymedes, who, as pimps, parasites, weathercocks, and waiters upon providence, paid court to him during the long season of his obscurity and disgrace." Then turning to the colossal bust, the worthy baronet puffed a dense and fragrant cloud of smoke before it for a few minutes, and said, "Now, my good friend Jupiter, I don't wish to hurt your feelings, but you know that you are at present rather in the background. There was a time when a goodly drove of fattened calves was killed every day at your altars, but now during many a long year you have not been honoured with the offering of so much as a kid. I daresay your own conscience has often reminded you, that your venerable parent's deposition was, in all probability, the cause, as well as the forerunner, of your own calamity. When you were driven away with ignominy by Pope Boniface from the Pantheon, and gave your right arm to imperial Juno, whilst you held an umbrella in your left, I daresay you felt the same pang, which another powerful but dis-crowned monarch under similar circumstances experienced in modern times, and that you cried out, '*Comme*

Saturne Premier! If however, most worthy sir, your star should again be in the ascendant, I trust you will not forget, that whilst millions turned their backs upon you and behaved themselves proudly in the day of your distress, I deemed it both a duty and a pleasure to take the foremost rank amongst your votaries, and have for several months been '*censing*' you three times a-day with the potent fumes of a cigar—a luxury which you never could enjoy during the halcyon era of your pristine splendour and pre-eminence."

I must own, that I in no degree share the apprehensions of this long-headed observer of the times, as to the possible restoration of ancient Paganism; and do not feel the slightest inclination to unite with him in prematurely forestalling the revival of the rites or rubrics of Jupiterolatry. I have also such a strong and unwavering confidence in the good sense of our Bible-taught Scottish peasantry, the indefatigable ardour of our enlightened Scottish ministers, and the profound wisdom of our scriptural Scottish standards, that I as little anticipate, on this side of the Tweed, the progress or triumph of *Popish* idolatry—an idolatry which militates almost, if not altogether, as powerfully as any system of pre-Christian superstition, against the moral character, the intellectual greatness, the generous freedom, and the social happiness of the human race. Whilst the Pope is "censing" the Virgin, and the Jesuits "censing" the Pope; whilst bones are ardently kissed by perverted novices, and beads laboriously counted by prostrate nuns, in order to assist in accomplishing the spiritual subjugation of Britain, let us pray with increasing fervour at the footstool of Him to whom *all* power is given in heaven and on earth. Expecting no aid, and dreading no danger, from St Clement's toe, or St Christopher's thumb-nail, may each of us, my friends, be enabled to say, My soul, wait thou *ONLY* upon God; for my expectation is from Him. O Lord, in Thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded.

LETTER II.

I.—TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

OF all the Romish figments, Transubstantiation is by far the most extraordinary and the most extravagant. Let us suppose, that a baker takes a portion of flour and water, and manufactures it into a wafer. Let this wafer be divided into three equal parts. One of these remains unnoticed and unblessed ; a second has certain words pronounced over it by a priest, but because he has not at the time any *intention* to perform a wonder, it also remains unaltered ; but no sooner has the same or another sacerdotal magician uttered the same expressions over the third portion of this identical wafer, with a volition that the miracle shall take place, than it is at once converted into the body, blood, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ—the priest thus assuming to himself the prerogative of Omnipotence ; for, as God exclaimed, “Let there be light,” and there was light—so the priest says, “Let this be God,” and it *is* God ! In the one case, the volition of God was indispensable to the creation of light, which did not exist in the world, until the Divine *fiat* was pronounced ; in the other, the volition of the priest is essential, so far as the wafer is concerned, for the creation of God, who does not exist there, till the human *fiat* is uttered ; and if ten thousand conjurers perform the same enchantment at the distance of hundreds of miles, the same body, the same blood, and the same divinity are, at the very same time, entirely present in each of the consecrated hosts : and yet, if the three above-mentioned portions of the same wafer were jumbled together in a bag, and taken out and given to three separate worshippers, it would be absolutely impossible

to tell, which of them had partaken of the sacred host, or which had only swallowed the unchanged flour and water. And if these three wafers were to be promiscuously laid aside together for a few days, the one in which the body, soul, and divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ are asserted to reside, would, in common with the two unaltered and unsanctified portions, be converted into a mass of putrefaction. Whenever the consecrated host has been lost, mislaid, or kept too long, it has become like the manna, which "bred worms, and stank"—the "accidents" enveloping the Holy One of God, have been suffered to see corruption, and the worms have fed sweetly upon him. In many cases of sickness, the wafer has been rejected from the stomach; nay, according to Vasquez, "it is to be adored as a true sacrament, though it be vomited;" and, in every other instance, the divine and human nature of the Redeemer, though hidden from the human eye in the accidents of the flour and water, must "enter into the belly, and go out into the draught, purging all meats." When the Lycaonian heathens exclaimed, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men!" the apostles "rent their clothes;" but what must a Parsee or a Brahmin think, when gravely told, that, at the bidding of a priest, "God is come down to us in the likeness of bread?"

But if these reasonings, as to the results which follow from adopting the doctrine of transubstantiation, are repudiated on the ground of their emanating from Protestant prejudice, it appears to me, my dear friends, that they are not more startling and significant, than the statements promulgated by Romanists themselves. We Protestants concur with them in asserting, that to participate unworthily in the holy communion, is a sin of the deepest dye; that whosoever dares to do so, is "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," insults the majesty, and profanes the ordinance of Him, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. But in order to perpetrate this crime, it is no more necessary, that the divine and human natures should be present in the elements, than it

is essential, in order to constitute the crime of perjury, that they should be present in the copy of the New Testament, on which a false oath has deliberately been sworn. Let us hear, however, how the eloquent Massillon apostrophises the unholy communicant (vol. v. p. 274):—“But as for you, my brother, who have just received him unworthily, you know him,—the sacred veils, which envelop him, do not conceal him from the eyes of your faith,—you are aware, that it is the Lord of glory, the Son of the Most High,—the brightness of his Father,—the immortal King of ages,—the Deliverer of men,—the Head and Spouse of the church,—you recognise in him all these august qualities,—and it is when possessed of all this knowledge, that you come to load him with insults,—that you come to oblige him to expire in your body, as on a cross, incomparably more painful and more infamous for him than the first,—the blows, which you strike, are directed against a God,—and you have no excuse but in the blackest of all furies. You snatch him (p. 275) from the bosom of glory,—you cause him to descend from the right hand of his Father to expose him to fresh indignities,—he had announced to us, that he would die but once, and that his resurrection would terminate the painful course of his sufferings,—and you compel him to re-enter it,—you spoil him of the vesture of glory and immortality, with which the Father had clothed him, when he issued from the tomb, to cover him again with a robe of purple and ignominy,—you attach to the cross a glorious flesh, which ought no more to have tasted death. You dishonour him at the time in which his Father glorifies him (p. 276). He no longer gives him up to you as he had given him up before,—you tear him from his parental bosom in spite of him, to deprive him anew of life. It is not into a tomb of stone (p. 284), where no one had been placed before, that you cause him to descend; it is into your own heart—into a sepulchre full of bones and infection—into your heart, where he finds the im-

pure spirits, who are its lords. Jesus Christ does not descend (p. 286) into the body of a sinner to rise again, but to die there for ever,—to see corruption,—to seal with an eternal seal the death and reprobation of that soul. The only profaner of the sacrament, of whom mention is made in the gospel (p. 288), dies like a wretch, and in a state of despair,—he acknowledges his crime, and repents not,—he weeps, and his sin is not remitted,—he dies desolate, and he dies reprobate, his soul longs to escape from pain,—and *his bowels, impatient at confining a captive God in a place of horror, open, as if to prepare a new way for him, and deliver him from corruption.*” Now, my friends, if the words employed by our Lord at the institution of his supper, are to be understood in a literal sense, as the Romanists contend, I admit that all the inferences deduced by Massillon from these premises are logical and well-founded; but if it is contended by the wafer-worshipper, that his expressions are to be taken in a figurative sense, why should they condemn and anathematize us for shrinking from the adoption of the literal acceptance in reference to our Lord’s own words, in order to avoid results so blasphemous and so revolting? When we reflect upon the anti-scriptural absurdities, which designing priests instil into the debased intellects of their votaries, it must be a painful and mysterious dispensation in the eyes of every sound-hearted and right-minded Protestant, that so many millions are still enthralled by such “tutors and governors” as these. But it is consolatory to remember, that this bondage can only continue “until the time appointed of the Father,”—until the “refiner’s fire” of scriptural scrutiny shall take away from their creed all the tin of human invention, and purge away, as dross from their consciences, the foul and fallacious subtilties of Loyola and Liguori. I believe that, throughout the entire European Continent, many Romanists are secretly longing for deliverance from the yoke of a fierce and bloody superstition,

—many, who find it difficult to submit their reason and their conscience to the authority of hard sacerdotal masters, who compel them to swallow the camel of transubstantiating idolatry,—many who, burdened with doubts, and perplexed by difficulties, are led to exclaim, in the mournful, but cautious, language of Peter d’Ailly, “Had not the church decided the contrary way, it were much to be preferred, that we should really receive bread and wine, and not their mere appearances, at the holy supper.” To the eyes even of the most unwavering and devoted Romanists, the wafer, if picked up in the streets, would appear to be a piece of bread; but when the priest, who accidentally dropped it, assures them, that the talismanic words have been, with due solemnity, pronounced over it, “they change their minds, and say that it is a God.” It is even said to have been a subject of discussion amongst Popish divines, whether, if a dog picks up a stray host, he does or does not swallow the body, soul, and divinity of our Lord! I do not see how, on their principle, the negative can be maintained, either then, or when it is eaten by the sow returning to her wallowing in the mire. Jeremy Taylor even informs us, that it has been gravely debated, whether, if a priest goes by a baker’s shop, and says with intention, *Hoc est corpus meum*, all the baker’s bread is turned into the body of Christ? whether a church-mouse eats her Maker? whether it may be said that the priest is, in some sense, the creator of God himself? whether his power be greater than that of angels and archangels? whether a priest, before he says his first mass, is the son of God, but afterwards is the father of God, and the creator of his body?

And it may be well here to notice the palpable and glaring distinction which exists between this lying wonder, and the real miracles performed by our Lord and his apostles. In every case of the latter description, the change produced was visible to the senses. If Lazarus was commanded to awake from the sleep of death, he was

seen to rise from the grave. If a lame man was cured, he was at once enabled to walk. If loaves and fishes were multiplied, "twelve baskets full of fragments were taken up." If water was transformed into wine, the change was so palpable to the taste, that it was pronounced to be "the good wine kept until now." But with respect to the false and spurious sign which, we are told, is repeated simultaneously every day in all quarters of the globe (although none of the other miracles are performed, which were necessary in the church's infancy, but have ceased to be so now), in this instance, there is not, as in the case of every real miracle, an honest and irrefragable appeal to the senses; but, on the contrary, you are expected to believe, in opposition to their evidence, that a most wonderful transformation has been achieved—that bread, which still appears to be bread—that wine, which still appears to be wine—are no longer either the one or the other; just as if, at the marriage of Cana, the guests had been expected to take it for granted, that the water had been changed into the very best wine, although, so far as the evidence of sight, taste, and smell were concerned, it continued to be water still. It is as if, when Paul said to him "who had been a cripple from his mother's womb," "Stand upright on thy feet," he had remained impotent and motionless as before, and yet the people had been expected to believe, in opposition to the evidence of their senses, that he was, at the same instant, "leaping and walking" in their presence.

I may here notice another consideration, which is, I think, too important to be overlooked. Let us concede for a moment that the expressions of our Lord, in reference to the sacramental elements, are to be taken in a literal sense; and that, to use the language of the Council of Trent (sess. 12), "the body and blood, along with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore *Christ altogether*, are truly, really, and substantially contained in the sacrament of the most holy eucharist;" why then, I contend, that all believers, both

dead and living, are also present in every consecrated wafer; for Paul expressly declares, in reference to himself and all true Christians, "We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones" (Eph. v. 30.) And again (1 Cor. vi. 13), "Your bodies are the members of Christ." And again (1 Cor. xii. 27), "Ye are the body of Christ." No reason can be urged why these texts should not be understood literally, which does not militate with at least equal urgency against the Romish interpretation of the Saviour's own words; and therefore, if "*Christ altogether*" be present in every wafer, the pope and the whole college of cardinals, all priests, prelates, friars, nuns; in short, all true "Catholics," without exception, are gifted with the same ubiquity, and are every day swallowed, at the self-same moment, by every communicating believer throughout the world; nay, every consecrating priest, to use the language of Hume in reference to our Lord, "holds himself in his hand, and swallows, and eats himself;" for, as a "member of Christ's body," he must assume his place in his own wafer, so soon as he has uttered the words of consecration. Now, if, as a late eminent Roman Catholic once said to me, it is an unspeakable consolation to receive the body of Christ into your own body, how much must that feeling be heightened by the consideration, that all the departed believers, from righteous Abel downwards—that all the apostles, and Cyprian, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Sir Thomas More, and all former popes and cardinals, all martyrs and inquisitors, whose praise is in the churches; and not only all his own Christian friends, but all the living Catholic worthies "whose faces he has never seen in the flesh," such as Cardinal Wiseman, Father Ignatius, Archdeacon Manning, and all the recent converts to Romanism, are received and swallowed at the same identical moment. If there be any novelty in this view of the case, it can only, I think, be regarded as a further and very legitimate "development" of that most marvellous mystery, with respect to every rejecter of

which, "let him be accursed," is the solemn and deliberate sentence of Popish infallibility.

When so many similar expressions are understood in a metaphorical sense—such as, I am the bread ; thou art a stone ; the seed is the Word of God ; we are members of his body ; ye are lively stones ; the seven candlesticks are the seven churches—I cannot see why an exception should be made in favour of a phrase, the literal meaning of which involves a greater mass of incredible incongruities than that of all the rest put together. For instance, "the seed is the Word of God," would imply that each individual seed is a Bible. There may be any number of copies conceived to exist, so that each seed might contain an entire and distinct Bible, although each also, to the eye, taste, touch, and smell, continued to be a seed. But Christ had only one body, which could not, like the Bibles, be multiplied *ad infinitum*—so that, in this case, there is the additional absurdity that the *same* body (not a similar, though different, one, as in the supposed case of the Bibles), is present in ten thousand wafers (as well as in heaven) at the same moment ; and "if a host were broken to a thousand fragments, he would be found in each of them." Compared with so monstrous a proposition as this, it is far more easy to believe, that our Lord existed in heaven in the form of a loaf before his incarnation, and "came down from heaven" as such, although environed by the accidents of humanity. He expressly says, also, I *am* the bread ; so that, according to the Popish canon of interpretation, he must have been bread at the time when he uttered these words, which was long prior to the institution of the Lord's supper. Our Lord asserts, that John is Elias, whereas John himself states that he is not. There must, therefore, have been one scene in which he *was* Elias, and another in which he was *not*,—he was the representative of Elias, though not Elias himself, just as the bread at the Lord's supper represents the Lord's body, but is not the Lord's body according to the literal acceptation.

It appears to me, that the wafer-worship of the Papist is far more absurd and irrational than the hero-worship of the heathen. The holy humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ differed in no respect from that of Hercules—was subject to the same infirmities—was liable to pain, hunger, and weariness—his human soul also was susceptible of every human feeling (sin only excepted), such as joy, grief, anger, tenderness, or amazement. The physical properties of his sacred body, though refined, were not altered, after his resurrection; it was not only seen but handled, nay, the hand could be thrust into its side. Our Lord himself was most anxious to demonstrate, that he was not merely a spirit, but had flesh and bones; and when the disciples gave him a piece of a broiled fish and of an honeycomb, he took it and did eat before them. Now, I am unable to comprehend how any one not smitten with judicial blindness can believe, that such a body can be at the same moment in heaven and in ten thousand times ten thousand places upon earth. The Romanist holds up a piece of bread about the size of a shilling, and says, The body and soul of the man Christ Jesus are here, as well as his divinity. The Pagan priest went no further than to point to a colossal statue in bronze, and say, This is Hercules,—meaning to intimate, that this represents Hercules, who is now quaffing nectar in Olympus; he never ventured to affirm, that, when he uttered these words, the son of Jupiter descended from heaven and entered into the statue (or it might have been into a shapeless heap of brass), the substance of which was converted into his body and blood, whilst nothing metallic, except the accidents, remained; nor did he assert that, wherever there were any other statues of Hercules, the god descended simultaneously into each of them as soon as the same cabalistic words were pronounced by other priests; nor did he insist upon its being believed, on pain of everlasting damnation, that if each statue were broken up and subdivided into ten thousand coins, the entire god would be present in each *denarius*, and might either

form an element in the current money of the merchant, or be reverently hoarded up in the cabinets of the curious. I read, in a Popish catechism, the following question and answer:—"Why did the first Christians receive the communion under both forms of bread and wine, and now the church permits lay communion to be performed only under the form of bread?" "In order to prevent the commission of many irreverences towards the holy sacrament, which would necessarily happen, if the people were to drink from one same chalice, not so much from the nastiness, as from the danger of overturning it." Now, I think that several important inferences may be drawn from this passage. First, It is admitted, that the primitive Christians communicated in both kinds; Protestants, therefore, and not Papists, are, in this respect, the genuine representatives of primitive antiquity, our enemies themselves being judges. Secondly, It is obvious, that, since the prevalence of Popish misrule, there must have arisen amongst the professors of Christianity a most amazing and alarming increase of levity and profaneness. Our Lord and his apostles seem never to have thought, that the deportment of communicants would become so "irreverent" and unseemly, that it should become necessary to withhold from them one-half of the privilege, which he himself, in the plenitude of his grace, had bestowed. They never hinted, that the time should arrive when the Lord's own injunction, "Drink ye all of it," should, so far as the great bulk of professors is concerned, be supplanted by, "Drink ye none of it," at the command of his vicar. The "danger" of some of the wine being spilt was, of course, as great in the primitive days as in our own; and I think the very fact, that, in the early ages, less importance was attached to this contingency, than came afterwards to be the case, tends to prove, that the wine was regarded as wine, and as nothing but wine, by the apostles, saints, and martyrs, who, no doubt, in commemorating the Redeemer's dying love, were as solicitous as Formosus, or Innocent III., or Gregory VII., or Alexander VI., or Dominic, or Torquemada could pos-

sibly be, that, on every such solemn occasion, all things should be done decently and in order. When Paul very solemnly reprehends the Corinthian Church on account of certain unbecoming irregularities, which accompanied their celebration of this solemn ordinance, he never seems to have thought of so easy and obvious a remedy, as that of commanding the laity, so far as the "cup" was concerned, to become "total abstainers." Even although, on account of unworthy communicating, many were weak and sickly among them, and many slept, the apostle says, "As often as ye eat this bread, *and drink this cup*, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." And he again couples the two elements in the rite, as being in his judgment inseparably connected, when he adds, "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and *drink this cup unworthily*," &c. He would, I am sure, have deemed it as daring and sacrilegious a contravention of the principle, "what God has joined, let not man put asunder," to have given only the cup to the communicants, as to have withheld the bread, on account of the "nastiness" and ignominy to which the sacred body of the Lord (if contained in the elements) would be exposed, when consigned to the stomach even of the holiest of mortals, and still more, if, by an unworthy communion, it is "joined to an harlot, and become one body" with her. The apostle would have felt indignant at the mere suggestion of such an unlawful and violent remedy for such an accidental and occasional evil. It is surely better and safer to fulfil punctually a plain and palpable injunction of the Lord himself than, at the mandate of a mortal, subject to like passions with ourselves, to be wise above what is written. It must be the enemy of souls who says, "Ye shall not surely drink," when "Drink ye all of it" is the command of God himself. Thirdly, Although the "nastiness," alleged to be connected with the imparting of the cup, is "not so much" made account of, as the danger of overturning the chalice, it is nevertheless a reason, though a subordinate one, for introducing this innovation. Now, although this

phrase is probably employed in order to stigmatise and vilify the Protestants, I ask, whether it does not involve, not only all primitive believers, but our Lord himself and his apostles, as well as the Virgin Mary, and all the holy women, in this disgusting charge of "nastiness;" since, at each celebration of the holy sacrament, they not only did all eat the same spiritual meat, but did all drink the same spiritual drink; and did not, in order to avoid "nastiness," pour the portion of the wine for each into separate cups or glasses, but drank out of the same chalice, even as Protestants, after their example, do unto this day? And is there not infinitely more of "nastiness," (pre-supposing that the doctrine of the real presence is true) in the necessary consequences which result when the wafer is swallowed by any and every member, either of the priesthood or laity? Is not the intentional mastication, chymification, and chylication of the wafer, containing beneath its accidents the blessed and glorified "flesh and blood" of an incarnate deity, more "nasty" and more revolting than the casual spilling of a few drops from the hallowed chalice? If the priest of Hercules, after converting one of his statues into copper coins (as has already been supposed), could convince his audience, that the object of their worship was included in each separate piece of money, and might be carried home in triumph as an amulet against sickness or sorrow, their credulity would involve certainly not a more absurd, and at the same time a far less "nasty," hypothesis than is implied in the deglutition of a glorified human body in a piece of bread. Although our Lord and his apostles administered the eucharist "after supper," the Pope insists on its being taken fasting, in order that Christ may be received (so far as is possible) into a clean and unencumbered receptacle. The very circumstance that this precaution was not adopted by primitive believers, seems to indicate that the doctrine of the real presence did not prevail in their day.

Our Saviour, no doubt, at the institution of his supper, when (to use a Roman Catholic phrase) "he held

his body in his hand," employed the words, "This is my body;" but, if these words must be understood in a literal sense, may not the same argument apply to the apostle's language (1 Cor. x. 17), "We, being many, are one bread?" and is it not, on this principle, a legitimate and necessary inference, that every believer, at the moment of conversion, is transubstantiated into a crumb of this huge ecclesiastical loaf, although, retaining the accidents of flesh and blood, he continues, apparently, to wear the human form? When our Lord was pleased to declare (John iii. 3, 7), that "except a man be *born again*, he cannot see the kingdom of God," Nicodemus was right, on the principle of literal interpretation, in supposing, that every believer must enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born. The Council of Trent, in consistency with its other decisions, would probably have declared every rash and rebellious heretic "accursed," who ventured to contend, that this expression is figurative; and if they had laid it down as a dogma necessarily following from this declaration, that every believer *does* enter again into his mother's womb, and is born again (though neither party is conscious, that such a portentous event takes place), I do not think, that such a dogma would be so absurd, or so monstrous, as the doctrine, that the body, soul, and divinity of the Redeemer are imprisoned in flour and water; and that this miracle takes place simultaneously in a thousand distinct and distant localities. Our Lord, however, in a spirit of condescension to the ignorance, and of complacency to the teachableness, of his servant, explained, that the new birth, to which he referred, was wholly of a spiritual character: that what was born of the flesh can only be flesh; and we are elsewhere assured (1 Cor. xv. 30), that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven.

It cannot, I think, be denied, that if transubstantiation be true, it is distinguished from all other miracles in two respects;—it is, of all recorded signs and wonders, first, the most common, and next, the most incompre-

hensible. I may perhaps be allowed to ask, in reference to the first point, the *cui bono* of so many millions of "unbloody sacrifices," when our Lord, by once suffering for our sins, the just for the unjust, had already brought us to God? We are expressly told by Paul, that our great High Priest needed not daily to do the very thing which his infallible vicar curses us for not believing that he continues to do many hundred times every day, for this he did once, when he offered up himself; and again, we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ *once*, and the worshippers once purged, should have no more conscience of sin. Was the host ever carried about in the days of the apostles, either publicly or from house to house? Did they receive it in a kneeling posture, in token of recognition of the divine presence in the elements? What benefit can accrue from adding to that ransom, which is already of infinite value? Truly, if God was not propitiated by the one oblation of his Son on the cross, neither would he be satisfied, if ten thousand "unbloody sacrifices" were presented to him every day or every minute. But again, it cannot be questioned, that, if this miracle really takes place, it transcends all others in mysteriousness. Now, the apostles were the only persons present at the first celebration of the Lord's supper. It is evident, from the entire gospel history, that there were two prominent elements in their character—first, they were not, as we say in Scotland, "*good at the up-take*;" they were, in a spiritual and intellectual sense, dull of hearing, and slow of heart to believe. Our Lord's inexhaustible patience was often sorely tried by their obstinacy and obtuseness—"Are ye so without understanding also?" "Know ye not this parable? and how will ye know all parables?" "Have I been so long time with you, and hast thou not known me, Philip?" But, secondly, the apostles were marvellously, and, I may add, most laudably, inquisitive. They never were disposed to take any thing for granted. If they met with any difficulty, they stated it at once. They acted upon the principle of the eastern

sage, who, when asked how he had acquired his extensive knowledge, replied, By never being ashamed to avow his ignorance. No men, I repeat, were less disposed to take any thing upon trust. Although they never read Horace, they uniformly acted on this principle—

“Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.”

“Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us.” “Except I thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.” The words of the women after the resurrection “seemed to them idle tales, and they believed not.” Nay, when the eleven met Jesus, before his ascension, on a mountain where he had appointed them, although on seeing him, they worshipped him, “some doubted” even then. And, it may be added, that, when he spake of his sufferings and death, his infallible vicar began to rebuke him and went so far as to give him the lie, saying, “This shall not be unto thee.” Now, it is impossible to conceive any declaration more repugnant to their reason, or more trying to their faith, than is contained in the phrases, “This is my body—this is my blood,” if understood in the literal or Popish sense. They were called upon to believe, in despite of their senses, to which they were, on all less important occasions, so tenacious of appealing, that the body, which they saw standing before them, was in its own mouth, and also at the same time in theirs; and that Jesus and they themselves were drinking the very blood, which was, at the same instant, flowing in his veins. How then does it happen, that not a question is asked, or a difficulty started, by any one of them? Would Thomas, whilst the bread was gliding down his throat, have believed, that his revered Master, whom he actually saw reclining before him, was, at the same moment, about to pass through the *pylorus* into his stomach; and as they did not receive the elements fasting (a custom which Papists find fault with us for not observing, although repugnant to apostolic example), would be mixed up with the food (of which they had just before partaken,

whilst keeping the passover), without, at the same time, vanishing out of their sight? Would not Peter have rebuked him, for asking them to credit, what none of their senses authorised them to believe? would he, who, on a former occasion, exclaimed, in defiance of his master's manifested intentions, "Thou shalt never wash my feet?" have hesitated to say, "Lord, thou shalt never enter my mouth?" and would not as authoritative an expostulation, as was given on the former occasion, have been necessary, before he could have changed his mind and said, "Lord, not my mouth only, but also my stomach and my bowels?" On the Protestant hypothesis, all these difficulties disappear at once; the apostles could say, as the jolly priests at Rome told Luther that they were in the habit of doing, with more truth than consistency, "*Panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis.*"

I maintain also, that, in the next place, they had been adequately warned against understanding the expression literally (if that, indeed, had been possible, which I contend that it was not), by the memorable discourse recorded in John vi. (to which I shall advert more fully by-and-by); in which our Lord had said, "*I am the bread of life*" (verse 35): and, had the literal meaning been adopted (which would have been just as fair on that occasion as at the institution of the sacrament), he must at that moment have been transubstantiated into a loaf; but he guards against any such preposterous inference, by saying (verse 33), "The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and *giveth life unto the world:*" thereby leading them to the conclusion, that the spiritual influence, with which he quickens and supports the soul dead in trespasses and sins, is as essential to its vitality, as bread is to the sustenance of the body; and when he adds (verse 57), "he that eateth me, even he shall live for ever," he seems anxious to prevent the possibility of misconception, and display the spirituality of the principle which he intended to convey, by saying (verse 53), "*it is the*

Spirit which quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing." That Paul understood the expression in a metaphorical sense, and did not believe, that any miraculous change took place in the elements at the *fiat* of the priest, seems demonstrated by the fact, that, in the celebrated passage in reference to the communion, which occurs in 1 Cor. xi., he thrice uses the expression "eats this *bread*;" and the Protestant, or rather the scriptural doctrine, appears to be, that he "who eateth [that bread] and drinketh [the wine contained in] that cup unworthily," discerns not the veneration and gratitude due to the glorified body of the Son of Man, who is "taken up into heaven," (Acts i. 11); and of whom it is there declared, not that he shall descend every day into each of ten thousand wafers which "perish in the using;" but that "he shall so come, *in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven*;" and, consequently, in no other manner, and at no other time. "This do," says our Lord, "in remembrance of me,"—that is to say, "in honour of me,"—"out of love to me,"—"from gratitude to me;" and the insult offered to the majesty of the Son of God by hypocritical mockers, at the Divine feast, precisely resembles in character, though doubtless surpasses in degree, the affront which is inflicted upon our beloved Queen, (although not personally present, either palpably at the table, or invisibly in the viands), when, on the occasion of some festive anniversary—intended to commemorate the virtues of her heart, and to celebrate the blessings of her reign—a band of crafty traitors and incendiaries, clothed in the wedding-garment of loyal profession, but with enmity and hatred against the sceptred heretic boiling in their hearts, were to sit down at the national table, and join in the national anthem, and affect to sympathise in the national affection, whilst longing to subvert the national throne, to desecrate the national altar, and erect once more upon their ruins, the Pope's usurped pre-eminence, the Pope's idolatrous will-worship, the Pope's infernal dungeons, and the iron and intolerable manacles

which the Pope would delight to rivet around the understandings and consciences of the universal human race; for however astounding the change is, by which the accidents of bread become the local habitation of an incarnate Deity, the transubstantiation of Popery into a system based upon civil and religious liberty, is, in my opinion, superlatively more marvellous, and requires, in order to be accepted, a faith that can remove mountains of most just and well grounded incredulity. The latent heat, in virtue of which water is enabled to assume the vaporific form, is not more imperceptible to the thermometer, than the benign and charitable spirit of Popery is to the intellect and experience of mankind, when veiled under the "accidents" of the rack, the gibbet, the dungeon, the fetters, the iron of persecution and calumny, which enters the very soul of its victim, or the arbitrary document, which announces to the Protestant servant of Jesus the sentence of exile and confiscation. Difficult as it is to admit that the wafer is Christ, it is still more irreconcilable with the facts recorded in history, and with the events which are passing before our eyes, to believe that his pretended vicar is love, when we learn, by the sickening and soul-harrowing details, which the post of each day reveals, that he is daily "pouring out without mixture into the cup of his indignation," the gall of bitterness, and the wormwood of oppression, and saying, through the medium of remorseless priests, and reckless policemen, to such of his subjects as are not slaves or sycophants, hirelings or hypocrites, "Drink ye all of it."

Allow me, then, once more to invite your special attention, for a few moments, to the occurrences which must have taken place at the first celebration of the Lord's supper, if this doctrine be true, which we are told that it is fatal to reject. "The Protestants," says Hume, "fondly imagined that they had obtained some advantage, when, in the course of the debate, they obliged the Catholics to avow that, according to their doctrine, Christ had, in

his last supper, held himself in his hand, and eaten himself." Clement of Alexandria, in disputing against the Encratites, who thought it not lawful to drink wine, says, "Be ye sure he also did drink wine; for he also was a man, and he blessed wine when he said, Take, drink, this is my blood, the blood of the vine; and that the thing which had been blessed was wine, he showed again, saying to his disciples, 'I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.'" Bishop Taylor intimates, in several passages, his conviction, that our Lord himself partook of the elements—and this, I apprehend, must be concluded in reference to the Popish Church, from the fact, that the "celebrating" priest, who officiates as our Lord's representative, not only receives the wafer, which is distributed to others, but is the only communicant to whom the privilege of the cup is conceded. But we, my dear friends, must, according to the Pope, be condemned to everlasting flames, for refusing to believe, that, when our Lord reclined at the sacramental table, his stomach, of course, was in his body, as it appeared before his disciples—and that, at the self same moment, his body was in his stomach—and also in the stomach of each of the apostles, although they "saw him with their eyes, and looked upon him" exactly as they had done before. It is doubtless a very glaring anomaly, that men, who credit such a tenet as this, should look upon heathens as "too superstitious," and seek to reclaim them from soul-destroying delusions. Surely, if the Virgin could cause the eyes of her images to wink, or martyrs could make the blood to flow from the painted representations of their sufferings, it would be for the purpose of warning those, who are entangled in the meshes of such glaring absurdities, "to come out of such an apostate church, that they receive not of her plagues."

Let us now, however, attempt a careful analysis of our Lord's expressions, as recorded (Matt. xxvi. 26).

"Jesus took *bread*, and blessed it [*bread*], and brake it [*bread*], and gave it [*bread*] to the disciples, and said, Take [*bread*], eat [*bread*]; this [*i.e.*, this substance, of which I give a part to each of you, viz., *bread*] is my body." Now, if the word "*is*" be understood in the sense which we attach to it, namely, "represents," the signification is simple and obvious; but if we take it literally, why, then, the substance which Christ "gave to his disciples" being bread, it follows that what Christ affirms to be his body is bread; and then, as Gratian well observes, "something (viz., bread) not born of the Virgin Mary is Christ." "By the confession of the Roman doctors," as Jeremy Taylor informs us, "the bread is not transubstantiated till the *um* in *meum* (my) be quite out; till the last syllable be spoken;" so that when our Lord utters the word "*is*," it still continues to be bread; and when that "last syllable" was pronounced, then, and not till then, he, at the first celebration of the ordinance, stepped (without moving from his place) into each distributed fragment of the bread, dwindling, of course, to the almost homœopathic dimensions of a Lilliputian *homunculus*, and "sown in weakness" beneath the accidents of bread, divested of all power of locomotion or self-defence, so as to be therein (whilst visibly and audibly conversing with his disciples), "as a deaf man that hears not, and as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth." (Ps. xxxviii. 13.) The human soul also, as well as the body, of our blessed Lord, must have been at the same time compressed within the same dimensions; for both, together with the divinity, are *entirely* contained in a wafer that *has* been duly consecrated (whilst none of them exist at all in an adjacent one which *has not*), and even in each particular crumb of consecrated bread, leaving us to divine, as we best can, how, within a space so inconceivably diminutive, the different limbs can be distinguished, or kept apart from each other. Well has Aquinas, one of their own doctors, affirmed, that "there are more difficulties in this conversion of the sacrament,

than in the whole creation." Theodoret also lays it down, that our Lord's glorified body has the same dimensions which it had originally (*priorem habens circumscriptionem*); and Augustine expressly asserts, that as it is *impious* to deny God to be invisible, so it is *profane* not to believe that the Son of God is visible, corporal, and *local*, since his resurrection. The same venerable father (writing in the fifth century), represents Christ as saying to his disciples, "You are not to eat this body which you see, or to drink that blood which my crucifixion shall pour forth. I have commended to you a sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you." And again, "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the *figure* of his body and blood." And again, "For he did not doubt to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the *sign* of his body." And again, "A preceptive speech, forbidding a crime, or commanding something good or profitable, is not figurative, but if it seems to command a crime, or forbid a good, it is figurative. Unless 'ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,' &c., *seems to command a wickedness*: it is therefore a figure commanding us to communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay it up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." There is also another circumstance connected with this incomprehensible *apotheosis* of the wafer, which is not unworthy of notice. If I divide a sovereign into twenty equal portions, each portion contains only one-twentieth part of the gold which constituted the entire coin; but if a wafer be divided into the same number of fragments, each separate portion is equal to the whole, inasmuch as each contains the same entire body, soul, and divinity of our Lord. A wafer, therefore, when divided into twenty parts, contains twenty times as much as it did when it was entire, because each part contains as much as the whole; and every communicant can exercise at will the same power as the priest; for if he separates

with his tongue, or with his teeth, the wafer, placed by sacerdotal hands into his mouth, he too brings down the Redeemer from heaven into each separate fragment, and may have ten or twenty Christs at the same instant, either in his mouth or in his stomach. If, therefore, a blasphemer or an infidel is induced, by hypocrisy or worldly-mindedness, to admit a consecrated host into his mouth, the very man who scoffs at the alleged wonderful change, can force Christ to descend from heaven, *toties quoties*, by parcelling it out with his tongue into whatever number of portions he thinks proper; and in the event of one of these charmed wafers being purloined from the *pix* by a thief, who may drop it when hotly pursued by a *posse* of Jesuits, it may be driven by a gust of wind into an ant-hole, and the God-man being entire in each separate fragment, may at the same moment be pent up in the entrails of 500 insects,—a degradation, perhaps, less revolting than that of being consigned to the stomach of a profligate Pope, or an infidel patriarch. In the days of primitive antiquity, when Christians often took the sacrament to their own houses, and “kept it by them”—(*Tert.*)—it was not carried through the streets in procession, or followed by adoring multitudes, nor did the spectators fall down on their knees, nor was any intervention required on the part of a priest, but it was “laid up in a coffer”—(*Cyprian*)—or “put into a handkerchief, and taken to sea” (*Ambrose*, with respect to his own brother), although the Pope prohibits the eucharist from being consecrated or carried in its deified condition, either on sea or rivers. On all such occasions it was liable to be lost, mislaid, consumed by mice or other vermin; and I think this very consideration affords presumptive evidence, that in those days there was no belief in the real presence. The benefit accruing to each believing recipient remains, I think, quite inexplicable. The bread yields to him no nourishment, for the *accidents* contain none, and the *substance* has ceased to exist, and is superseded by the

body, soul, and divinity of Christ, none of which can nourish the body; nor can the soul masticate the soul or the divine nature of the Saviour, inasmuch as the regenerated spirit can only be said to live by the living word of God received by faith, even as the body is nourished by the substance of bread. It is, moreover, not easy to reconcile with the alleged fact of the real presence, our Lord's own declaration to the disciples, "*Me ye have not always with you.*" Augustine, indeed, has positively affirmed, that "Christ, as God, is every where; but in respect of his body, he is determined to a particular residence in heaven;" and the same revered father's gloss on our Lord's words quoted above is, "He spake of the presence of his body," &c. John Picus Mirandola maintained, in Rome itself, that it could not be by the power of God, that one body should at once be in divers places; and that this property is limited to God, and impossible to a body, was affirmed by the University of Paris in 1340.—(*Jeremy Taylor.*) But if the Romish doctrine be true, "It was expedient for his church that he should go away," not in order to send the Comforter, but because he himself, instead of being confined to only one place at a time, would be corporally present under the eucharistical accidents in ten thousand places at once—present in churches, present in processions, present at deathbeds, present in their mouths, present in their stomachs.

We, my dear friends, who are spiritual, are quite satisfied with, and truly thankful for, that spiritual presence of our blessed Lord in the midst of us, which, and which alone, he was pleased to promise in the gracious words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We believe, that he may be considered as addressing to every assemblage of ransomed and renovated communicants, the language employed by the apostle (Col. ii. 5), "Though I be *absent in the flesh*, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith." We

would say, if called on to prostrate ourselves before a pix, "He is not here, for he is risen, as he said, and carried up into heaven." "Why," says Augustine, "do you prepare your teeth and your stomach? *believe, and thou hast eaten.*" And again, "To believe in him, is to manducate the living bread." Yes, my friends, in despite of Popes and Jesuits, we love Him whom we have not chewed, and believe in Him whom we have never swallowed. We hold, that it is as unnecessary to eat his body, either in the Popish or Capernaïtic sense, as to pluck out our own right eye, or cut off our own right hand, because, according to the literal acceptation, our Lord has, under certain circumstances, admonished us so to do; or to maintain, that we have naturally a heart of stone, for which God, in the hour of regeneration, substitutes a new heart of flesh. We do not imagine, though it would necessarily follow from the literal interpretation of the text (Rev. iii. 12), that Christ will make every overcoming believer "a pillar in the temple of God," either of the Doric or Corinthian order, or *de facto* confer upon him a "white stone (perhaps a cornelian), and on the stone a new name written," conceiving all such language to be figurative and mysterious; or that, when our Lord (Mark iii. 34) said concerning "them which sat about him, Behold my mother and my brethren!" the whole company, whilst, in virtue of the accidents of their individuality remaining unaltered, they continued apparently the same, were, as soon as the last syllable in the word "brethren" issued from our Lord's mouth, transubstantiated into (Matt. xiii. 55) "his mother, called Mary, or his brethren, James and Joses, and Simon and Judas." We cannot suppose, that we shall be cast away for having credited the united and uniform testimony of all our senses, and for having taken it for granted, that a substance cannot exist without its proper accidents, nor accidents without their proper substance; so that wherever there is a change of substance, there must be also a change of accidents, and

where there is no change of accidents, the substance, with which they are naturally and necessarily united, must continue unaltered also. We can discern no analogy whatever between the case of the Trinity and that of transubstantiation. The former doctrine, besides making no appeal to the senses, lies at the very root, and constitutes the very essence, of Christianity. It is evident from Scripture, that Christ, by the sacrifice of himself, made an atonement for the sins of men; and it is not less clear, that such an atonement would have been altogether nugatory and inadequate, had it been offered only by a creature. The divinity of Christ is asserted in numberless passages of Scripture, and is not only admitted, but strenuously contended for, by the very fathers from whose writings so many passages have been extracted, which directly militate against the real presence of his body in the bread, besides being the foundation-doctrine of all the Protestant churches, who repudiate the tenet of transubstantiation, with the exception of Socinians, who have never been distinguished either for numbers or for influence. If a testament contained two clauses, in regard to the meaning of one of which nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand of the most eminent lawyers were agreed, while they were, to say the least of it, equally divided as to the interpretation of the other, it could not be maintained, that there was not a preponderance of authority with respect to the former, and that the meaning of the other must, at all events, be far more dubious, and probably less important. "We understand more concerning bodies and their natures than concerning the persons of the Holy Trinity; and therefore we may be sure, in the matter of bodies, to them what is and what is not possible, when we can know no measure of truth or error in all the mysteriousnesses of so high and separate, superexalted secrets, as is that of the holy Trinity."—(*Jeremy Taylor*.) With respect to the sentiments entertained by the early Christians, *fas est et ab hostis doceri*; much information

may be derived from considering the objections urged by Jews or Gentiles in primitive times. The preaching of "Christ crucified," as we learn from the apostles, was "to the Jews a stumblingblock, and to the Greeks foolishness."—(1 Cor. i. 23.) Now, what is implied by the expression, "Christ crucified?" Not the mere fact that Christ had expired, in virtue of a judicial sentence, on the cross, for this they both admitted and approved of; but what they could not away with was, that a crucified malefactor was believed and proclaimed by those who were "called," to be the "power of God, and the wisdom of God;" so that, in fact, their objection was, that Christ *crucified* was asserted to be Christ *glorified*—to have a name which was above every name—the only name given under heaven among men, whereby a sinner can be saved—to be the brightness of the Father's glory—himself God over all blessed for ever. On the other hand, we do not find the apostles or the early fathers defending themselves against the charge of worshipping Christ *breadified*, or prostrating themselves before a wafer, carried solemnly in a pix through the streets,—a charge which, had there been the semblance of a foundation for it, the Pagans would have urged, in the way of retaliation, when accused of adoring gods "graven by art or man's device;" for all the arguments urged by the primitive Christians against the heathen idols would apply, *a fortiori*, to a piece of bread, or a cup of wine, liable as they are to every casualty to which images are exposed, as well as far more perishable and evanescent. I may also mention, incidentally, that the silence of the early antichristian writers as to the worshipping of the "Mother of God," the invocation of the saints, or the adoration of relics (practices which would unquestionably have been denounced as idolatrous, had they been in use), affords a legitimate presumption, that such usages did not prevail during the era of pure and primitive Christianity.

It may also be observed, that the necessity for admit-

ting the doctrine of transubstantiation into the Popish creed rests mainly on the meaning of the word "is," and whether it is to be understood in a literal or figurative sense. I may remind you, *in limine*, that although the utmost importance is attached to a strict observance of the grammatical accuracy and proper collocation of the omnipotent words "*Hoc est corpus meum*," these are not the words originally used, but a human translation of the phrase which occurs in the inspired Greek gospel, which are themselves a rendering of the Syriac words originally employed by Christ himself. Jeremy Taylor informs us, that "in the language which our blessed Lord spake, there is no word that can express '*significat*,' but they use the word '*is*.'" "It is usual in the Old Testament to understand '*est*,' when the meaning is for the present and not to express it; but when it signifies the future, then to express it; 'the seven fat cows,' seven years; the seven withered ears shall be seven years of famine. The Greek interpreters of the Bible supply the word *est* in the present tense, which is omitted in the Hebrew, as in the places above quoted; but although their language can very well express *signifies*, yet they follow the Hebrew idiom. In the New Testament, the same manner of speaking is retained, to declare the seed is the word, the field is the world, I am the vine, my Father is the husbandman, the stars are the angels of the churches, the candlesticks are the churches. We have, therefore, great, and fair, and frequent precedents for expounding this '*est*' by '*significat*,' and to the same effect St Augustine observes, that 'the thing which signifies is wont to be called by that which it signifies.' Hence it is said the rock was Christ, for he said not the rock *signifies* Christ, but as if the thing were that, not which it were in its own substance but in signification." This remark of Augustine is well exemplified in the expression (Exod. xxv. 11), "The lamb is the Lord's passover;" and to the same effect our Lord says (Luke xxii. 16), "With desire

have I desired to eat this passover with you," meaning the lamb, by which the passover was typically represented. Nor is it unimportant to remark that, according to Tertullian, and other early authorities, "eating the eucharistical bread was esteemed a breaking the fast, which is not imaginable any man can admit; but he that believes bread to remain after consecration, and to be nutritive as before."—(*Jeremy Taylor*.)

There have been, and I believe are, my dear friends, many learned theologians who have denied the power and even the personality of Satan; but I have long thought, that his existence and influence are exhibited in a very strong and striking point of view by the efforts which he has made (and that, too, with astounding and alarming success) to adulterate or alter the fundamental tenets of pure and primitive Christianity; and in no instance is this result more plain and palpable than in his inducing so many millions of professed believers in the Bible to admit the monstrous figment of transubstantiation, in defiance both of their senses and of their judgment. "The fathers," says Jeremy Taylor, "were not used to such curious notions, and intricate falsehoods, and artificial nonsense with which the Roman doctors troubled the world on this question." And again, "So strange a resolution men have taken to defend their own opinions, that they will, in despite of all sense and reason, say something to every thing, and that shall be an answer, whether it will or no. . . . There is no reason we should suffer ourselves to be out-faced out of the use of our senses, our reason, and our language." And again, "Certain it is there hath been much greater inconvenience by following the letter of these words of institution than of any other in Scripture, by so much as the danger of idolatry, doctrinal tyranny, and uncharitable damning others, and schism, are worse than any temporal inconvenience, or an error in a matter of speculation."

• When, in the days of old, "the carpenter encouraged

the goldsmith," a statue of a god, whose perfect symmetry might excite the admiration of the beholder, was often the result of their ingenious and persevering labour; but neither they themselves, nor their most abject devotees, imagined for a moment that the workmanship of their hands was actually a god. When Horace's artist, after deliberating whether he should make a deity or a wooden bench, *maluit esse Deum*, he was conscious that he only formed the representation of a divinity, whose dwelling-place he believed to be in heaven. But when the miller encourages the baker, the wafer, which results, has not even (as in the other case) the advantage of awakening devotional feeling by its external beauty—it has neither form nor comeliness, and its claim to be worshipped depends upon whether Father Tuck thinks proper that it should continue to be bread, or whether *maluit esse Deum*. When Luther combats Popish error, he is logical and invincible; but when he virtually and unaccountably cleaves to the Romish delusion, and endeavours to elucidate the mystery of the real presence by saying that Christ is present in the bread, as fire is present in heated iron, his illustration is most unfortunate; for, in the former case, no change takes place that is cognisable to any of the senses. Luther might meddle with cold iron, without being environed by any danger; but if he had tasted or handled the mass when red-hot, his tongue and his fingers would soon have convinced him, that the analogy could not stand the test of scrutiny. In one of Cicero's treatises (*De Nat. Cor.*), he says, "*Ecquem tam amentem esse putes, qui illud, quo vescuntur, Deum credat esse?*" If any one in the great orator's presence had taken up a piece of bread and said, This is Ceres, or had poured out a glass of Falernian and said, This is Bacchus, the real presence of these divinities would never have occurred to him for a moment; and this is what led the great philosopher Averroes to say, that "he did not find any sect worse or more absurd than that of the Christians, who eat and

break to pieces the God whom they worship." It was not in this sense that the disciples understood the gracious declaration, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world"—a declaration verified in the experience of our own saints and martyrs, either when declaring to their people all the words of this life, or when hurried by bloody wafer-worshippers to prison or to death. It was thus, and not under the disguise of bread, that the Lord stood by Paul, when all men forsook him and fled. When the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, the beloved disciple says, "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." He was seen with their eyes and handled with their hands. But what can be more different, or more extravagant, than what is supposed to take place when the Word is made bread, and we are gravely assured, by magicians in black gowns or red stockings, that the God-man, although he continues in heaven where he was before, enters the mouth and bowels of the fervent and fasting worshipper, where, although he escapes the annoyance of encountering the tea and toast of an early breakfast, he may, in groping his weary way through the *duodenum*, *jejunum*, and *ileum*, be doomed *hæsternæ occurrere cœnæ*, though shrouded from actual contact by the protecting panoply of the accidents of bread! I have often brought this marvellous doctrine under your notice, my dear friends, because it appears to me to be, of all the absurdities ever devised by human folly, the most preposterous and the most profane. If such details seem painful and revolting, the fault lies with the sacrilegious impostors, who palm, under pain of eternal damnation, such a palpable blasphemy upon the credulity of mankind, and not upon the indignant advocate of pure and primitive Christianity, who endeavours to expose it to reprobation and disgust. As well might the Jews upbraid a painter, who delineated the atrocities of Calvary, with having crucified the Lord of glory, instead of imputing that crime

to themselves, who had been his betrayers and his murderers.

I know, therefore, and am persuaded, my dear friends, that the idol-wafer is "nothing at all in the world," and that *Breadism* is more preposterous even than *Buddhism*. Some of you may perhaps have heard the story of the conjurer, who, about the middle of the last century, engaged to introduce himself into a quart bottle on the stage of one of the principal metropolitan theatres, and, after having collected an immense number of half-crowns from multitudes of credulous dupes, very wisely withdrew with his money, and left them to chew the cud of rage and disappointment. But, supposing that one of his confederates, arrayed in black and flowing robes, had gravely stepped forward, and, after elevating the bottle in his left hand, and pronouncing certain cabalistic words in the Coptic tongue, had, with the right, quickly inserted the cork into the neck of the bottle, and said, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have him in safe custody—his pledge is redeemed—he is not only ensconced in this vitreous dungeon, but is also become wholly invisible. The bottle is to all appearance still a cell of emptiness—to the eye it seems to be transparent—if you weigh it, the specific gravity is still the same—if you try to fill it with water, it will contain just as much liquid as before. But still (if you have only faith enough to believe it) my friend is there, arrayed in his bag-wig and sword; and if five hundred initiated adepts like myself pronounce the same talismanic sentence in the same number of different places, he will be present, though unseen, in the same number of bottles, and yet is, at the same moment, supping at the Star and Garter in Richmond." Why, my friends, if the whole, or any proportion of the audience thought proper to credit so marvellous an asseveration, I should for one contend, that they ought to be permitted to do so with perfect impunity. Nay, if they even proceeded a step further, and insisted, that all who disbelieved this

miracle, should be liable to the posthumous punishment of everlasting destruction, I should still think, they were at perfect liberty to hold so harmless an opinion; because I feel confident, that this anathema, like those of Antichrist and his priestly emissaries, would, in the court of the upper sanctuary, be wholly powerless and unavailing. But if they advanced a degree beyond this, and resolved to punish every rash and daring sceptic, not only with the theoretical and distant prospect of eternal fire, but with the more practical and immediate infliction of temporal flames, it surely would be high time to resist their arrogant pretensions, and even become necessary, on the principle of self-defence, to divest them of all power to effect their guilty objects.

Why, my friends, the more we consider the representations presented to us of their own doctrine by the Papists themselves, the more difficult it will appear to reconcile them with the plainest notions of common sense, or to render them more preposterous and absurd by any comment or illustration. The priest, at every celebration of the mass,

“ Assumes the god,
Affects to nod,
And seems to shake the spheres;”

so as to have it in his power, at any moment, to cause the Lord of glory to descend from heaven, in his divine and human natures, “and in very deed dwell” in a wafer, although the heaven of heavens cannot contain him. In vain should you or I exclaim, “He is not here, he is risen, as he said; the heaven has received him, until the times of restitution of all things.” “No,” replies the priest, “there is here the body, the blood, the soul, and the divinity of Jesus Christ, under the form of bread in the host, and of wine in the chalice—there is now only the form, but not the substance, of the bread in the host, and of wine in the cup.”—(*Thomson*, p. 95.) When the priest breaks the host, he does not break the body of Jesus Christ, because the forms, or accidental

qualities only of the bread, are broken by him. The host, before it is consecrated, is nothing but a little bread; but, in the consecrated host, there remains no more bread, but the body of Jesus Christ our Lord enters into it. The accidents, however, of the bread remain, viz., the colour, the taste, the smell, the heat, the cold, the figure, which are sensible or visible. Christ never quits heaven, but by divine virtue is found in heaven, and in all the consecrated hosts, and at the same time in as many distinct and distant places as there are persons who perform the act of consecration throughout the whole world. If the host were broken into a thousand fragments, he would be found in each of them. It is not a sin to touch with the teeth that which we are permitted to eat, but we ought to endeavour not to chew it, "that some small particle may not remain hid among the teeth." O, my dear friends, one's blood almost runs cold, whilst transcribing or listening to such blasphemous absurdities. From the last sentence, it is manifest that, if some careless or nervous recipient of the host inadvertently admits a single particle into the cavity of a tooth, that particle contains the entire body, soul, and divinity of the Redeemer, which may thus remain imprisoned in an offensive receptacle, until dexterously transfixed by a toothpick, or seasonably eliminated by a brush. Another awful truth, or, as we think, palpable falsehood, is gravely and authoritatively announced in the same authentic record, namely, that, "without any doubt, the holy mass said by the priest is of the same value and efficacy with the sacrifice, which the Son of God himself made upon the cross on Mount Calvary, where he died for our salvation, and offered for us all his most precious blood and death to his eternal Father." I would here ask, my dear friends, whether the Papist or the Protestant must contemplate with the deepest reverence, and the most lively gratitude, the great propitiation offered by the Son of God? The one believes that it never was, and never need be, repeated. He feels

assured, that he has been ransomed from sin and death by the offering of a single pearl of great price, yea, of infinite and inestimable value. The other contends, that such a propitiatory sacrifice is an event, which probably occurs ten thousand times in the course of every day, and that innumerable pearls of equal lustre have been, and are, and shall be, forthcoming, from the day on which the sacrament was instituted, until time shall be no more. The priest (as I observed before) takes bread into his hand, and by pronouncing certain words, and willing that they shall take effect, produces the same result as if he said, Let this become God. In the beginning it was not so. In the beginning God created man; but now, when man is invested with the sacerdotal office, the course of creation is reversed, and man becomes the maker of his God. It is as if God were like the centurion, a man under authority. The priest saith unto him, Come, and he cometh into the bread; go, and he goeth into the mouth; and when it is the mortal's pleasure, that a fellow-sinner's transgressions shall be forgiven him, he commands God to do this, and he doeth it.

As our Lord's holy humanity was endowed with the most exquisite feelings both of tenderness and of dignity, with what horror must he (on the Popish hypothesis) have reclined at the sacramental table, and looked forward to the awful crisis, at which (although still at the same moment retaining his actual posture) he would be received into the very bowels, which so soon thereafter would gush out, when Judas should fall headlong, and burst asunder in the midst! Surely, with such a prospect before him, we should expect to be informed, that his sweat was, as it were, great drops of blood falling down to the ground, and that he, being in an agony, exclaimed, "Father, save me from *this* hour! if it be possible, let *this* cup pass from me! deliver me from going down into the pit of perfidy and corruption!" And when he saw himself (without, however, stirring from his seat) gliding down the traitor's throat, and felt him-

self (whilst still at liberty) imprisoned in the traitor's stomach, how unutterable must his anguish have been ! Surely, had it been placed at his option, he would rather have been, for a few hours, imprisoned in the viewless winds, or confined in a thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice; for I do think, that the degradation of the Son of God was far greater on that occasion, than even the captivity of the devils, who, at their own behest, entered the swine ! For a time, at least, the members of Jesus, and those of Judas, stood in the same relation to each other, as the living creatures and the wheels in Ezekiel's vision,—when those went, these went; when those stood, these stood,—until, in the sublime and striking phraseology of the great Romish orator, the force of which I shall not injure by a feeble attempt to translate it, “*Ses entrailles, impatientes de renfermer un Dieu captif dans un lieu d'horreur, s'ouvrent comme pour lui frayer une route nouvelle, et le délivrer de la corruption.*” Such, then, was the ignominy to which (for us men, I presume, and for our salvation) the Lord of glory was exposed on that memorable night on which, for the first time, his divine and human natures were entombed in thirteen stomachs at once (his own included), although, at the same time, whilst a prisoner in these thirteen living sepulchres, he was nevertheless at large, going to and fro on the earth, and walking up and down in it. But similar trials, alas, have been befalling and awaiting him ever since. St Cecilia is celebrated for having, by her celestial harmony, drawn an angel down from heaven. The priests, however, go every day far beyond that saint, and bring God himself into a tabernacle of flour and water, where, when placed in the mouth of a murderer like Alexander VI., an usurer like John XXII., a persecutor like Innocent III., a blasphemer like Julius II., a voluptuary like Leo X., he descends “*dans un sépulcre plein d'ossements et d'infection—dans un cœur, où il trouve les esprits impurs qui en sont maîtres. Il n'y descend pas, comme autrefois dans les enfers, ac-*

compagné des marques glorieuses de sa victoire, pour délivrer les captifs, et rompre les chaînes de ceux qui attendoient son arrivée; il descend dans un appareil triste et lugubre, pour y être captif lui-même, pour s'y voir encore le jouet de ses ennemis—pour y essuyer leurs derisions et leurs insultes; pour les voir assis sur le trône de votre ame, tandis que lui-même, qui l'a rachetée à si grand prix; qui l'a tirée du neant, qui a tant de sortes de droit sur elle, qui devoit y être souverain, n'y est plus qu'un vil esclave, et n'y trouve pas ou reposer sa tête.”
—(Massillon, v. 284.)

I may farther strengthen this position (as I conceive) by the following illustration :—Let us waft ourselves for a few moments across the ocean, on the cloak of St Phantasy, to the once peaceful but now plundered shores of Otaheite, where ruffians, inscribing on their banners the names of liberty, equality, and fraternity, are striving to coerce or cajole the unoffending and defenceless natives into the substitution of bad for good, of darkness for light, of the cumbrous idolatry of Jesuitism for the hallowed doctrines of Jesus. These zealous quaternions of armed missionaries are intent upon rendering the inhabitants of that devoted land as reckless and as wretched as their own countrymen at home,—where despotism rules under the name of liberty, where a tenacious adherence to titles and a lavish distribution of ribbons seem to be regarded as integral elements in the first principles of equality, and where fraternity lately consisted in the unnatural exasperation of rival factions, which, to a degree unparalleled in history, were full of malice and envy, hateful and hating one another. The apostles, as we have contended, were silent at the first celebration of the Lord's supper, because they understood the Lord's words according to the Protestant acceptation. The same would, no doubt, be the case in reference to the serious and guileless communicants at Tahiti, as often as they “ate of that bread, and drank of that cup,” which their beloved Protestant teachers placed reverently

in their hands. But when some modern Vincent Filliutius, or Emanuel Sa, invites them to witness or partake in the same ordinance, as disfigured and degraded by the tawdry puerilities of the Romish ritual, they would, in the first place, be astonished with a great astonishment to hear, that from *them* that very cup was to be withheld, out of which, when our Lord presided, all present were invited to drink! But as soon as the learned casuist proceeded gravely and authoritatively to inform them, that, as the wine must not be drunk by them, so the bread must not be broken at all, and that, without any perceptible change ensuing, the bread was bread no longer, and the wine no longer wine, but that both were converted into the body and blood of "the Lord from heaven," they would not only be surprised, but horror-struck, at the bare announcement of a proposition so absurd and so blasphemous. Like the Jews of old, they would have great reasoning among themselves; and were the wisest or wiliest Jesuit to persuade them concerning the real presence, both out of the decretals and out of the extravagants, from morning till evening, it would in the end, I am sure, be found that some, or rather many, believed not, but small, indeed, I ween, would be the aggregate of those who believed. They would be all amazed, insomuch that they would question among themselves, saying, "What thing is this? what new doctrine is this? When the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth, with authority commanded He even the unclean spirits, and they did obey Him. But how can this man give us our Lord's flesh to eat? We should be fools indeed, if we were not slow of heart to believe, that Christ, after having entered into his glory, ought to suffer such awful degradation; and that a mortal, in all points tempted like as we are, and subject to like passions with ourselves, should exercise lordship over the Prince of Life, so that, when commanded to enter this wafer, he must obey." The Jesuit, if the "unadorned eloquence" of

their simple and unsophisticated language supplied him with a vernacular term which designates "an accident," (not in the more common and popular, but in the more metaphysical and recondite sense), would endeavour to make them comprehend (what is perhaps not altogether intelligible to himself), that the bread and wine, at the self-same moment, continue to appear, and yet cease to be, what they were—he might say, in reference to the cup, that the great Physician of souls allows the accidents of the wine to remain, for the same reason that honey is sometimes resorted to by the skilful disciples of Esculapius, in order that wholesome medicines may more easily be swallowed for the cure of inveterate maladies; and he might translate, in illustration of his doctrine, the beautiful lines of Lucretius, into verses perhaps even more harmonious—

"Nam veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
Labrorum tenuis, interea perpotet amarum
Absinthii laticem, deceptaque, non capiatur;
Sed potius tali tactu recreata valescat."

If, in the plenitude of his paternal condescension, Father Sa were to say to the bewildered Polynesian, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. "Then, your reverence insists upon my receiving the sacramental words in the literal sense, and believing that the wine becomes blood, in order that such holy men as you may drink it, whilst we must be contented with beholding it afar off." "I do, upon the pain of eternal damnation." "Behold, now, I have taken upon me to speak unto thee, who am but as a little child." "Say on." "Does not the Spirit say expressly, that our Lord loves his children, and washed them from their sins in his own blood?" "Have a care, young friend, what you are about; too much Scripture may make you mad; but there is such a passage as you have quoted." "O let not the holy father be angry, and I will speak. I have heard a German missionary state,

that there is an enormous tun at a place called Heidelberg, which contains many thousand gallons of wine. Now I wish, an' please your reverence, to be informed, whether that wine is by consecration converted into blood, in order that believers may be washed in it from their sins, and whether another vessel of similar dimensions exists elsewhere, in which holy women wash the robes of such as come out of great tribulation, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb?" " Nay, but, O wretch, who art thou that repliest against a Jesuit? Thou art altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us? Thou, who art unto us a barbarian, speak no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee." I confess, my friends, I am unable to see, why the two last Scripture passages are not as well entitled to be taken in a literal sense as the first. There may be both a difference and a distinction, which to me are quite imperceptible; but then, *Davus sum, non Œdipus*. I am a Calvinist—not a Jesuit; Judas—but not Iscariot. If the holy fathers should feel discouraged by seeing, that in Otaheite few believe their report, and are doubtful whereunto this may grow, the best advice which I can tender, and which, their own zeal and sagacity have, I presume, already anticipated, is to let the arm of the Inquisition be revealed unto many. They had better treat the heretical islanders as I learn, on the respectable authority of Paul Cullen, that the orthodox portions of the great Emerald Isle community are at present treated by the Protestant satellites of despotism. The most reverend prelate does not, indeed, like the Queen of Sheba, commune with us of all that is in his heart. He has, however, manfully proclaimed his horror of religious persecution, and unfurled the standard of religious freedom. That goddess, like another Astræa, has fled from oppressed Ireland to the Neapolitan paradise of liberty, where indeed, if any presumptuous son of Adam, or any misguided daughter of Eve, should venture to partake of the fruit of the Scripture vine (although it is pleasant to the eye,

and a tree to be desired to make one wise), when they eat, or even touch it, they must prepare for death or banishment. I infer, however, from the pathetic declamations of this deeply outraged man of God, that the carved work of his cathedral has been broken down at once with axes and hammers—that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary, and hath burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land—that the consecrated virgins have been expelled from their convents—that a heretical senate has declared it treasonable to make the sign of the cross—that mass books have been declared to be contraband—that the writings of St Thomas and Father Cahill have been consigned to the Index—and that it is become felony, without benefit of clergy, to anoint the forehead with holy water. Nay, I really blush for my country when I reflect, that, a few weeks ago, when my distinguished friend and kinsman, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, was about to be entertained at Limerick by a select band of his orthodox constituents and admirers, where, had freedom of speech prevailed, they would have declaimed in terms of pious but perilous eloquence against the law which prohibits the assumption of ecclesiastical titles, when not conferred by our gracious Queen, he only escaped being sent by a perfidious and persecuting Clarendon (the embryo historian, it may be, of some future rebellion or civil war), untried and unconvicted, to Norfolk Island, (even as that rash and reckless apostate Count Guicciardini was rudely expelled from his native land for venturing to open “*Una Bibbia Italiana*” in a friendly circle, to whom he might have read Dante, or even Boccaccio, with impunity), by kindly feigning indisposition, in order not only to ward off exile from himself, but to save the jurisprudence and constituted authorities of his native land from incurring everlasting disgrace by such an act of foul oppression. Now this, I believe, is not only the best, but the only way, in which the disciples of Loyola and the confederates of Cullen can exterminate the gospel from Otaheite. Let them but set

up for signs their ensigns of banishment, confiscation, and blood. Let them but expel or imprison the teachers whom the natives love, in order to introduce a more soul-destroying idolatry than that from which their fathers were reclaimed,—let them but act as their church has never failed to act, where it could grasp at a cruel and criminal ascendancy, and then it will be recorded by some future Polynesian annalist, that no man was able to answer them a word, neither durst any man (from that day forth) ask any more questions.

How did the Israelites ascertain the nature of the manna, which they did eat in the wilderness? (Exod. xvi.) (1.) By the sight they saw it was a “small round thing” (ver. 14), and like coriander seed, white (ver. 31); (2.) by the touch (ver. 17) they “gathered it;” (3.) by the taste, which was “like wafers made with honey” (ver. 34); and of course (4.) by the smell, which probably, like the taste, resembled that of honey; (5.) by the effects produced from external causes, it “melted when the sun waxed hot” (ver. 21), it “bred worms and stank, when left until the morning” (ver. 50); (6.) they knew it to possess nourishing properties, because it satisfied their hunger; they “did eat it forty years” (ver. 35.) Now, we have precisely the same evidence for the nature and qualities of the elements used at the sacrament, and cannot, on the same premises, avoid arriving at the same conclusions, since the senses, from which we derive this information, are the only inlets to our knowledge. Even the acquaintance which we possess with abstract, or spiritual, or invisible things, can only be attained through the medium of the eye or of the ear; and I cannot call to mind any instance in which our Lord or his apostles commanded any rational beings to believe, that any change took place in any visible object, in despite of the evidence of the very senses, through which alone they can be aware of its existence or of its properties. If the words, “This is my body,” admitted of no other than the literal accepta-

tion, we should of course be bound to adopt that meaning, although even then it would not necessarily follow, that they must be understood in the Romish sense. Our Lord, at the institution of the Eucharist, gives no intimation that any *change* in the elements takes place—or if at all, at the precise period pointed out by the Romish creed. It is just as likely, if the bread was his body at all, that it was so in some, to us unintelligible, sense (though not *more* unintelligible than transubstantiation), when or before he took it into his sacred hands. I maintain that it is safer, as well as wiser, to contend with the Protestants for the admissibility of a single metaphor, which is not only simple and obvious in itself, but borne out by the analogy of hundreds of similar figures, occurring in almost every page of the sacred oracles, than to embrace the Papist's alternative of asserting the continuous reiteration of millions of miracles, each of which is at least as superfluous as it is stupendous.

The first mass, according to the Romish principle, was celebrated by our Lord himself, prior to his crucifixion and death. This “unbloody sacrifice” (like each of the millions of masses which have since been said by popes and priests), is contended to have been as inestimable and as efficacious, as the atonement offered on Calvary. *The sins of the whole world, therefore, had thus been completely expiated, before our Lord “endured the cross.”* If this was the case, I ask why it was necessary, or how it could be just, that he should be exposed to ignominy, and overwhelmed with anguish, and have submitted to the derisions of his enemies, and the hidings of his Father's countenance, in order to procure the forgiveness of guilt, which had already been cancelled and put away? Without, therefore, accomplishing his decess at Jerusalem, he might have at once gone to his Father and our Father, and led captivity captive; for, at the institution of the supper, he took upon him the form of a wafer, and was made in the likeness of bread, and being found

in fashion as a wafer, he humbled himself, and was swallowed simultaneously by each of his twelve apostles, whilst he continued to recline at the table, so as to be actually in the stomach of Judas, at the very moment when he was betrayed.

I need scarcely add, that I am not so "foolish, or slow of heart to believe," as to doubt, that Christ "ought to have suffered these things;" and that, without the shedding of his most precious blood, no sinner could have been saved. But if this sacrifice was (as is admitted on all hands) as all-sufficient and efficacious as it was important and indispensable, I again ask, on what principle of equity or wisdom, any "unbloody sacrifices" could have been required on the part of God? Supposing that my accomplished and highly-gifted friend D'Israeli, in consequence of an immense influx of gold from California and Australia, were enabled to commence his auspicious career, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, by convening all the fundholders, and paying them in sovereigns the full amount of their claims, with a large per centage to boot, what would be thought of the creditors, if they returned on the following morning, and insisted on obtaining a payment of equal value in bank notes? And yet this is a precise, or rather imperfect, image of what God is represented by the Pope to have done. After having received an infinite satisfaction, through the pure gold of the great offering on Calvary, a propitiation of equal value must be superadded, many hundred or even thousand times every day throughout the world, in the paper currency of unbloody sacrifices! When our Lord, in his holy human nature had risen from the tomb, and ascended on high, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us, what necessity can there be, that we should say in our hearts, Who shall again bring Christ from above? Why should he undergo a daily repetition (often accompanied, according to Massillon, by circumstances of peculiar aggravation) of the ignominy which he endured, once for all, for the sake

of his people? Is it not more degrading to be imprisoned in the bowels of an infidel, than to be nailed to the accursed tree? And why should this great affront be submitted to, when the first humiliation was declared to be not only adequate, but infinite in value to atone for the dishonour done to the divine law by human sin? When the Genoese had offered a flagrant insult to Louis XIV., he demanded, by way of reparation, that the Doge should repair in person to Versailles, and make a suitable and submissive apology; as soon as this condition had been complied with, the King declared himself satisfied, and the Doge went home, if not in triumph, at all events in peace, and no further atonement was required. But would not the monarch have been deemed very harsh, unjust, and faithless, if he had insisted that the Doge, after his return, should every morning be tied up in a coarse sack of flour, and tossed in a blanket five hundred times per day? And surely, my dear friends, the Doge's punishment, however unjust or ignominious, would be far less awful and far less humiliating than that of the Holy One of Israel! According to the Romish hypothesis, although he saved others from infamy and death, he is unable to save himself from the daily or hourly degradation of being jolted to and fro, at every Popish priest's behest, through slimy pools of gastric juice, in fragile arks of impalpable abstractions.

There are, my dear friends, at the close of St Matthew's gospel, a declaration and a promise (Matt. xxviii. 18-20), from which every believer may, I think, derive much instruction and great encouragement—"All power is given unto ME in heaven and in earth." The Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, must be the Almighty God. He may be trusted in at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances. He does not tell us that he has delegated any portion of his omnipotence to his mother, to angels, or to departed saints. Why should we seek their countenance or aid, when God, our Saviour, is a refuge for us? Especially when he super-

adds the gracious pledge, "Lo, *I am with you alway*, unto the end of the world." He is, therefore, as God, continually present with all redeemed and sanctified souls, not merely in the services of the church, or during the oblation of domestic worship, or at the hour of secret prayer, or in the administration of the sacramental elements; his grace is sufficient for them every moment, though there are seasons and places where it is imparted in the largest measure, and enjoyed with the liveliest thankfulness; and this, undoubtedly, is the privilege and prerogative of every worthy communicant, who, in obedience to his Lord's solemn injunction, receives bread and wine as the tokens of his Lord's love, and the symbols of his own faith—doing this "in remembrance of Him." I cannot conceive, that the holy sensibilities of the believer can be at all strengthened or enhanced by the adoption of a principle, which sets at defiance both his senses and his reason. For my own part, I should shrink with horror from the act of receiving into my mouth, and precipitating down my throat, the Creator of the universe, the Redeemer of mankind,—more especially as, according to the Romish creed, I can never be certain whether I am doing so or not, as the change depends on the will of man, as much as on the power of God. If the priest makes any mistake in reciting the words of consecration, or uses the plural instead of the singular in consecrating many hosts, or if he be an unbeliever, or an atheist, or does not intend to perform the miracle, or if there be any defect in his baptism or ordination, or if the bread be corrupted, or the wine be vinegar, or mingled with any substance but water, the elements continue unaltered. The language used by our Lord on this solemn occasion, as well as the external rite itself, was an imitation (according to Jeremy Taylor) of a sacramental custom, already in use among the Jews, of breaking bread and distributing wine at the passover, after supper, saying, "This is the bread of sorrow, which our fathers ate in Egypt; this

is the passover ;" and this passover was called "the body of the Paschal lamb," nay, it was "the body of our Saviour," and "our Saviour himself," so that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made his by appropriation, by the word *meum*; "He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Any omission or change in the exact phraseology would be as fatal to the marvellous, though imperceptible, transformation of the elements as the substitution of "open barley" for "open sesame" was, in the Eastern tale, to the accomplishment of the object for which the latter expression was required. It is remarkable, also, that, according to St Gregory, the apostles consecrated the eucharist only by saying the Lord's prayer ; and as there is a considerable diversity in the words employed by St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke, and St Paul, when narrating what was said by our Lord at the institution of the ordinance, especially in reference to the chalice, it seems evident that there can be no necessity for employing one more than another ; and although Christ says, "This *do*," that is to say, "take bread, and break it, and eat, and drink the cup, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me," neither he nor his apostles gave the least intimation, that any particular form of words is necessary for the sacramental consecration. Transubstantiation was not pretended to be an article of faith until the Lateran Council, anno 1215, according to Scotus, and many other eminent authorities, who even go so far as to assert, that this doctrine is not so expressed in the canon of the Bible as, without the church's declaration, to compel us to admit it. Nay, the acts of that very council were not published until 1530, under the auspices of Cochlæus. An edition of the Councils was published three years before, and in that work the acts of the Lateran Council are not to be found ; and they are only inserted by Gregory IX. in his decretals, not as those of the council, but of his uncle, Innocent III., in the council, the proceedings of

which were left unfinished, in consequence of the fathers having been affrighted by the warlike preparations of Genoa and Pisa, when all retired. It may be added, as stated by Jeremy Taylor, that the same authority, whether of pope or council, which made transubstantiation an article of faith, made rebellion and treason to be a duty of subjects; for, in the same collection of canons, they are both decreed and warranted under the same signature, the one being the first canon and the other the third. Alphonsus a Castro, a Popish writer, confesses that "in ancient writers, there is *seldom* any mention made of transubstantiation;" but the truth is, that the *word* is *never* mentioned by them at all, nor is the doctrine, which it implies, ever defined or asserted by any of them, and the expression itself is said to have been first invented by Stephen, Bishop of Augustodunum, about the year 1100. Erasmus also expressly states, that "in the communion the church has but lately defined transubstantiation, *which, both in the thing and in the name, was unknown to the ancients.*" That Pope Gelasius held sentiments, in reference to the eucharist, utterly at variance from the more modern figment of transubstantiation, is evident from his own words,—
 "Truly the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, is a divine thing, for that by them we are made partakers of the divine nature, and *yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine.* And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the actions of the mysteries."

The Pope must indeed draw largely upon the ignorance and credulity of mankind, when he asserts, that the principles and practices of his church, in reference to the Lord's Supper, are borne out by the doctrines and usages of "primitive antiquity." It may be proper to lay briefly before you a few of the particulars, in which the contrast between the two is most strikingly exhibited. (1.) "The churches of Christ," says St Augustine,

“hold, by an ancient, and as I conceive, an apostolical tradition, that, without baptism and the communion of the Lord’s table, no man can come either into the kingdom of God, or unto salvation, or eternal life. Seeing, therefore, that no man can hope either for eternal life or salvation, without baptism and the body and blood of Christ, as has been proved by so many divine testimonies, *in vain is it promised to infants without the participating of these.*” When treating, three chapters before, of our Lord’s declaration, “Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye can have no life in you,” he adds, “Is there any man, who dares affirm, that *this speech belongs not to little infants also*, so that they may have life in them, without partaking of this body and of this blood?” And this is his constant manner of speaking in eight or ten passages of his works. In this view, he is borne out by his contemporary, Pope Innocent I., proving against the Pelagians, that baptism is necessary to infants, in as much as without it they cannot receive the eucharist, which is necessary to salvation. St Cyprian expressed similar sentiments before then—sentiments not maintained by three or four of the fathers only, but by the major part, and in a degree by all (*D’Aillé*); and Maldonat, a distinguished Popish author, allows that this practice prevailed during the first 600 years after Christ. It is, I believe, still maintained in the Greek and Abyssinian churches; and Charlemagne, and Louis his son, assure us, that this custom continued in the west in their time; and yet the Trentine assembly ventured to declare, “that the fathers did *not* administer the communion to infants out of any opinion that it was necessary to salvation, but upon some other probable grounds only.” Now, all Protestants, I believe, will concur in admitting, that the practice in question was founded on erroneous inferences from Scripture. But if the Romish Church can so unceremoniously set aside the doctrinal views of the early fathers as to an usage

to which they attached such supreme importance, with what consistency can they call on us to bow to their authority upon any other points, on which they are less agreed, less positive, and, as we think, equally mistaken? (2.) In the ancient church, the eucharist was celebrated with bread and wine, offered by the people—the bread first broken into several pieces, then consecrated and distributed; the Romish priest uses little wafer cakes, made round, in the form of a coin. (3.) The canonical prayer and consecration of the eucharist were read with a loud voice; the priest now pronounces them in a low tone. (4.) The ancient fathers concealed, as carefully as they could, the matter and rites used in the celebration of this holy sacrament, which they never performed in the presence of catechumens or unbelievers; they are now celebrated publicly, even before Jews and Pagans, without any regard to these ancient rules, and carried in solemn procession through the streets, although St Chrysostom blames those who remain behind without participating in the mysteries, and affirms, that such persons behave like impudent and shameless persons. (5.) Nothing is more certain, than that it was lawful for believers to carry home with them the holy eucharist, a practice sanctioned by Tertullian and St Ambrose, though repudiated by the modern Church of Rome. (6.) It is evident from the writings of Tertullian, St Cyprian, and Gregory Nanzianzen, that, in their days, the faithful received the sacraments with their hands. The first mentioned author inveighs against those amongst the Christians, who were gravers and painters by profession, “for touching the body of our Saviour with those very hands, which pictured bodies or devils,”—that is to say, with those hands, wherewith they made idols. A council held in 680 appoints, “that he who is to communicate place his hands in the form of a cross, and so receive the communication of grace.” But the Romanists receive the eucharist, not with their hands, but with

their mouth, into which it is put by the priest. (7.) I have already touched upon the innovation, most offensive to every genuine lover of antiquity, and established by the express decrees and canons of two of their general councils, one holden at Constance and the other at Trent, of not allowing the communion of the cup to any but the consecrating priest,—excluding, first, all the laity, and, secondly, all the priests and other of the clergy who had not the consecrating of it; whereas the whole ancient church, during fourteen centuries, admitted both to the communion of the holy cup, as well as to the participation of the consecrated bread, as the members of these two councils themselves confess in the preface to this new constitution. And this practice still prevails amongst all Christians throughout the world, both Russians, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Protestants, and all others in general, except the Latins only, who are of the communion of the Church of Rome. It is worthy of remark, that, in the passover, the *blood* on the door-post was the preservative sign, and thus (if there could be any comparison between the parts of God's command) the most essential. The original eating of the lamb was the communion of Christ's body with the church of Israel; but that was not enough—if the blood was not on the door-post, the destroyer would slay. Nor is the mutilation of the holy sacrament by the Pope less palpable, less audacious, or less fraught with danger, effected as it is in direct violation of our Lord's express command, "Drink ye *ALL* of it," an universality not enjoined, though implied, in the instance of the bread. The ancients did not even permit at all the communicating under one kind only, unless it were in some extraordinary cases. Pope Leo declares, that this very practice, now ordained under the authority of his successors, was the distinctive characteristic of the heretical Manichees. Pope Gelasius lays down the same doctrine, and says, that "without very great sacrilege there cannot be any division made in one and the same mys-

tery." But what saith the Council of Trent? How readest thou? "Whosoever shall say, that the holy Catholic Church has not been induced by just causes and reasons to communicate to the laity, and also to the priests who do not consecrate, under this kind of bread only, LET HIM BE ACCURSED!" O egregious and blasphemous presumption! Accursed, for doing what Christ himself has enjoined, and what, in obedience to his command, his church continued to do, during so many consecutive centuries! Truly it may be said, in reference to this impiety, that the Pope exalts himself above that God, whose law he is so daring as to set aside, and that his deluded votaries obey man rather than God, when they make void the divine law by their traditions. "It is," says D'Aillé, "impossible for any man to allege any reason for the practice of the moderns, which should not, in like manner, have obliged the ancients; nor, again, to produce any reason for the contrary practice of the ancients, which does not, in like manner, oblige the moderns. . . . As for the reasons, by which the fathers of the Council of Trent were induced to make the aforesaid decrees, how may we be able to come to the knowledge whether they were just or not, seeing that they themselves produce none at all? whereas the reasons, which induced the ancients to do as they did, and which you have set down at large in a certain discourse, printed at Paris, at the end of Cassander's works, are very sound and clear, and in my judgment very full both of wisdom and of charity."

After having treated so largely on this subject, I am anxious to recapitulate and lay before you a brief summary of the principles involved in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and I cannot do better than transcribe the clear and candid statement of Jeremy Taylor, in which he asserts that the Pope maintains the following propositions:—

"(1.) That, after the words of consecration, on the altar there is no bread—in the chalice there is no wine.

(2.) That the accidents, that is, the colour, the shape, the bigness, the weight, the smell, the nourishing qualities, of bread and wine, do remain; but neither in the bread, nor in the body of Christ, but by themselves,—that is, so that there is whiteness, and nothing white; sweetness, and nothing sweet, &c. (3.) That in the place of the substance of bread and wine, there is brought the natural body of Christ, and his blood that was shed upon the cross. (4.) That the flesh of Christ is eaten by every communicant, good and bad, worthy and unworthy. (5.) That this is conveniently, properly, and most aptly called transubstantiation,—that is, a conversion of the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's natural body—of the whole substance of the wine into his blood."

Nothing, I think, my friends, can be more monstrous or more revolting than the first of these propositions; but if this be once conceded, the other four, however contrary to reason and common sense, seem to follow as necessary results; and the whole statement demonstrates, that an enthusiastic devotee will rather assent to a whole series of absurdities, than renounce his adherence to one, in which he is predetermined to believe. When our Lord celebrated the first mass, he took bread, and after he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you." It is, I think, evident, that the whole mass of bread which he "took," either *was*, or *represented*, his body, and not that *each separate portion*, which each disciple received, contained his entire body; so that, if the whole mass really was his body, a part of it only was swallowed by each of the apostles. I should be glad also to ask, what can be said to be broken, when mass is celebrated by a priest? Not Christ's body, for it is contained entire in each portion of each wafer, when the continuity of any of its particles is dissolved; not the bread, for it has ceased to be; not the colour, taste, and other accidents of the elements, for these abstractions are not susceptible of being broken.

How strange that, in this instance, the eye should continue to behold the accidents of the substance which has vanished, and sees none of the accidents of the body, which occupies its place.

Of the divine homage paid to the idol-wafer, I subjoin for your perusal an account which I have transcribed from Southey's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 85:—

“Thursday last we saw the long-looked-for procession of the body of God. The pix is carried in all other processions empty—in this only it has the wafer. This is the only real presence. . . . On the night preceding, the streets through which it is to pass are cleaned. The only miracle I ever knew the wafer perform is that of cleaning the streets of Lisbon; they are strewn with sand, and the houses hung with crimson damask, from top to bottom. When the morning arrived, the streets were lined with soldiers—they marched on, filing to the right and left—their new uniforms are put on this day. . . . Of the finery of Portuguese full dress you can have but very inadequate ideas—not a jewel in Lisbon but was displayed—the rainbow would have been ashamed to be seen. . . . On the prince, and the group about the body of God (I like to translate it, that you may see the nakedness of the nonsensical blasphemy) they showered rose leaves from the windows.”

When the Baptist exclaimed (John i. 29), “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,” no one could for a moment imagine, that he intended to represent our Lord as being in deed and in truth a lamb, enveloped in the accidents and attire of humanity. It is evident, that John was applying to the present and visible antitype, the designation which properly appertained to the absent and invisible type. If my illustrious friend, Dr Duff, in addressing an assemblage of eastern communicants, the fruits of his powerful and much-countenanced ministry, were to point to the sacramental bread, and say, “Behold the Son of God, who took away the sin of the

world," his auditors would as little imagine, that his voice ascended into heaven, to bring Christ down from above (where his blessed humanity is), as that it descended into the deep, to bring up Christ again from the dead (where he is not). They would know, as Bible-instructed believers, that their revered pastor had, for their sakes, in a figure transferred to the bread (being, in this instance, the present and visible type), the appellation which, in strictness of speech, could only belong to Christ, the absent and unseen antitype.

Our Lord, not long thereafter, held that remarkable conversation with the woman of Samaria (John iv. 5), in which, with his exquisite judgment and characteristic condescension, he imparts to her, under the form of a similitude, suggested by what was actually occurring, certain important spiritual lessons, to which she probably would have paid little or no attention, had they been addressed to her in a more direct and didactic form. No one, I presume, imagines, that the "living water," which he presses upon the woman's acceptance, stands at all connected with the sacrament of baptism, especially as it is necessary to "drink" it. Still less, however, has it, I believe, entered into the heart even of a Popish saint or controversialist, to suppose, that the Holy Spirit descends invisibly into a goblet of water, and assumes the place of that element, the accidents alone remaining; so that the highly-favoured recipient of the mysterious draught imperceptibly swallows the third person of the Trinity; though such a transubstantiation, in the case of the "living water," is not more incredible, than that which is said to occur, when the second person shrouds himself in the accidents of the "living bread." The living water, in the one instance, is emblematical of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying grace. The living bread, in the other case, is typical of our Lord's meritorious suffering and atoning death, just as the expression, "living stones," used by Peter (ii. 5), is figurative, and intended to imply, that believers assume the place

previously occupied by the substance of stones, and are thus encased within their accidents.

If we next proceed to notice more particularly the remarkable conversation, recorded in the sixth chapter of the same gospel, we shall, I think, find, that there is scarcely any passage in holy writ, the expressions of which it is more necessary to consider rather in an emblematical and spiritual, than in a literal and carnal sense. Our Lord upbraids the Jews (ver. 26) with seeking him, "not because they saw the miracles, but because they did eat of the loaves, and were filled." They attached little importance to the display of miraculous power *on its own account*;—least of all would they have valued it, as a channel for imparting spiritual gifts or graces to their souls. What they prized was the food, which they had been enabled to obtain, and which was their primary object, whether derived from a miracle or through natural means. Perceiving that such was the frame of their minds, our Lord, instead of addressing to them any abstract reasonings, or didactic exhortations, has recourse to a metaphor, adapted to their dispositions and capacities, and says, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat, which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you." It is scarcely needful to remind you, that the word "meat" is not to be understood as referring to beef and mutton, or to whatsoever is sold in the shambles, but that, under this apposite similitude, Christ warns them not to strive solely or chiefly for acquiring the objects of time and sense,—such as wealth, power, rank, learning, popularity,—all of which perish in the using, but to covet earnestly the best gifts, and devote their attention mainly to the weightier matters,—the faith, by which the elders obtained a good report—the hope, which maketh not ashamed—the love, which is the fulfilling of the law—the light, which is sown for the righteous—the zeal, which is according to knowledge—the honour, which cometh from God only. These are to be understood as

constituting the *meat*, which endureth unto everlasting life. When, therefore, they asked him (ver. 28) what they must *do* to work the works of God, he admonishes them to “*believe* on Him whom he hath sent,”—intimating, therefore, that what he was desirous to impart, and what they should long to receive, was *faith*—that spiritual and living faith, which is the evidence of things not seen, and which consists in believing in Christ himself with the heart unto righteousness. Contrasting this “*meat*” with the manna which their fathers did eat, he declares, that he is himself the bread of life ; but he no more intends to assert, on this occasion, that his body, soul, and divinity are bread, than to affirm, when instituting the sacrament, that bread was his body, soul, and divinity. “He” (ver. 35) “that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that *believeth* in me shall never thirst.” And again (ver. 40), “Every one which seeth the Son, and *believeth* on him, shall have everlasting life.” And again (ver. 47), “He that *believeth* on me hath everlasting life ;” and then repeats, “I am that bread of life,”—intimating that faith in himself is as indispensable for the maintenance of the soul, as bread is for the support of the body. “Your fathers,” he adds (ver. 49), “did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead.” That manna was a carnal food, intended only for the maintenance of their bodies in the life that now is. But this (namely, faith in his merits as the Saviour of sinners, and the consequent vital union with himself) “is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die ;” because it is intended for the nourishment of their souls, throughout eternity as well as in time. That this passage is not meant to prefigure the eucharist, is, I think, evident from the two consequences which must inevitably result from adopting that interpretation :—(1.) That every one, who partakes of the sacrament, *must* be saved ; for “if any man eat of this bread, *he SHALL live for ever ;*” and, (2.) That no one can be saved, who does *not* partake of

the sacrament ; for (ver. 53), "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, *ye have no life in you.*" The early fathers, who, in general, took this view of the subject, did not scruple to adopt also the legitimate inference, and (as we have already stated), during six or seven centuries, gave the elements to infants, as is by some churches done even now. Cyprian, by the suffrages of sixty-five other bishops, admitted them to baptism and the Lord's supper as soon as they were born, and tells us of a certain young girl who, being not as yet of years to speak, by a remarkable miracle, put back the liquor, which had been consecrated for Christ's blood, and was presented to her by a deacon to drink in the church, as judging herself unworthy to receive it, by reason that not long before she had been carried to the celebration of certain Pagan sacrifices. Now, if we understand the expression, "Eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man," to denote a living faith in his sacrifice and righteousness, both the above propositions are true ; for by grace we are saved through faith, and without faith it is impossible to please God. Bellarmine, indeed, maintains, with respect to the first proposition, that the certainty of salvation through the eucharist depends upon its being received *worthily* ; but of this our Lord says nothing : and in regard to the second, that a sincere desire to receive the elements may be regarded as equivalent to an actual participation ; but this also is a mere gratuitous assumption. If these words allude to the sacramental elements, our Lord lays it down unconditionally, that they *must* be eaten and drunk, in order that salvation may be secured. If a homœopathic Æsculapius were to say to a patient, Except you eat a globule of aconite, and drink a tea-spoonful of the millionth part of a grain of arsenic dissolved in a tumbler of cold water, you cannot recover, the most fervent desire to swallow these infallible panaceas would not avail, unless they were actually received into the system. I believe, that the

eucharist is a palpable and striking representation to the eye, of the great truth conveyed by our Lord's metaphorical language to the ear, and through that channel to the understanding, that, without that lively faith in the sufferings and atonement of Christ, of which the elements are an emblem, a sinner cannot be saved, but that all *are* saved on whom that inestimable "gift of God" is bestowed. Now, saving faith is imparted to the soul through the regenerating agency of the Holy Spirit, and therefore must be *really* and *effectually* received. But the sacramental elements, given to believers as a public manifestation of the faith, which they already possess, and the reception of which is one of the precious occasions on which they enjoy, in a larger measure than usual, those tokens of their Lord's love which he vouchsafes to his renovated children at sundry times and in divers manners, may, from worldly motives, or from a mistaken conception of their nature, be received by carnal or unbelieving men, which saving faith itself cannot be; and such persons are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, because they deliberately make a false and hypocritical profession of that reliance on Christ's death and atonement, without the conscious possession of which no man should presume to approach the holy table, and partake of the children's bread. I may add, that if the expression, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," must be understood as applying to the sacrament, no Romanist can be saved, except such priests as have "officiated," and consequently partaken of the chalice, for drinking his blood is just as necessary as eating his flesh; and yet this privilege is withheld by the Pope from all the lay members of his church, who are thus involved in a most cruel dilemma, for our Lord plainly tells them, that unless they *drink* his blood, they cannot be saved, whilst his vicar informs them, that they must inevitably be condemned if they do. Their case is somewhat analogous to that of the unfortunate persons

who, during the prevalence of mediæval legislation, when accused of a heinous crime, were tried by the ordeal of water, and subjected to a very awkward alternative; for if, when flung into the stream, they rose to the top, they were considered guilty, and were ordered to be hanged; whereas if they sank like lead to the bottom, they were accounted innocent, but were drowned. The Papist, indeed, has, in order to get rid of this difficulty, invented the figment of concomitancy, and maintains, that, by receiving the body under the accidents of bread, it is necessarily "accompanied" by the blood; but this is not "*drinking*" the blood, which our Lord himself enjoined his disciples to do, placing the cup for that express purpose in their hands. Those of our Lord's disciples, who understood his words in the literal acceptation, exclaimed (as well they might), "This is an hard saying, who can hear it?" and he then proceeds graciously to unfold to them the true meaning of his language. "Does this offend you? What and if you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before?" (ver. 62),—as if he had said, "Ere long I shall ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God; so that I cannot and do not mean that you should eat my flesh and drink my blood, since my glorified humanity will have 'ascended' where, as a *divine* being, I 'was before.' 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth.' You are to understand my words in a spiritual sense, and as referring to the spiritual food of faith and love, which are needful for the nourishment of the soul—my religion is of a spiritual character, 'the flesh profiteth nothing.' Even if you could eat my flesh, it would be of no avail, and no man in his senses could suppose that this was my meaning—'*the words* that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are *life*' (ver. 63). My words and my promises are the channels, through which grace and life are imparted to the soul which was previously dead in sin, and it is through them also that spiritual life must be invigorated and

maintained." Our Lord's explanation, however, did not content the more carnal and obtuse portion of his hearers, many of whom probably were disappointed, that there was no more word about loaves or meat. "From that time *many* of his disciples went back, and *walked no more with him.*"—(ver. 66.) Now, if our Lord had intended by his strong figurative language to intimate what the Romanists understand, namely, the approaching institution of the sacrament, by which they conceive that all difficulties are removed in reference to the question, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" (ver. 52), how is it that he did not rather explain to them the mysterious mode in which this object was ere long to be accomplished, so as to prevent *some* of the many, at all events, from "walking no more with him?" The elucidation, however, was perfectly satisfactory to "the twelve," although *they* cannot have imagined, that the expressions referred to the sacrament, which had neither been instituted nor spoken of. They all clearly perceived their spiritual import; and in answer to the affecting question, "Will ye also go away?" (ver. 68), Peter replied in the name of all, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life!" We perceive, that spiritual life is imparted and maintained by the precious food of thy warnings and promises, "and we believe, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." Thus it appears, that "the twelve" obtained at last a clear insight into the spiritual meaning of these expressions, which, in a literal and carnal sense, had seemed *primâ facie* so revolting and mysterious. They acted as they did on a subsequent occasion, when our Lord explained to their entire satisfaction certain intimations so involved in obscurity, as to lead them to exclaim, "We cannot tell what he saith."—(John xvi. 18). No sooner had he (as in the present instance) set forth the true acceptation of his words, than they said unto him, "Lo, now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no proverb: now are we

sure, that thou knowest all things.”—(ver. 29.) The incident, on which we have been dwelling (John vi.), and especially the concluding explanation, prepared them to understand in a figurative and spiritual, and not in a carnal and literal sense, the language employed by our Lord at the institution of the sacrament, without asking or needing any farther elucidation at that time. They no doubt felt, as Tertullian (one of the earliest Christian writers) expressed himself afterwards,—“There is in the New Testament a letter, which kills him who does not spiritually understand the things which are spoken; for if we understand these words of Christ, ‘Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood,’ literally, this letter killeth.” Or, according to St Ambrose, —“That is not the bread of life, which goeth into the body, but that which supports the substance of the sacrament,—it is perceived by faith, it is seen by faith, it is not touched by the body, nor comprehended by the eye.” When Paul tells the Jews (1 Cor. x. 3), that their fathers “did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ,” he did not mean to assert literally either that Christ was a rock, or that a rock was Christ, or that they ate his body, or drank his blood,—any more than when our Lord says to the beloved disciple (Rev. ii. 7), “To him that overcometh will I give to eat of *the tree of life*,” or, (ver. 17), of the “*hidden manna*,” he intends them to believe that he will, in a literal sense, stay them with flagons, or comfort them with apples.

We, my friends, when invited to approach our Lord’s holy table, neither expect nor desire to manducate his sacred body, or drink his precious blood, under the mysterious, incomprehensible veil of accidents, separated from the substances, without connection with which, we contend that their very existence is impossible. We do not believe, that there can be any properties, such as length, breadth, and thickness, apart from any object

that is long, broad, or thick,—any sweetness where there is nothing sweet, any whiteness where there is nothing white, any softness where there is nothing soft. We think it is not more absurd to maintain, that there can be bread where there are none of the qualities appertaining to bread, and wine where there are none of the qualities appertaining to wine, than that where there is no bread, and where there is no wine, the qualities can exist by which these creatures are constituted and characterised. We cannot imagine, that the glorified humanity of our Redeemer, whose hands and feet were seen and handled after his resurrection, into whose side Thomas thrust his hand, and who expressly disclaimed being a mere spirit (in proof of which he affirmed that he had flesh and bones), can or need be at the same moment in heaven, and in thousands of different places simultaneously—on earth, inclosed in tiny integuments of flour, and then lowered into the intestinal sepulchres of sinful men. We receive with thankful fervour the elements distributed at this soul-affecting and faith-invigorating festival, believing that, when we worthily partake of these sacred symbols, and feed by faith on our Lord's precious words and promises, which are spirit and life to his children, we receive a measure of consolation, strength, grace, hope, and love, exactly similar in *kind* to what is vouchsafed to us in other places and at other seasons, whether rare and solemn, or frequent and ordinary, though differing in *degree* and *intensity*. I remember being present at a small country church in England, where a benefactor, long since deceased, had, by his last will, bequeathed several comforts and advantages to the poor of the parish, which had been gratefully enjoyed by many successive generations. The worthy recipients of his bounty, no doubt, cherished at all times, with greater or less liveliness, a cordial remembrance of his kindness; but their love and veneration were called into special exercise on certain appointed anniversaries, when each received, from the hands of

their respected minister, a large supply of bread, which, since the death of the testator, had been regularly distributed at his sole cost, and in conformity with his dying injunction. I do not believe, that their emotion would have been one whit more lively, if they had been commanded, in defiance of the evidence of all their senses, to take it for granted, that, on each of these occasions, the body of their deceased benefactor (whilst it continued to moulder in the coffin) issued from the vault at the moment when their pastor began to distribute the rolls, and becoming reunited to his soul (which, nevertheless, remained in its mansion of rest above), assumed the place of the substance in each separate loaf, so that whilst the old women seemed to have carried to their respective cottages a liberal supply of wholesome and nutritious food, they were, at their humble evening meal, regaling themselves only with buttered accidents, instead of real *bonâ fide* toasted bread. This incident bears, I think, a striking, though, of course, faint and inadequate, resemblance to the feelings, which we, as redeemed sinners, whom the Captain of our salvation has loaded with his benefits, are permitted to experience, when we assemble in his sanctuary to commemorate his dying love, and partake of the bread and wine, which he has solemnly enjoined us for that purpose to employ. We regard unworthy communicants with abhorrence, as being guilty of the body and blood of Christ, in the same sense, in which backsliding believers are said to "crucify the Lord of glory afresh," which does not imply, that, whenever a child of God unhappily "makes himself a transgressor," the glorified humanity of Christ descends to the earth, in order that the sinner may again nail it to the accursed tree. Such an one does not "discern the Lord's body," because he hypocritically and profanely partakes of those consecrated elements, which are emphatically "the children's bread," and manducates them in the same spirit, in which he would eat the same bread, if

it had been put before him at an ordinary meal, instead of being set apart for a holy purpose.

I myself have never witnessed a more solemn or affecting spectacle, than the celebration of the holy sacrament in a highland parish, under the superintendence of some aged and revered man of God, as full of devotion as of days, assisted by a few holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, and by, it may be, a score of grey-haired and experienced elders, not only from adjacent but remote parishes, whilst hundreds of thoughtful and deeply impressed communicants, and thousands of anxious spectators, are gathered around. The north has given up, the south has not kept back; many sons are come from far, and daughters from distant regions. How crowded and how edifying are the assemblies on the previous days of solemn preparation for the ordinance! Could the belief in the actual presence of Christ's body, beneath the "accidents" of the bread, or of his blood, beneath the "accidents" of the wine (which last, indeed, we are "accursed" for not withholding), increase the number, or deepen the earnestness, of the congregated multitudes? I have often contemplated with fervent admiration the countenances of the aged patriarchs, whilst listening to the glowing and affectionate exhortations of the faithful and good steward of God's manifold grace, whilst he placed in their hands the consecrated memorials of that almighty Redeemer, whom not having seen they love, and in whom, though now they see him not, yet believing, they rejoice with a joy unspeakable and full of glory. Would they listen with greater fervour or with more profound sympathy, if the minister were to substitute for his own solemn and sober-minded admonition the following fantastic rhapsody of Chrysostom:—"Thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him, and thy tongue is made bloody by this admirable blood, thy teeth are fastened in his flesh, thy teeth are made red with his blood;" or with St Cyprian, "We stick fast to the cross, we suck his

blood, and fasten our tongue between the very wounds of our Redeemer ;” or were to adopt the declaration which Pope Nicholas II., in the plenitude of his infallibility extorted from Berengarius, and which was publicly read at Rome before 114 bishops (though modern Papists endeavour to explain it away), “that the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensually, not only in sacrament but in truth, are handled by the priest’s hands, and broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful.”

A few years ago, when riding home with my friend, Mr Bridges, from attending the service at a country church on one of the preparation days, we overtook a blind and aged Christian, whom a boy was leading towards Thurso. On accosting him, which I was obliged to do through the medium of an interpreter, as he spoke no language but Gaelic, I learnt, that he had walked from Tongue, about fifty miles, for the purpose of joining with many devout and experienced fellow-pilgrims in the impending solemn festival. I invited the “old disciple” to pass the intervening days at my house, and assembled there, on the same occasion, upwards of thirty other pious worshippers, who had for many years continued steadfast in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of *bread*, and in prayer. The old castle was indeed a Bethel during that precious and memorable season. At daybreak there was, in every apartment, a manifestation of devotional feeling, “one had a psalm, another a doctrine,” and all things were “done unto edifying ;” and I felt highly honoured, as well as delightfully encouraged, when, every morning and evening, the “great company” of believers, “both men and women,” were grouped together in the saloon at the hour of domestic worship. On the communion Sabbath, the Lord was graciously present with those, whom he had long been nourishing and bringing up as his children ; and whilst their eyes glistened with faith, and their hearts glowed with love, he was “seen

of several hundred brethren at once," each of whom did not look for him as veiled in the "accidents" of the bread, but rejoiced, as well as endured, as seeing Him who is invisible; whilst their feeling was, in respect of his bodily presence, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me, or descend again in person to a wilderness of sorrow and of sin, until the restitution of all things." These, then, my dear friends, are, I think, the seasons, in which the Lord is pleased to vouchsafe special tokens of his love and of his countenance to his warriors and to his witnesses. It was so when the tyranny of sceptered perjurers drove them from the hallowed sanctuaries, in which they and their fathers had worshipped Him in simplicity and godly sincerity, without the help, or rather the hindrance, of pixes and pictures, of copes and crucifixes, of beads and bones, of rochets and rosaries. May we, my friends, find grace to be faithful in preserving, without any encumbering or contaminating innovation, that unfettered and unsophisticated system of doctrine and ritual, which was received by tradition by our sober-minded and devoted ancestors, "that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God," and not in the creature—in Christ, and not in Mary; and keep the feast, which commemorates his dying love, not under the influence of that absurd mediæval figment of transubstantiation, which is equally degrading to the majesty of the Divine Redeemer, and revolting to the intellect of rational worshippers, but after the manner, and in the spirit, in which it was instituted by the Lord himself, when he took *bread*, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and instead of restricting to himself, as the officiating priest, the use of the sacred chalice, gave it to *them*, saying, "*Drink ye all of it.*"

On entering a church, there are placed before me on

a table an open book, and a substance, which is visible and tangible. My eyes inform me, that the printed page contains the words, "My body," but on this subject the other senses afford me no information. I appeal to a bystander, and learn, through the medium of my ears, that his observation corresponds with mine. On examining the contiguous substance, not only does my sight tell me that it is bread, but this report is confirmed by the touch, the taste, and the smell, as well as by my neighbour's attestation in regard to his own experience. I have, therefore, four witnesses to the fact, that the substance is bread, and only one to the fact of the existence of the words in the book. Why may I not be deceived in the one case, as well as in the other? How can I tell (if I am at all to discredit the evidence of the senses) but that the accidents only of the ink, which forms the words in question, remain, but that beneath them lurks invisibly the substance of the letters, which constitute "bread?" The Church of Rome tells us, that the wafer is Christ's body, but "the ear trieth words, as the mouth tasteth meat." The communicant, therefore, has, through the medium of the mouth, as full a warrant for believing that the substance is bread, as he has, through the medium of the ear, for believing that the church declares it to be God. He has, indeed, heard of the one proposition "by the hearing of the ear, but now his eye (as well as his taste) seeth," that it is flour and water. "It is not lawful," says Tertullian, "to doubt our senses, lest the same doubt be made concerning Christ; lest peradventure it should be said, that he was deceived, when he said, 'I *saw* Satan, like lightning, fall from heaven, or when he *heard* the voice of his Father testifying concerning him,' " &c. I may add, that of all our senses "touch is the guardian of truth, and his nearest natural instrument;" all sensation is by touch, "but the other senses are more capable of being deceived, and therefore a testimony from it, and three more senses, can never be false."—(*Jeremy Taylor*.)

If you consult the book of Exodus (chap. iv.), you will find, that God empowers Moses to perform three miracles, in order to attest to his countrymen, that he acted under the authority of a divine commission, and that two of them were actually done at the time, in order to his own conviction; and we learn, (ver. 30), that these signs took place "in the sight of the people, and the people believed." But would "the people," or Moses himself, have "believed," if, when he cast his rod on the ground, and declared that it was become a serpent, it had retained the form of a rod? or, when he put his hand into his bosom, and took it out, would they have allowed that it was leprous as snow, if its outward appearance had been unchanged? or, when he poured the pure water taken out of the river upon the dry land, and asserted that it had become blood, would they not have laughed him to scorn, if the colour had remained unaltered? "To what purpose," says Jeremy Taylor, "is a miracle that cannot be perceived? It can prove nothing, nor do any thing, when itself is not known whether it be or no."

Of the profane and indecent manner in which the wafer, alleged to contain the divine and human natures of the Redeemer, is, in Popish countries, introduced on the stage, the following extract from "Southey's Travels" affords a striking instance:—

"Shall I give you an account of one of their Lent plays on transubstantiation, which is lying on the table? It begins by the Father turning Adam out of doors. 'Get out of my house, you rascal!' Adam goes a-begging, and bitterly does he complain, that he can find no house, no village, nobody to beg of. At last, he meets the Four Seasons, and they give him a spade and a plough, &c., but nothing to eat. Then comes Reason, and tells him to go to law with his Father, who is obliged to find him in victuals. Adam goes to law; an angel is his counsel, and the devil pleads against him. He wins his cause; and the Father settles on him oil for

extreme unction, lamb, and bread and wine. Up comes the sacrament, and there is an end of the play. This is written by a priest, one of the best Spanish writers, who has written seventy-two of these plays, all upon the body and blood, and all in the same strain of quaint and pious blasphemy.”—(*Southey*, ii. 101.)

I may here be permitted to record an incident, which occurred at the 27th session of the Council of Trent, and has very unaccountably been passed over in silence both by Pallavicini and Father Paul. The Bishop of Idopolis stood up on that solemn occasion, and said:—“Holy fathers, in order to extirpate error, it is not only necessary that the false teachers of the present day should be haled to prison, and put to death, but that these pestilent fellows should be consigned to merited infamy, who were long ago the original ringleaders of these sects, and spoke perverse things to draw disciples after them. I therefore invite you to visit with summary vengeance the memory of a noted heresiarch, whose baneful influence has been the chief source of the delusions and divisions, by which the unity of the church has been broken, and her authority placed in jeopardy. The chief, to whom I allude, has left no writings behind him, but he acquired so much importance in his day and generation, that no fewer than four biographers have recorded his life and opinions, and several of his immediate followers have still more fully developed the views, which he himself was in the habit of inculcating by word of mouth. I am prepared to prove, that, although he was a sedulous worshipper of the Father, and earnestly invited all his disciples to pray to *Him*, he never adored, or exhorted *them* to adore, the Virgin Mother of God. (*Sensation.*) Instead of calling her the Queen of Heaven, he was so presumptuous as to designate her by the name of ‘woman!’ (*Murmurs.*) He neither canonized nor honoured the bones, nor exhorted others to entreat the intercession, of the holy Baptist! There was no incense burned, and there were no pictures or statues

exhibited, in the place where he assembled his hearers, nor did he ever enjoin his followers to have recourse, after his decease, to these powerful auxiliaries for kindling their devotional feelings. (*Oh, oh!*) He commanded his hearers indiscriminately to search the Scriptures, without enjoining them to obtain a license for that purpose from any quarter, and thus, by a natural inference, his precept and example encouraged the pernicious practice of translating the Bible into all languages, without which it would be impossible for those, who are unacquainted with the original tongues, to carry his command into effect. Instead of commanding the priests, whom he appointed, to remain single, under pain of degradation and damnation, several of those whom he ordained were married, and he went so far as to sanction sacerdotal licentiousness, by visiting the mother of a priest's concubine. (*Sensation.*) He never in his life, on any occasion, crossed himself—(*oh, oh!*)—never dipped his fingers in holy water—(*oh, oh!*)—never wore a hair-shirt—never told his beads—never ordered his followers to go to confession—used no spittle in administering baptism—placed no candles, either lighted or not, by daylight, on the “altar” when he preached, and never ordered lamps to be burnt before the shrines of saints in the streets—never ordered a jubilee, or desired that such observances should be instituted in after ages—performed no stations—established no convents—ignored the holy sacraments of chrism and penance—rang no bells—wore no crucifix—sanctioned the distribution of the cup at the eucharist to all communicants, both lay and clerical—(*murmurs*)—did not pray for the dead, or enjoin his followers to do so—bestowed on his chosen chief pastors neither money nor mitres, neither titles nor tiaras—(*murmurs*)—but commanded them to *preach*—(*oh, oh!*)—did not empower them to grant divorces, or to sanction incestuous marriages for money, or to erect churches by selling indulgences—blessed no medals—burned neither Bibles nor heretics—cursed no monarchs

—gave the right hand of fellowship to no rebels—laid no kingdoms under interdicts—was furnished with no troops—was fanned by no peacock's feathers—promulgated no index of prohibited books—immured no subjects in noisome dungeons—flattered no tyrants—levied no taxes—neither enriched nor ennobled his relatives—exhorted none to disinherit their families, in order to confer wealth on the church—declared, that His kingdom was not of this world.” “Say no more, my lord,” exclaimed the infuriated president of the holy synod, interrupting the right reverend orator, “what need we any further witness? ye have heard the blasphemies. I move, although the sun shines brightly, that lighted tapers be brought, in order that the awful ceremony of condemnation may be pronounced in the most solemn form, and that meanwhile the works of his officious biographers, and their heretical contemporaries, be instantly produced and burned in our presence!” These motions were carried by unanimous acclamation; the books were instantly consigned to the flames, and their ashes scattered to the winds, *proponentibus legatis*.

The manuscript, from whence this account is taken, here terminates abruptly, so that the names of the parties concerned, and the conclusion of the whole matter, must be left to form a subject for controversy and conjecture.

II.—THE POPE RATHER THE SUCCESSOR OF JULIUS CÆSAR, THAN OF SIMON BARJONA.

IF the Romanists, instead of contending that the Pope is the representative of Simon Peter, were to content themselves with asserting, that he is the successor of Julius Cæsar, I should feel far less difficulty in assenting to the latter more plausible proposition. His holiness possesses many ample domains and palaces, costly jewels and raiment, which the Roman emperors did,

and which Peter did not ; in fact, there is one respect in which the popes may be said to resemble the "lilies of the field," for "even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of *these*." He styles himself *Pontifex maximus*, which Peter did not, and which the Roman emperors did. The popes, in imitation of the emperors, have soldiers, chamberlains, courtiers, Swiss guards, carabineers, spies, *sbirri*, jailors, and policemen ; but I do not believe, that there exists, even in the Vatican library, a single copy of Peter's Army List or Court Almanac. The Roman emperors punished men for not venerating graven images, so did not Peter, but so does the Pope. To trust solely on the merits of Christ as a divine being for salvation, was, in the eyes of Peter, as in those of Paul, the only sure foundation of the sinner's security. This reliance was a crime in the estimation of the Roman emperors, and it is a heresy according to the creed of the Pope, who looks to Mary for acceptance. The Roman emperors committed Christians to the flames, a practice to which the Pope has had recourse, but of which Peter is wholly guiltless. The Roman emperors ruled the capital with a rod of iron, and haled men and women to prison ; in this respect Pio has followed an example, which Peter certainly did not set. The apostle never claimed to be monarch of the world, but, like the Roman emperors, the Pope arrogates to himself universal supremacy. When you study the history of the popes, since the days of their grandeur, ambition, and secularity, how few will you meet with (if any), who resembled Peter in genuine piety, in fervent zeal, in disinterested lowliness and simplicity. But you may often find, in almost uninterrupted succession, a series of supreme pontiffs, who have been crafty as Tiberius, lustful as Caligula, stupid as Claudius, cruel as Nero, superannuated as Galba, effeminate as Otho, gluttonous as Vitellius, covetous as Vespasian, sanguinary as Domitian, and where there have been some who, like Celestina V., Adrian VI., Urban VII., or Marcellus II., have imitated Titus in the excellencies of his character, they

have almost uniformly resembled, or rather surpassed him also, in the brevity of their respective reigns. The Roman emperors were always "august," even when numbered amongst the basest and most profligate of mankind. The popes have been uniformly addressed as "holy fathers," and have all been "infallible in matters of faith (because aided by the Holy Ghost)," even when stained by the most revolting and atrocious crimes; for, according to so late a publication as that of the *Dizionario-Storico-Ecclesiastico*, edited by the favourite of the late Pope, Gregory XVI., "the jurisdiction of all popes is equal, and the divine primacy is alike in all." But Peter never styled himself, or was styled by others august, or infallible, or more holy than the least or the humblest of the saints. Peter never was deified or adored during his lifetime, or claimed the prerogative of conferring upon such believers as predeceased him any rank or title in the hierarchy of heaven. The Roman emperors often allowed temples to be erected in their honour during their lifetime; and even the worst and most unpopular amongst them (on the *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* principle), were often deemed worthy of *apotheosis* after their decease. The popes are no sooner elected, than they are placed in the centre of the altar, appropriated to the worship of God—their infallibility in matters of faith is at once acknowledged by their worshippers—and some, like Hildebrand, have been canonized after their death, rather in consequence, than in spite, of their violence, arrogance, recklessness, and thirst for aggrandizement. The image and superscription of the Popes, as of the Cæsars, is found on the tribute-money which circulates in their provinces. Peter, like his Master, possessed neither silver nor gold, and never hinted, or suspected, that these metals would perpetuate the titles or the reigns of his pretended successors. In short, my friends, tell me what Peter was, and I will tell you what the Pope is not; tell me what the Pope is, and I will tell you what Peter was not.

If, my friends, in pondering the annals of the earliest Bishops of Rome, we deduct all the statements which are forged or uncertain, the greater number included in the dry and dreary catalogue, will be *noti nomine tantum*—Linus, Cletus, Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, are almost as much *κωφα προσωπα* in the historical drama, as (Gen. xxxvi. 40), Duke Timnah, Duke Alvah, Duke Jether, Duke Aholibamah, Duke Elah, Duke Pinon. The busts, however, of these somewhat apocryphal or obscure vicars of Christ are all exhibited in the cathedral at Sienna, and their pictures may be seen, and, if you will, adored, at a church near Rome—just as the portraits of the scarcely more or less fabulous kings of Scotland decorate (or disfigure) the walls of Holyrood Palace, where the good old lady, who exhibited the collection many years ago, has more than once expatiated, in my hearing, on the merits of what she considered to be undoubted originals of Achaius and Dornadilla. The catalogue of the dukes of Edom, however, possesses one advantage over that of the early bishops of Rome, that there is no dubiety in reference either to their number, or to their names; whereas, it is still, I believe, a matter in dispute, whether Cletus and Anacletus are two persons or the same, and if the same, whether his name was Anacletus or Cletus,—just as if, in a list of the deans of guild at Dundee in the reign of Robert the Bruce, there are found the names of Dean Donald and Dean Macdonald, and, after all the light shed upon the question by the labours of profound and erudite Monkbarnses, the problem remained still unsolved, whether these respectable civic functionaries had been dual or singular, and whether, in the latter case, Dean Macdonald or Dean Donald should occupy an honourable place in the municipal records of Dundee. A few of these early pontiffs, like Clement I., were indeed men distinguished by zeal, courage, and piety, but still *locus est et pluribus umbris*. The enumeration is scarcely more interesting

than that of the descendants of the patriarchs, in the commencement of the first book of Chronicles. In the latter case, however, we at last stumble upon an exception. We find Jabez calling on the God of Israel, and feel anxious to ascertain the import of his petitions. His first words are, "O that thou wouldst bless me *indeed!*" What an admirable commencement of a prayer! Before proceeding any further, we gladden our spirits by a pleasing and prophetic anticipation of what is to follow. Jabez, we suppose, must have been a man, not only "more honourable," but more holy, than his brethren; and also having, like the royal sage, learned that all is vanity, and that no solid satisfaction can be derived from making great works, and building houses, and planting vineyards, is desirous of renouncing all such pomps and vanities, and being "blessed indeed" with a better and an enduring substance. But, O lame and impotent conclusion! O what a falling off is here, my countrymen! What is his petition, and what is his request? O that thou wouldst "enlarge" (not my heart, which was David's desire), but "my coast! and that thine hand might be with me" (so that I may be enabled *parta tueri*), "and that thou wouldst keep me from evil" (by making a hedge about me, and about my house, and about all that I have on every side), "that it may not grieve me" to forfeit either my self or my pre-eminence! Such, at least, must, I think, have been the meaning of this prayer, in the eye of papal infallibility, if we may judge from the spirit by which popes and cardinals have been almost uniformly actuated. For this has been precisely the heart's desire and prayer of every holy father during many successive ages, at least if we may judge of the fountain from the stream. "Enlarge my coast," says Gregory VII., and wheedles the Countess Mathilda out of the reversion of an extensive territory. "Enlarge my coast," says Innocent III., and claims supremacy over England. "Enlarge my coast," says Julius II.; and having taken the

field in person, storms Mirandola, and presses into the city across the frozen ditches and through the breach. "Enlarge my coast," says Clement VIII.; and, after having impiously profaned the usurped power of excommunication, by launching its thunders against the Prince, to whom, as to his nearest relative, the former Duke had bequeathed it, sends an army to invade the Duchy of Ferrara, and unite it to the "apostolic chamber." "Since which time" (as is stated in a respectable work now before me) "it has been almost all uncultivated, though it was one of the finest counties in Italy." "Enlarge my coast," says Urban VIII., and even during the lifetime of the last Duke of Urbino (to whose succession he possessed a questionable right) "claimed his dominions as a lapsed fief of the holy see; he was close at hand, and wielded with uncommon dexterity all those weapons, by which the will of the aged, the timid, and the pious, is moulded to obedience. Ecclesiastics devoted to the Pope were intruded into the vacant sees of the Duchy, and the Duke's sickbed was surrounded by subordinate agents, who wore him out by alternately working on his irritable disposition, his avarice, and his superstitious belief in astrology. Every turn of his malady was watched, and reported to Rome, as a matter of hope, or fresh anxiety, while his palace was beset by troublesome and meddling spies. . . . His constitution, impaired by years, and broken by gout, gave way under his agony of mind, and a paralytic seizure made fresh inroads upon his system." (See Dennistoun's admirable *History of the Duke of Urbino*, iii. 207.) His pride, or rather obstinacy, at length gave way, and he consented, on certain conditions, to resign his sovereignty into the hands of a papal commissioner.—(*Quarterly Review*, No. 177, p. 120.) The anxiety of the supreme Pontiff, as to the disease and demise of the unhappy Duke, is far more analagous to the solicitude, with which Tacitus describes the imperial tyrant as longing for the intelligence of Agricola's death, than to any thing recorded in the writ-

ings or biography of Simon Barjona, who was not the man to "creep into houses, and lead captive silly women," or superannuated representatives of failing dynasties. The breath of papal benediction, when wafted over any district of the fair and fertile Italian peninsula, appears to be fraught with the same pestilential influence as the tornado or the simoom. In short, *rem, si possis rectè, si non quocumque modo rem*, is the maxim which each pontiff bequeaths as a precious heirloom to his successors. Every pope assumes a new name on the day of his election, in order, perhaps, to flatter his subjects into the belief, that he is now going to turn over a new leaf; and that although, during his cardinalate, he spake, understood, and thought as a courtier and man of the world, now that he is become a pope, he means to put away worldly things. But alas! if any change takes place in his disposition or conduct, it is almost uniformly a deterioration. Evil men and seducers wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. The new vicar of Christ becomes more haughty, more ambitious, more grasping, more unlike that blessed apostle, of whom he claims to be the representative. What a libel it is upon the holy Baptist, who came neither eating nor drinking, and upon the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who exhorts us not to love the world, that there should be no fewer than twenty-three in the catalogue of these consecrated tyrants and voluptuaries, who, though resembling them in no other respect, have disgraced their honoured name by bearing it! If we attempted to lay before you a biographical sketch of these infallible and holy men, the time would fail me for the recapitulation of their crimes. John XII., for instance was deposed in 983 on account of the wickedness of his life; John XIX. was hated by the Romans, because of his excessive severity; John XXII. surpassed even most of his predecessors in rapacity and thirst for accumulation; and John XXIII., who convoked the sacred Council of Constance, seems, by his unparalleled

vice and venality, to have brought such disgrace on the name, that none of his successors—even Borgia and Rovere—have ever ventured to assume it. If I were not afraid of inflicting a stigma upon the memory of him who was “not Iscariot,” I should say that Judas XIX. or Judas XXIII. would have been far more appropriate designations; and that Jabez XXII. might have better suited the sceptered miser at Avignon; and many worldly-minded pontiffs, who bear other names in the apostolic nomenclature, might easily be selected as entitled to the same appellation. I may here also just observe, that the popes who have most “enlarged the coasts” of the holy see, and left the rest of their substance to their children or their kinsmen, are generally the most honoured and commended. It is, I presume, not merely because he treated with unparalleled insolence the emperor his master, and encouraged his rebellious subjects in their defection, that Hildebrand has been canonized; but because he taught his successors how to add field to field, and province to province. This their way is their folly and their crime; yet their posterity approve their sayings and imitate their doings. When they boasted themselves on the multitude of their riches, and the glory of their houses was increased, and they called their lands and palaces after their own names, their deluded votaries praised them, because they did well to themselves.

“*Lucri bonus est odor ex re
Quâlibet.*”

Wealth is grateful to a voluptuous Leo, though procured by trafficking in souls of men; titles are welcome to an arrogant Boniface, though assumed at the behest of an usurping murderer.

Another particular, in which there is a striking analogy between the Cæsars and the Popes, and in respect of which both differ as widely as possible from Simon the fisherman, and from Paul the tentmaker, is the gradual development and extension of their power and their pretensions, their pride and their pomp. There

were many pious and devoted men amongst the bishops in Rome, before they became tainted with ambition and secularity. "The popes," says the judicious Abbé Milot, "were never so respectable as when they bounded their ambition by their duties." The leaven of Diotrophes did already work; but it was for a long time hid in the three measures of meal before the whole was leavened, and baked, or rather burnt, in Constantine's imperial oven. In Rome there were almost as many saints and martyrs in the papal chair, before the acquisition of worldly authority, as there were profligates and persecutors in subsequent ages. This subject, however, is so important and extensive, that I must reserve the discussion of it for some future opportunity.

Another particular, in which there is a striking resemblance between the august successors of Cæsar and the pretended representatives of Peter, is, that there were often, in both cases, ambitious and ardent competitors for the vacant throne. Different armies proclaimed at the same moment, two, three, or even thirty candidates for the imperial dignity. Rival factions often elevated their respective favourites to the vacant chair of Simon Barjona. There have frequently been two or three contending pontiffs vying with each other in the fierceness and frequency, with which each consigned his rival and all his adherents to the abyss of eternal perdition, with imprecations so awful and so blasphemous, as would excite feelings of indignant horror in the minds of profligates the most notorious for taking God's name in vain. There is, however, one striking and obvious distinction between the two cases. A mistake in reference to the choice of a sovereign, where two or three generals assumed the purple, might not be attended with any serious consequence. They might all be equally, or at least more or less, distinguished for courage, talent, or munificence. But it is wholly different in the case of three contending candidates for the papacy. To choose the wrong side here may be fatal, indeed, for time and

eternity; while all three may perhaps be (and generally were) equally intriguing, ambitious, selfish, and simoniacal, there cannot be three infallibles, but one infallible; and the other two, with all their misguided and unfortunate partizans, having committed the unpardonable sin of schism, and placed, so to speak, an idol on the shrine of God, could have no forgiveness either in this world or in the next. How painful, therefore, was the dilemma, in which every Romanist must have been placed, who lived during any of the periods, when three candidates simultaneously claimed to be the vicar of Jesus Christ. He must have been as much perplexed as were Bassanio or the Princes of Arragon and Morocco, when each stood in succession before Portia's three caskets, and doubted whether to lay hold of the golden, silver, or leaden repository, in one only of which was the portrait to be found, on the possession of which his happiness depended! His feelings must have been similar to those of an agitated devotee, who saw three wafers placed before him, and was told, that two remained unchanged, because an infidel priest had not willed that they should be consecrated; whilst the third, having had the mystical words pronounced over it by (it may be) a venerated inquisitor, on his return from an *auto-da-fe*, contained within its narrow but hallowed precincts the divine and human natures of the Son of God.

A very grave consideration here presents itself, to which the review of these disputed elections seems naturally to lead. I myself am inclined to contend that, even supposing the popes to have been the legitimate successors of Peter, the genuine line became extinct in the fifteenth century, and all subsequent pontiffs have been spurious and schismatical. After the death of Gregory XI. in 1378, Urban VI. was nominated under such circumstances of popular violence and palpable intimidation, that another pontiff was chosen a few months later (by most of the very cardinals who had been

compelled to elect Urban), who assumed the appellation of Clement VII. I think it is impossible to reject the evidence, which establishes the right of Clement; though I may, perhaps, be somewhat partial, since Scotland was one of the countries which, at the time, acknowledged him as rightful Pope. His successor, Benedict XIII., refused to submit to the Council of Constance, when Gregory XII., one of the rival pontiffs, resigned, and the other, John XXIII., was deposed. The schismatical fathers, no doubt, deposed Benedict also; but his holiness never acknowledged the competence of that pretended tribunal, which, not having been summoned by himself, the only legitimate successor of Peter, could possess no lawful authority. It is true, that his successor, who assumed the name of Clement VIII., was prevailed on to resign in favour of the anti-pope, Martin V., who had been elected at the *pseudo*-Council of Constance; but it never could have been his holiness' intention, that his own undoubted right to the papacy, as well as that of his legitimate predecessor, should be abrogated and set aside. Now, the subsequent pretended pontiffs have all identified themselves with the uncanonical line, by including Urban VI., Boniface IX., Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXIII. in the series, and making so little account of the lawful popes, Clement VII., Benedict XIII., and Clement VIII., that other pontiffs, bearing each of these names, are subsequently found in the catalogue; on which ground it must, I think, appear, at the least, highly probable to every impartial inquirer, that the line of genuine popes is extinct, and that Pio IX., who is counted with the anti-popish series since Urban, has no claim to be acknowledged as the lawful head of the Catholic Church.

I am much afraid, by the way, that the same principle must prove fatal to the existence of apostolic or episcopal succession in the Church of England. It was a fortunate circumstance, no doubt, that Cardinal Pole died on the same day as bloody Queen Mary, so that the

Protestant Archbishop Parker was not an intruded antiprelate, but his unquestioned successor. The case, however, was widely different at the Revolution. It cannot be disputed, that "Dr Sancroft" was the legitimate Archbishop of Canterbury; but his grace was deprived of the primacy by a most unconstitutional and uncanonical procedure, under the authority of an assembly, which he never recognised as legal, or condescended to sanction by his presence. "Dr Tillotson's" appointment was a most outrageous usurpation, utterly inconsistent with the principles of passive obedience, non-resistance, and apostolic succession, as proclaimed by the Anglican church and universities, which I consider to be neither more nor less authoritative and infallible than the general councils of Nice or of Trent. Archbishop Sancroft never acquiesced in his pretended deposition; and as no lawful successor was appointed after his decease, and nothing could remove the flaw, which was fatal to Dr Tillotson's original intrusion into the see, Dr Tennison, Dr Wake, Dr Potter, Dr Herring, and all the pretended primates up to the present day, have not, on strictly high-church principles, had a shadow of a right to their high position, although low-churchmen and latitudinarians may acquiesce in their legitimacy.

It may lastly be remarked, that, as Nero, and some of the worst and most despicable of the Roman emperors, were not only distinguished by their atrocities, whilst they reigned and rioted, but afterwards died a violent death, or perished in exile, their worst acts have often been equalled or surpassed by the crimes and cruelties, which stain almost every page of the annals in which the public acts and private characters of Peter's pretended successors are written for our learning, and recorded for their own degradation. I shall not at present dwell upon the atrocities of the Alexanders, Innocents, Bonifaces, and Gregories, of former days, some of whom were expelled from their capital amid a general burst of public indignation; only bear with me for a few moments

whilst I recall to your remembrance the perjury and guilt of the perfidious and pusillanimous bigot, who now occupies their throne, and imitates their example. I am unable to find any parallel, either in ancient or modern times; but, in order that you may form some conception of his humiliating condition, let us suppose, that our beloved Queen was, in-regard both to character and position, exactly the reverse of what she is,—that she was to all classes of the community an object of unmitigated loathing and contempt,—that, after having been compelled to flee from her palace in the garb of a milliner, she had caused torrents of the blood of her subjects to be shed by the artillery of foreign mercenaries,—so that the blood was at first to the ancles. “They are still resisting;”—O then let the blood be to the loins. “They have not yet given in;”—then let it be a river of blood to swim in,—a river that cannot be passed over. Had such been the fate, and such the policy of our Protestant Queen, how triumphantly would every Popish zealot have exclaimed, “You see what are the fruits of Protestantism! Behold the results of Bible reading without a licence! Mark how this heretical Queen is despised and detested by those who know her best! You see what ‘*jumping*’ leads to! What else could be expected in a land where men read Locke and Milton, and waste their precious hours in hearing long sermons, and conducting domestic worship, instead of feasting and fiddling, on the Sabbath-day!” And when all the lineaments of this imaginary picture have been realized in the case of their own supreme Pontiff, their *monomania* predominates over their reason, and they expatiate upon his popularity, his piety, his lenity, his tolerance, his aversion to the shedding of blood! Remember, my dear friends, that, when the Pope fled from his capital in the form and fashion of a lacquey, he was not expelled by the rancour and hostility of schismatical invaders. O no; it was in no small degree through the misplaced patronage of heretical statesmen that Pius VII. was restored in 1814. It was not because the

epistle, which Paul addressed to their progenitors (without intimating, that they should obtain a licence from Peter to read it, before they ventured to break the seal), had been poisoning the minds of his subjects, and teaching them, haply, that the powers that be are of the devil,—it was not for lack of priests of every degree, and nuns of every order, and relics of every century,—it was not because Robertson, and Barrow, and Montesquieu, had superseded Cabasutius, and Escobar, and St Theresa,—it was not because holy water had been miraculously congealed during the dog-days, or holy blood ceased to liquefy when the frost is most intense. The mouths by which he was cursed, the hearts by which he was hated, the eyes by which he was scowled at, the hands by which he was expelled, were those of his own children, who had been taught from their cradles to worship the Pope as the light which had come into the world, and who, from long experience, were best qualified to appreciate the freedom enjoyed under his temporal sway, and the benefits accruing from his spiritual ministrations. Had not the Czar, who, under the name of President, lords it over France with a rod of iron, dispatched his ruthless banditti to rivet once more upon Rome the manacles of a degrading superstition, the Pope would, like Tarquin, have been a fugitive and vagabond during the entire remainder of his career, instead of replenishing Rome's dungeons with victims, whose patriotism is their crime, and lording it over the pretended heritage of Peter, not as the vicar of a deity, but as the vassal of a despot. It is confidently asserted, that there prevails in the holy city at this moment almost as large an amount of scoffing and of scepticism, as of slavery and of sorrow; but I believe, that although the vigilance of the police allows little or no "*complaining* in the streets," the pallid cheeks of wretched widows, and streaming eyes of ragged orphans, whose fathers and husbands have been immolated by French bayonets at the shrine of Papal vengeance, and the groaning of the prisoners, to whom wearisome nights are

appointed, and whose dreary days are almost, if not altogether, days of physical as well as of mental darkness, —when, I say, such objects goad the eye, and grate the ear, and lacerate the heart of every one, not steeped in bigotry to the very lips, who can help assenting, with all his soul, to the literal meaning of a much-disputed text, and exclaiming, as the Pontiff is borne along in all the stateliness of regal splendour, “Doubtless, thou art a *rock* indeed !” “Thine heart is as firm as a stone ; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone” (Job. xli. 24.)

It must afford some comfort to any pious and devoted ultramontanists, who may have lamented the precipitate retreat of Christ’s vicar from Rome, in the garb of a menial, as a disparagement and a misfortune, to know that, in the annals of the Papacy, there is a precedent for such an occurrence. The most holy father John XXIII., when making his escape from Constance in 1415, “disguised himself towards the evening like a groom or a postilion, and rode through the crowd upon a shabby horse, having a coarse grey loose coat over his shoulders, and a crossbow at the bow of his saddle.”

And I may here notice a circumstance, to which public attention has of late been frequently called, namely, that, whenever any priest renounces the Romish communion, he is immediately assailed by the grossest accusations, and charged with many crimes, of which, if committed at all, he must have been guilty at the very time, when he enjoyed the confidence, and held the preferments, of the church. But it has been in all ages the policy of Popery to represent the characters of the same men in the most opposite lights, according as it might answer their purposes, or suit their convenience. Of this I shall at present only furnish a single, but, I think, very striking illustration, in the case of Pope John XXIII. (Balthazar Cossa), in whose name, and by whose authority, the sacred Council of Constance was convened. It accorded with the views of the holy fathers to speak of his holiness in the most respectful terms when their proceedings commenced, and

after the brief interval of a few weeks, to pronounce him guilty of the most enormous crimes, all of which had been committed before his arrival at the council, and of which they must have been perfectly cognisant at the time when they kissed his foot, and eulogised his virtues, while he sat enthroned on the chair of infallibility; and as he had been acknowledged as lawful Pope during several years, he must, whilst committing these sins, have been incapable of erring in matters of faith, because he was assisted by the Holy Spirit.

“Look at this picture, reader, and on this,”

and remember, that they are both portraits of the same individual, painted almost at the same time, and also by the same artists:—

POPE JOHN XXIII., IN OCTOBER 1414, AND UP TO MARCH 20, 1415.

John XXIII. entered Constance on horseback, attended by nine cardinals, several archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, and by the greatest part of his court. He was received with all the magnificence possible. The body of the clergy went to meet him in solemn procession, bearing the relics of the saints. All the orders of the city assembled also to do him honour, and he was conducted to the episcopal palace by an incredible multitude of people. Four of the chief magistrates rode by his side, supporting a canopy of cloth of gold, and the count Rudolph de Montfort and the count Berthold des Cerseus held the bridle of his horse. The sacrament was carried before him upon a white pad, with a little bell about its neck. After the sacrament a great yellow and red hat was carried with an angel of gold at the bottom of the ribbon. All the cardinals followed in cloaks and red hats, &c.

The Pope presided at all the sessions which were held whilst he was at Constance.

On the 1st of February he performed one very solemn function (*being considered in the council as the only legal Pope, and officiating as such*), by canonizing St Bridget (a Swedish saint).

On the 2d of March (after a reluctant promise to resign) his holiness celebrated mass, and read with a loud voice the formula which had been agreed upon. As soon as he had made

BALTHAZAR COSSA, MAY 1415.

In the 16th session the articles established against him set forth, that he advanced himself by illegal means to the office of chamberlain to Boniface IX., and had publicly been that Pope's agent and broker for the practices of simony; that he bought the dignity of cardinal with the prodigious sums he had amassed by criminal practices; that he exercised the office of legate with unsupportable tyranny, and there committed so many robberies, murders, and other unheard-of enormities, that the whole country was thereby ruined, and almost become a desert; that he usurped the pontificate by his intrigues and interest; that he had been worse than ever since his advancement, instead of being better as was expected; that he had, like a profane person and a Pagan, despised all the exercises of religion and piety to which he was engaged by his character, and by the laws of his church; that he performed his duties only in a careless, cursory manner, more like a soldier or a huntsman than like a churchman, and that he did even this not so much out of devotion as for fear of being accused of heresy, and at last turned out of the papacy; that he is looked upon by all mankind to be an oppressor of the poor, a persecutor of justice, the pillar of the unjust, the support of simonists, the idolator of the flesh, the sink of vice, the enemy of all virtue, the mirror of infamy; that he neglects the public consistories; that he is always plunged in sleep or plea-

an end, the emperor rose from his throne, laid aside his crown, and falling on his knees before the Pope, kissed his feet, and most humbly returned him thanks, as did also the patriarch of Constantinople, in the name of the whole council.

On the 20th March he effected his escape in disguise.

sure, and that all that know him speak of him as no better than a demon incarnate. After many other charges, the conclusion is, that John XXIII. is a man of a stiff neck, obstinate, a hardened and incorrigible sinner; that he is a favourer of schism, and such a person in other respects, as to be absolutely unworthy of the pontificate.

He was imprisoned, suspended, and at length solemnly deposed.

The Vienna list of these charges concludes with this reflection, "What must we think of the cardinals, who elected John XXIII., if they knew, that he was a simonist and scandalous in other respects, of which, for their reputation's sakes, we make no mention here, after they had sworn to choose the best man out of their number? What manner of persons must they themselves have been, if they thought they had not a better man amongst them than he, who is convicted by so many witnesses of being a simonist, a ravisher, an incendiary, a traitor, a murderer, an incestuous person, a debaucher of nuns, and one guilty of a sin yet more crying!" And I may add, what must we think of a church, according to the principles of which this very man, during several years of a flagitious pontificate, could not err in matters of faith, because he was assisted by the Holy Spirit? And what must we think of the emperor, electors, cardinals, abbots, princes, and ecclesiastics, of all grades and of all nations, who recognised as the head of an infallible council a man, whose crimes were notorious as the sun at noonday, and who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, could have pleasure in assisting at an assembly, where such a man was to preside as vicar of our Lord and Saviour?

In the case of Balthazar Cossa, we see how Popish charity can cover a multitude of sins as long as it is the interest of the church that they should be put under a bushel, and with what minuteness they are detailed when it becomes expedient, that the guilt of their victim should be proclaimed upon the housetops. In the in-

stances of converted priests, the same pains seem to be uniformly taken, either for exposing real delinquencies, of which the church must have been aware before they left its pale, or for inventing such charges, as may tend to injure their characters and mar their usefulness.

The great object of Satan, my dear friends, is to weaken or destroy Christianity; and his most subtle and successful expedient for effecting his purpose has been, to persuade men to substitute the dominion of the church (enshrined as she is in the metropolis of the Cæsars, and encompassed by pomp and pageantry resembling that of the heathen despots) for the authority of the Bible. It is through this channel alone, that such novelties as will-worship and voluntary humility could have been engendered, and that the simplicity and sanctity, which are reflected from every page of God's Word, could have been supplanted or superseded by human fables and fabrications. Christianity, my friends, is an angel of light, whom the Romish magicians, by their enchantments, transform into a demon of darkness. God and the Pope, divine revelation and human tradition, are wholly antagonistic to each other; for what concord hath Christ with Belial? The Papist argues as if the church, in its infancy, spake as a child, understood as a child, and thought as a child. So far as the inspired record extends, there was no Mariolatry, no invocation of dead saints, no beads, no bones, no chrism, no extreme unction; but when she attained maturer years, she put away childish things, such as the all-sufficiency of the one sacrifice of Christ, and the necessity of an exclusive reliance on his all-prevailing mediation. No wonder that the votaries of Rome dread the Bible, and raise the cry, The church is in danger! whenever the Scripture standard is unfurled. They are right, and their witness is true—their church is in jeopardy every hour, whenever the Bible is allowed to have fair play. Their church is in danger, just as, if despotism ever unhappily prevailed in this country, the state would be in danger from the

free circulation of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. The Scriptures must not be read without a licence ; because heresy, in the eyes of Rome, is a mortal sin, which the Bible, without the aid of Popish spectacles, may lead an unstable reader to commit. But treason against a Protestant sovereign is not a mortal, or perhaps even a venial sin, in the jurisprudence of Romish theology ; and therefore we do not find in the Index, placed in juxtaposition with the prohibited Bible, the bulls of Gregory XIII., or Sixtus V., or many similar impious anathemas, by which heretical or disobedient princes have been degraded and deposed. These may be read with impunity, because the doctrines which they promulgate, however (or should I not rather say, *because* ?) diametrically opposed to the Word of God, tend to foster the arrogance, and promote the aggrandisement, of Rome,—doctrines, it may be added, which, though sometimes timidly and awkwardly repudiated by a few lay Papists, have never, by any Pope *ex cathedra*, been formally abrogated or publicly disowned. I should be glad to hear any Roman Catholic stand up in either House of Parliament, and acknowledge, that when Pius IV. excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, he committed a mortal sin by issuing such a bull. I believe, that it would be as necessary to get a dispensation from the ordinary for making such a declaration, as to obtain a licence for reading that Book, in which it is declared, that the powers that be are of God. If this wicked and antichristian Pope was guilty of mortal sin by commanding subjects to violate a law so solemnly proclaimed by God, and so peremptorily binding upon man, can any Papist prove, that he ever acknowledged his transgression, or did public penance for his public outrage, on the first principles of morality and religion ?

The condition and feelings of the Roman people under the grinding despotism of the Cæsars, bear a strong and striking analogy to the profound sense of servitude and abasement, which they have for ages

cherished, whilst groaning beneath the sacerdotal yoke. Pontifical as well as imperial statues have been levelled to the ground by an exasperated population. The unavailing efforts made after the deaths of sceptred tyrants, such as Caligula and Nero, and occasionally at later periods, to recover the liberties of the mistress of the world, have sometimes found their counterpart during the dreary ages of antichristian usurpation. Brilliant, though, alas! brief, was the triumph achieved by the heroic valour of ardent patriotism in our day, and permanent success would have crowned their exertions, had it not been for the guilty intervention of "that bitter and hasty nation, which marched through the breadth of the land, to possess the dwelling-places that were not theirs. They are terrible and dreadful : their judgment and their dignity proceed of themselves. Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves ; and their horsemen spread themselves, and come from far ; they fly as the eagle which hasteneth to eat. They come all for violence. Their faces sup up as the east wind, and they gather the captivity as the sand. And they scoff at the kings, and the princes are a scorn unto them : they deride every stronghold ; for they heap dust, and take it."—(Hab. i. 6–10.) I am thoroughly convinced, my dear friends, that the Bible is the only weapon, by which Italy can be emancipated from her protracted and ignominious thralldom, and Antichrist hurled from his usurped and blood-stained throne. As long as the weapons of her warfare are only carnal, her noblest and most energetic patriots will fight and bleed in vain. Italy may be said to lie like Lazarus in the grave—a grave, which was dug for her by native priestcraft and foreign oppression. Her noblest sons can only exclaim, as Thomas did, "Let us also go that we may die with her ;" for none but Christ can say, "Thy country shall rise again." I fear, my friends, that this is a solemn truth, which many champions of

their buried country require still to learn ; but they will ere long perceive more clearly the connection—the inseparable connection—between slavery and superstition, and say, when reverently prostrate at the feet of Him, who, in respect to nations as well as individuals, alone is the resurrection and the life, “ Lord, if thou hadst been here, our country had not died.” Then, and not till then, when *He* has been recognised and revered by them (as He is by us) as the Supreme and only Head of the true and living Church, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, and who will not delegate his glory to another, and when the stone of unbelief has been removed from the mouth of the grave,—then, I say, and not till then, will He cry with a loud voice, “ Italy, come forth !” And blessed, thrice blessed, shall the nations be, whom He may condescend to employ as auxiliaries in this holy and honourable service ; while the mitred murderers and barbarous mercenaries, who fondly dreamt, that they had made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch, will shrink back with dismay, when they hear the voice of incarnate Omnipotence exclaiming, “ Loose her, and let her go !”

III.—CORRUPTION AND BASENESS ATTENDANT ON PAPAL ELECTIONS.

THE manner, in which the papal election is conducted, and the motives by which the cardinals, on whose suffrages the choice depends, are actuated, constitute another ground, on which Protestants deem it impossible to recognise the supremacy or the sanctity of Rome. The conclave has often, or even generally, been the scene of the basest and most complicated intrigues, of the most sordid and hypocritical selfishness, of the most barefaced and lavish corruption. The principal Popish sovereigns give the most peremptory instructions to the cardinals,

who are connected with their respective dominions, as to the course which they shall pursue, in regard both to supporting or excluding the various candidates; so that, although the Holy Ghost is nominally invoked to preside over their deliberations, political and worldly considerations form the mainspring of all their proceedings. "There is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue."—(Ps. v. 9). Weeks, months, nay, even years, have been frequently consumed in the most virulent contests, or the most venal negotiations; and the result has been, on many occasions, that, instead of carrying out the principle laid down by an illustrious heathen, *detur dignissimo*, the successive "vicars of Christ" have proved to be the vilest and most vicious of mankind. And this system of venality, dissimulation, and worldly-mindedness, must ever continue to prevail, until "the congregation of hypocrites shall be desolate, and fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery."—(Job xv. 34.) There is scarcely a page of the work entitled "Conclavi de Pontifici Romani," which does not fully bear out this assertion. I shall content myself with translating, and somewhat abridging, by way of specimen, an account of the election, which took place in 1484, not omitting, however, some very striking preliminary remarks, which throw light upon the wicked and unprincipled character of the pontiff, whose death occasioned the vacancy.

"On the 10th August our most holy lord, Pope Sixtus IV. was seen in the evening with clasped hands, and very sad. The next day the ambassadors of the confederates came to him, thinking, perhaps, that they brought him some glad tidings, and explained to him, that peace was concluded throughout all Italy, and that all the princes of the League and Confederation were brought into a state of concord, at which he was much astonished, and wondered, that peace was concluded without him, because, as he said, he should have taken the lead in the

transaction ; and when he had often asked, and been assured by them, that the said peace was concluded, so that there was no room for retractation, *he was much grieved*; and by the general opinion of all, the cause of his grief was, that *always, in all his actions, he showed it to be his final object to obtain some state, power, or dominion for Count Jerome*. When he saw that he had been deceived, and found that he had fallen from his hope, and had lavished the funds of the church, and had acquired nothing by the war, he grieved very much, and being weakened, partly by his *first* grief, and partly by his *second*, he lay down in his bed, and died." Passing over the subsequent transactions, we find, that the number of cardinals present in conclave was twenty-five. The cardinal of St Peter's, afterwards pope by the title of Julius II., offered to the cardinal St Mark, who had at that time eleven votes, to ensure to him three additional ones, if he would promise to bestow his house upon the son of King Ferdinand, but the latter refused to accept support on such a condition as would render his election uncanonical. The same proposal was made to, and accepted by, the cardinal vice-chancellor, who was anxious to have recourse to any expedient for preventing the election of the cardinal St Mark. Accordingly, when night arrived, and when the cardinals went to sleep, these two conspirators "entered into negotiations with all the cardinals, that they might be induced to give their votes to the cardinal of Melfi," promising that they should be largely rewarded. They made arrangements with all, except the six senior cardinals, who were asleep. The rest gave their suffrages, and chose the aforementioned cardinal, after which they awakened the six sleepers, and told them, that they had chosen a pope. The others gave in, when they found that nineteen or twenty had agreed. On the ensuing day, it was discovered, that many ecclesiastical advantages had been promised for their votes, which, as it is said, were thus distributed :—One had the castle Montcelu, and the le-

gation of Bologne; another the castle of Ceperani, the legation of the patrimony, twenty-five thousand ducats for rebuilding his house, which had been burnt, and as many of such benefices as might become vacant, as would produce seven thousand ducats per annum. It is unnecessary to state particulars as to the rewards accorded to the others; but I may as well subjoin the reflections of the contemporary writer, by whom the details are furnished:—"May God grant him the grace of living and governing well, which seems difficult, considering first, his past life, as he is a Genoese youth, and has seven children by several women; and next, the manner of his election, which was even worse than that of Sixtus."

In the account of the conclave held after the death of this Pope, Innocent VIII. (1492), the character drawn of the deceased pontiff is as follows:—"O human misery! there lay, exposed to the concourse and clamour of the indiscreet multitude, the man who had always shut his ears against the prayers of the poor, and a little chest of corruptible wood inclosed him, to whom the gilded saloons of the Vatican had seemed narrow!" His successor was Alexander Borgia, whose crimes it would be revolting, and is unnecessary, to enumerate. I am not aware whether he has been canonized or beatified, as I have not access at present to a copy of the Popish calendar, but I think this is by no means improbable, as he was chosen most eagerly (*con grandissima diligenza*) by "adoration," on the second day, no doubt because he was unanimously considered by his compeers as approaching nearer in point of character and morals, than any of themselves, to Him, whose infallible vicar in matters of faith they judged him worthy to become, and who has "left us an example that we should walk in his steps!"

It is, I think, quite impossible to establish a more complete analogy, than between the choice of a vicar of Christ by the sacred college of cardinals, and the

election of a representative of the people, by the most corrupt constituency in the three kingdoms.

1. That *bribes* are given in both cases, must be as familiar to every one who reads the accounts of the conclaves, as to the counsel and agents who are engaged in election committees. Rarely, I believe, does it happen, that any candidate for the Papacy,

“Smiles without art, or wins without a bribe.”

Their eminences have ever been regarded, during successive ages, as “greedy dogs, which can never, never have enough. . . . they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter” (Isa. lvi. 11); and they will never cease to be so, until He shall come to expel from the temple these money-changing satellites of despotism, who is “more glorious and excellent than the [seven] mountains of prey.”—(Ps. lxxvi. 4.) Thus, we are told by Maisse, the ambassador of Henry IV. at Rome, on the death of Sixtus V. (Aug. 1590), “It is wished that a Pope should be elected, who is friendly to the liberties of Italy, but *this must take place soon, before the Holy Ghost arrive in the shape of letters or pistoles from Spain.*”—(*Raumer*, i. 339.) “The greatest number of cardinals” says the same authority, (p. 343), “are devoted to Spain, and receive pensions from it.” “Many of the cardinals” (writes Cardinal Joyeuse, who managed the affairs of Henry III. of France at Rome), “receive pensions from France; if, however, we do not proceed, with the help of a strong provision, as we have begun, these, hitherto our pensioners, will turn our mortal foes. We shall lose all respect among the others, and no one will any longer range himself on our side, however big may be their promises.”—(*Raumer*, i. 290.)

2. In both cases, a *paramount influence* is often indirectly exerted by powerful individuals, who have no immediate concern in the elections. Thus, there has been generally a French, a Spanish, an Imperial faction amongst the cardinals, who have received their commands, as regularly as their pensions, from the ambassa-

dors of the respective courts, and perhaps directly from headquarters. In the conclave of 1655, of which the Cardinal de Retz has left so graphic an account, a courier was sent to Cardinal Mazarin, to remove the objections, which he entertained against the exaltation of Fabio Chigi. It was only through the influence of the King of Spain, that the election of Cardinal Sachetti was prevented. Retz describes one of the cardinals as being a pensioner of Spain, and the most like an ape of all the men whom he had ever seen. His eminence mentions the intercepting a letter addressed by the Spanish ambassador to one of the cardinals, without any comment on the baseness of such an act, but only speaks of the benefit which his own party derived from it.

3. Although Retz expatiates upon the respect, civility, modesty, and gentlemanlike deportment, which characterised all the conclaves at which he was present, it is certain that acts of violence and demonstrations of rancour often took place, as at the conclaves of Urban VII. in 1590, and especially at that of Clement VIII. in 1592. On the latter occasion, the amount exhibited of treachery and violence is seldom paralleled in the annals of baseness, as manifested at any elections, where intrigue and force have most palpably preponderated. Cardinal St Severina had a sufficient number of voters assembled in one place, to ensure his being Pope. The excluding party were congregated in an adjoining chapel. The dean of the sacred college pretended, that he felt confused in counting up the votes (being secretly hostile to the candidate whom he pretended to support), in order to gain time. One of Severina's supporters went to try and persuade the opponents to acquiesce; but no sooner had he left the room, than another "holy man" stood up, and said, "The Holy Spirit will not make choice of San Severina, neither will Ascanio Colonna." When he attempted to make his exit, other members of the party tried to stop him, and tore his rochet. The antagonists immediately shouted, "*victory, victory,*" and

embracing the convert repeatedly, could not kiss him enough (*non si saziavano de baciarlo*), because they saw the exclusion secured. The unfortunate and disappointed prince of the church, who was thus (so to speak) within an ace of becoming infallible in matters of faith, has left a touching and vivid description of his own feelings on this sad occasion. "Bereaved," says Ranke, "of his hopes, he was sent back to his dismantled cell." "The next night" (exclaims the cardinal himself) "was, of all the unhappy moments I ever experienced, the most unhappy. The heavy sorrow of my soul, and my inward anguish, forced from me, incredible to relate, a bloody sweat."

4. The *professions of candidates*, in both cases, before their election, generally form a most striking contrast to their subsequent conduct. This is notorious in regard to Sixtus V., and Retz speaks of the profound dissimulation of Alexander VII., by which he himself and others were completely imposed upon. His Eminence tells us, that, three days after the election, he told one of his most intimate friends amongst the cardinals, that they had been duped, and that the Pope would never be any thing more than a very poor creature.

In connection with these details, I may notice a very ingenious and weighty argument of Bishop Stillingfleet (*Vindic., Part I., p. 116*), in virtue of which his lordship contends, that no Pope has been canonically elected since the death of Sixtus V. (+1590), whose own election was void, on the ground of simoniacal practices. On the "set-a-thief-to-catch-a-thief" principle, Julius II. enacted a bull, which the cardinals, on entering the conclaves, swear to observe. A law of such a pontiff against simony is as consistent with his own previous conduct, as would have been a decree of the Gracchi against sedition; but it provided, "that any election, founded upon any gift or promise whatsoever, is *ipso facto* null; that none should receive or look on such an one as Pope; nor can his election be made good by en-

thronisation, course of time, submission of cardinals," &c. Sixtus, it is well known, was simoniacally chosen, and gave a promise, *under his hand*, to Cardinal d'Este not to nominate a great enemy of his to be cardinal. This promise he, of course, did not fail afterwards to violate; and the instrument thus subscribed was sent to Philip II., who, being at variance with the Pope, sent, in 1589, an ambassador to Rome, intimating his intention of calling a general council, to declare this election simoniacal and void, according to the bull of Julius II. The Pope was involved in great perplexity by this discovery, but died soon after. Not, however, having been lawfully chosen, he could not lawfully create cardinals; and as his nephew, Cardinal Montalto, entered, with no fewer than forty creatures, each of the four conclaves, which took place within the brief space of about sixteen months, and had the chief hand in effecting these elections, it follows, that they were all irregular and void, and that there has been no lawful Pope ever since—to say nothing of the simoniacal bargains entered into by Paul V. (+1621), as well as by many of the spurious pontiffs who have succeeded, but not “according to due order.”

5. The practice of *swamping* the sacred college, by the creation of an unreasonable number of new cardinals, has been exceedingly general in all ages. The reigning Pope thus recompenses many of his own clients or relatives, and prepares for his nephew, or some other favourite, a powerful influence at the next election. Thus, when Urban VI. was chosen in 1378, the number of cardinals was twenty-three, of whom sixteen only were present at the conclave. This Pope was, in my opinion (as stated in a former letter), elected under the constraint of popular tumult, and a considerable number of the very cardinals, who had chosen him, declared the see vacant, on that ground, a few months afterwards, and chose one of their number, who took the name of Clement VII., from whence arose the great and scandalous schism, which lasted about forty years. Urban, when

this occurred, immediately nominated twelve cardinals of excellent character; but they were so disgusted with his severity, that they spoke of giving him a coadjutor, upon which he caused four of them to be strangled in prison, and appointed no fewer than twenty-nine new ones. It is, at this moment, an "open question" to every one, who reads the history of the times, which of these Popes was the true one. I think the strongest argument in favour of Urban is, that he formed the project of making his nephew King of Sicily, and would probably have done so, if the nephew had not been drowned, with the whole crew of his vessel. No sooner had that violent and worldly-minded warrior Julius II. been elected, than he instantly resolved upon introducing a number of new cardinals into the sacred college. They remonstrated both collectively and separately against this act, but he threatened that, if they did not acquiesce, he would nominate thirty in spite of them. In the conclave, which took place after the death of Clement VIII. (1605), out of sixty cardinals, not fewer than thirty-eight were the creatures of the deceased pontiff.

In one respect, however, I not only admit, but contend, that the Romanists are, at all events, entitled to claim the merit of consistency. There are other texts besides "This is my body," to the literal acceptance of which they have most scrupulously adhered. Thus, for instance, the royal psalmist says, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength;" and it is, I presume, from a laudable desire of strictly conforming to this rule, that it was, during many ages, customary to give ecclesiastical titles and revenues to children. Thus Alfonso of Portugal was made a cardinal by Leo X. at the age of eight years, and Odo de Chatillon by Clement VII. at eleven.—(*D'Aubigné.*)

The former of these nominations can excite little, if any surprise, since Leo himself had been invested with the purple when only twelve years old; and must therefore have been aware, from his own experience, what a

slender amount of wisdom or sanctity is necessary for discharging the functions of a cardinal, which are rather characterised by pomp and puerility, than by sacredness and spirituality. Elevated so often to this high dignity long before they had attained the years of discretion, it must of course be obvious, that their infantine Eminences must have been entitled to stand aloof from the niceties of casuistry, and the noise of controversialists. Nor, indeed, generally speaking, does this exemption less apply to the more aged dignitaries of the Popish sanhedrim. "Can any one think" (says the celebrated Dr South, vol. iii. p. 39) "that the Pope and his cardinals, and the rest of their ecclesiastical grandees, care a rush whether the will of man be free or no (as the Jesuits state the freedom of it on one side, and Dominicans and Jesuits on the other); or that they at all concern themselves about justification and free grace, but only as the artificial stating of such points may sometimes serve them in their spiritual traffic, and now and then help them to turn the penny. No; they value not their schools any further than they furnish their markets; nor regard any gospel but that of Cardinal Palavicini, which professedly owns it for the main design of Christianity to make men as rich, as great, and as happy as they can be in this world." If, haply, some raw and red-stockinged Elihu was present at the choice of some decrepit or debauched vicar of Christ, I can conceive that, not being yet hackneyed in the ways of the princes of the church, his Eminence might exclaim, "Great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment."—(Job xxxii. 9.) When I witness your corrupt intrigues and criminal manœuvres, my "belly is as wine, which hath no vent—it is ready to burst like new bottles."—(ver. 19.) But such compunctious visitings would become fainter at each successive conclave, until at length superseded and obliterated by the most consummate dexterity in the complicated de-
s of duplicity and ambition.

It was in such scandalous and profane elevations of children to the highest dignities that the "great strength" of the mighty ecclesiastical Samson partly lay. These were the bribes, by which monarchs and ministers were induced to fall down and worship him. I question much whether the most lynx-eyed Jesuit can point out any instance, in which a Protestant Archbishop of York could say, When I received the mitre, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but at the age of four the Cardinal of Lorraine was made coadjutor to the Bishop of Mentz. No wonder that his Eminence imbibed a predilection for Popery almost with his mother's milk,—he did not serve the Pope for nought. This is one way of "suffering little children to come unto his Holiness;" and whether the kingdom of heaven should ultimately be theirs or not, the vicar of the King of kings took special care, that they should largely participate in the goods of the life that now is. I am, I must own, unable to see, that a female pope is a more flagrant anomaly than an infant cardinal. When military commissions were lavished in this country in almost as vile and venal a manner as the highest church dignities were prostituted at Rome, a young major, who had not put away childish things, might be heard "greeting for his parritch;" and it was, I have no doubt, a far more common, and not less unseemly spectacle, in the palmy days of the Leos and Clements, to see the mitred infants of the sacred college playing at marbles, when they should have been issuing a pastoral letter, or amusing themselves at blind-man's buff, when they should have been electing, and perhaps been elected, supreme pontiffs of the Christian church, and vicars of Jesus Christ.

"Cæsar Borgia (base son to Pope Alexander VI.) used to boast" (says South, vol. i. p. 326) "to his friend Machiaval, that he had contrived his affairs and greatness into such a posture of firmness, that, whether his holy father lived or died, they could not but be secure. If he lived, there could be no doubt of them;

and if he died, he laid his interest so as to overrule the next elections as he pleased. But all this while the politician never thought or considered, that he might in the mean time fall dangerously sick, and that sickness necessitate his removal from the court; and during that, his absence, his father die, and so his interest decay, and his mortal enemy be chosen to the papacy, as indeed it fell out. So that, for all his exact plot, down was he cast from all his greatness, and forced to end his days in a mean condition, as it is pity but all such political officiators should."

Of the dissimulation and trickery practised on such occasions, the following anecdote affords an amusing illustration. The conclave, at which Pius IV. was chosen in 1559, lasted four months and seven days. It was customary, when it seemed evident that the contest would be a protracted one, for the cardinals now and then to give to each other a considerable number of votes, not with a view of effecting an election, but by way of a compliment, and to show to "them who are without," that they had been held in some consideration. Cardinal della Cueva, being a pleasing person, and beloved, but far from possessing the qualities suitable for being Pope, entreated, through the medium of his conclavist, many French and imperial cardinals to confer on him a similar mark of respect, which many, supposing there was no risk, promised to do, and had already filled up their papers, in order to give him their votes; and there was a sufficient number to have made him Pope, if one of the cardinals had not happened to ask those seated on each side of him, for whom they meant to ballot; and finding that they were to give their suffrages in favour of the Cardinal della Cueva, for whom he himself had been entreated to vote on the aforesaid footing, they began to suspect, that matters might proceed farther than they intended; and therefore, having put the same question to many others, and finding them similarly circumstanced, they took care to apprise them

of the mistake into which they were on the point of falling through a "weak inadvertence." They therefore prepared new papers, and destroyed those written in favour of the Cardinal della Cueva, which excited a laugh, not only from him, by whom they had been induced to write them, but also from those by whom they had been written.

A similar *manœuvre* was attempted on the same occasion by Cardinal Cornaro, but the "old birds" were more wary in this instance, and took care (to his Eminence's great rage and mortification) that the chaff of empty compliment should not be converted into "the full corn in the ear" of unintended success.

Truly, every member of the sacred college seems to resemble the "cunning man, endued with understanding" (2 Chron. ii. 13), whom King Hiram sent to Solomon, "able, with the other cunning men, to find out every device which shall be put to him."

The choice of the electors often fell upon the weakest or most worthless candidates, the old cardinals almost uniformly declining to vote for any member of the sacred college younger than themselves (however deserving), lest they should lose all prospect of being themselves elected at the next vacancy. "Those," says Retz, "who have not been present at conclaves, cannot form any conception of the illusions, which men cherish in reference to the papal dignity, and it is justly styled *rabbia papale*."

It has sometimes appeared to me, that the popedom might in some respects be not inaptly compared to the pool of Bethesda.—(John v. 2.) No sooner does the angel of death go down at a certain season, and, by creating a vacancy, trouble the waters of ambition, selfishness, and intrigue, than, in the conclave, with its many porches and chambers, lie a great multitude of impotent cardinals, blind, halt, withered, waiting to see which of their number the moving of the water shall transport to Peter's chair. Whoever first steps in is made whole of

whatever disease he had—he becomes at once infallible and supreme, and as for all his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him. Now, it is possible that there may be present a certain dean of the sacred college, who has laboured during (it may be) thirty-eight years under the infirmity of restless and reckless ambition; and if any one who knew that he had been now a long time in that case, were to say, “Wilt thou be made Pope?” the decrepit veteran would say, “Ah, sir, since I was first clothed in purple and fine linen, the church has had five husbands, and I have, on each occasion, been an ardent but unsuccessful wooer. I have no man, when the water of selection and canvass is troubled, to put me forward as a candidate—no king—no emperor—no influential head of a party; but while I am coming, another steppeth down before me.” Now, if this pertinacious suitor, who takes his rejected addresses so much to heart, were (as is often the case) to be chosen by two fiercely-contending factions, as a stopgap until they could adjust their respective pretensions, and invited to accept the tiara, I believe, if he had one foot already in the grave, he would muster strength enough to draw it out again. His colleagues, who, at other times (when, from the absence of moral decay and physical debility, he was less eligible for the high and holy office) had scouted his claims, and disdainfully “passed by on the other side,” would unanimously and reverently prostrate themselves at his feet; and he would, in a moment—in the twinkling of an eye—be changed, not only in name, but, I had almost said, in nature; for, however small account may have been made of him as a cardinal, no sooner is he worshipped as Pope on the altar, than

..... “*Uno minor est Jove—dives
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum.*”

It thus has often happened, that old men have been elected, merely because there was a prospect of their not living long, and they themselves have devoted the

whole of their brief reigns to the aggrandisement of their own families, many of which now live in splendour and luxury in the Roman states, or elsewhere, in virtue of large fortunes derived from ecclesiastical revenues. Thus Paul IV. (Caraffa) was elected at the advanced age of seventy-nine, and he is thus described by the Venetian ambassador at Rome, the Archbishop of Vienne, in 1556-7:—"His ministers, and especially his nephews, keep him in tutelage, and declare openly, that access is only to be obtained to him through their intercession. The Pope is too old—he listens willingly to all reports—is prone to believe them—becomes thereby weak in his determinations—alters, interprets what has been said and promised, at his pleasure—finds reasons for all his own notions, and will finally decide every thing according to his own view. He then pays no regard to any counter-representations, and becomes so obstinate, that nothing is to be gained over him." And yet all this time, my dear friends, this headstrong dotard was "infallible in matters of faith, because he was assisted by the Holy Spirit!"

On the whole, I entertain no doubt, that the disfranchisement of the college of cardinals will take place, as soon as Italy shall be emancipated from foreign thralldom and ecclesiastical tyranny; and it is as just and necessary as that of Sudbury, East Retford, or St Albans,—the only difference in the two cases being, that the daily exhibition of corruption, hypocrisy, and party spirit, is opened, in the one instance, by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, whereas the morning service was not, I believe, read by either the rector or the curate, when the venal electors of English rotten burghs assembled on the hustings, to vote according as they had been either bribed or bidden.

If it be true, that our Lord appointed Peter to be his vicerent and the head of his church upon earth, we do not find that the apostles prostrated themselves before him to kiss his feet, or that he himself manifested any

symptoms of conscious superiority and pre-eminence; although, I believe, it is confidently maintained by Popish controversialists, that all the other apostles were ordained by him—a fact which, from an almost culpable excess of modesty, he has omitted to state in either of his epistles; but, in addition to the actions of the apostle recorded in the canonical Scriptures, the Popish Church, over which he is said to have presided, seems anxious to persuade the world that “there are also many other things which Peter did,” which I, for one, am firmly persuaded that it never entered into his heart to conceive. But when Alexander VII. was chosen, we are informed by Retz, that he said, with tears in his eyes, “Pardon this weakness to a man, who has always loved his neighbours with tenderness, and who now *sees himself separated from them for ever.*” “We descended (continues Retz) after the accustomed ceremonies, to St Peter’s; he affected only to sit on the corner of the altar, although the masters of the ceremonies told him, ‘*that the custom was for Popes to place themselves exactly in the centre!*’” Here it was, my friends, that he received the adoration of the sacred college, who kissed his feet; he thus “*showing himself that he is God!*”—as God sitting in the temple of God.

On the pernicious effect generally produced on the minds and hearts of those who are elevated to the papal dignity, by this often unexpected, and generally intoxicating elevation, I shall not detain you by dwelling long. *Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia ac spes.* I may just allude, for instance, to the recklessness with which, during the great schism which spread discord and scandal throughout Europe at the close of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth centuries, the very men of God who, as cardinals, had sworn that, if elected, they would resign the papacy for the sake of restoring harmony to the church, eluded the fulfilment of their oath by wilful perjury and obstinate prevarication, until abandoned in disgust by the very cardinals who had

chosen them under that express stipulation. Leonard Aretin, in spite of his being a very able and virtuous man, was secretary to several popes, who reigned during this period of tergiversation and turmoil, and, though his masters were men of bad character, it is evident from his letters that he did not approve of their conduct. He was allowed to address the cardinals assembled at the conclave when Gregory XII. was chosen, and earnestly exhorted them (though in vain) to suspend the election, because he was of opinion, that this was the only method to put an end to the schism. He entered the service of the newly-elected pontiff, who made an appointment to meet his rival, Benedict XIII., at Savona. Benedict has (though, as I think, most unjustly) been enumerated by the Romanists amongst the anti-popes, and there is, no doubt, a plausible reason for thinking that he was so, since he actually kept his word; whereas the true Pope (according, I mean, to the decisions of Popish canonists) broke his, as a matter of course. The honest secretary thus expresses his feelings of shame and mortification, in a letter to his friend, Petrallo:—"The time to go to Savona was now come; but the Pope did not think fit to perform his promise, which scandalized all well-meaning persons. His competitor had been there at the time appointed, and was continually reproaching Gregory with his affected delays. Oh, shame to us and our posterity, that having freely, and after a mature deliberation, accepted a place, where we were to restore union amongst the Christians, we should now be backward and refuse to go thither! Yes; I am extremely grieved at what passes, both as a Christian and as an Italian. I cannot comfort myself, when I consider, that the Christians are disappointed in the hopes they had conceived of seeing the church united again, and when I think that *the Italians, my countrymen, will be looked upon as false and perfidious men, without sincerity or honour*. When I speak after this manner, I show myself more solicit-

ous about the true glory and reputation of the Pope, than those who, by their flatteries and deceitful counsels, dissuade him from a design, which would raise him to eternal glory." Leonard, who was in Gregory's service, thought he could not in honour abandon him ; but at the same time (says Bayle) he abhorred his master's baseness, and was heartily afflicted at the approaching ruin of the church, through the ambition and obstinacy of the rival Popes. "It grieves me in the most terrible manner," says he, "to be where I am. *There is no desert, no cavern, though ever so dreadful, where I should not rather choose to live.* Any place would be agreeable to me, where I might not see the conflagration and ashes of the church, which I am now forced to behold." Might we not here adopt, my friends, and inscribe on almost every page of Papal history, the sublime apostrophe, which Madame Roland addressed to Virtue, and exclaim, "O Infallibility ! what crimes are perpetrated in thy name !" I had almost omitted to state, that Wolsey, as we are informed by the ambassador of Charles V. (24th December 1521), said, that he was willing to spend on his election 100,000 ducats ; and affirmed that "nothing would more contribute towards determining the result of the election in his favour, than the march of the imperial troops, now in Italy, towards Rome ; and in case neither presents nor good words have their effect on the college of cardinals, *they should be compelled by main force to the choice which his Majesty approves.*" The Bishop of Bath and Wells, in a letter to Henry VIII., quoted by Mr Turner, gives the following particulars as to the conclave :—"It should be long to write to your Grace the repeated brawlings and scoldings between these cardinals, and of their great schisms and dissensions, and the malicious, unfaithful, uncharitable demeanour, one of them against another, which every day increased when they were in this conclave."

I shall conclude this branch of the subject by making some extracts from the despatches of the French

ambassadors at Rome, during the reign of Sixtus V., in reference to the conduct of that very able and eminent pontiff; not, however, for the purpose of enlarging upon the great and well-known difference between Cardinal Peretti and Sixtus V., but in order to contrast his Holiness's views and principles with those laid down by Him, whose vicar he pretended to be, by Peter, of whom he claimed to be the successor, or of the other members of the college of the apostles, whose sentiments he treated with as little ceremony, as the suggestions of the college of cardinals by whom he had been chosen.

My kingdom is not of this world. It is not reason that we should leave the Word of God and serve tables. We will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors; but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve. Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls, for my yoke is easy and my burden light.

Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. The love of money is the root of all evil; which, while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire.

The weapons of our warfare are not carnal. Blessed are the peacemakers. The Lord of Peace himself give you peace always by all means.

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Let your moderation be known to all men. Let all

I found, on my elevation to the Papal chair, the Papal power much degraded in Rome and Italy, but I raised it again. At that time the princes of Italy were by no means on good terms with one another, and entertained still less reverence for the viceregent of Christ; the most distinguished families and first houses of Rome lived in open feud, and were united on one point alone, namely, to give themselves no trouble as to what the Pope would say or do. The entire states of the church were filled with exiles and criminals. In a short time, however, I brought things to a pass, that the greatest were compelled to bow to my yoke, and the robbers and other rabble were dispersed or rooted out.

The Pope pointed out, in a similar discourse, how important it was for a prince to be always well provided with money. The Pope, in comparison with the King of France, must seem like a fly to an elephant. Yet I have, in a short space of time, collected much money, and shall soon lay by a great deal more. The conclusion of all his observations was, that we must, like himself, make ourselves feared, and accumulate much money.

The Pope said, I will rather give than lend to the King, under the condition, however, that he carry on the war in earnest, and that we may perceive some signal advance in his measures.

When the cardinal said that the Pope was not well informed of the affairs of France, Sixtus interrupted him so

bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice. Be not a busy-body in other men's matters.

Speak evil of no man. Love your enemies. Bless them which curse you. Michael, the archangel, durst not bring a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee.

Presumptuous are they, self-willed, they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.

Showing all meekness unto all men. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate.

The wisdom which cometh from above is full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

He (says Peter, not Peretti) that will love life and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear. Drink a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine oft infirmities. If ye do well and suffer for it, take it patiently. He knelt down, and cried with a loud voice, Lay not this sin to their charge; and when he said this he fell asleep.

that he could not proceed, and said he was very well informed of them, and knew well what he was talking of; and while he spoke these words he set both his hands to his sides, and looked into my very eyes in a terrible fashion. Yet this discussion commenced afresh, and Sixtus was more temperate.

From this the Pope fell upon the deceased Pope Gregory XIII., and the cardinals of Como and Sens, and said they were prime raisers of the last troubles in France, especially the cardinal of Sens, who deserved to be hanged, and repeated these words two or three times.

The emperor Rodolph is a poor prince, with no good qualities, and a cold Catholic, and his father, Maximilian II., was a very bad prince, without any religion.

It is the Pope's nature to be insupportable towards those who humble themselves before him, and he is accustomed to honour and fear those who show him their teeth, and stand upon their rights.

The Venetians knew the Pope for a man who easily takes offence, and who will not hear reason

Hereupon the Pope fell into an extreme passion, and handled the Spanish ambassador so roughly, and took him up so sharply, that a good understanding can scarcely be established between them. . . . He withdrew to his chamber without awaiting the Spaniard's answer. He would probably have declared against them if he had not died five days later, Aug. 27, at five in the afternoon. He had been seized, in consequence of the excitement, with a tertiary fever, of which, refusing to obey any prescription of the physicians, or to abstain during the great heat from wine and fruits, he died.

Now, I am very far indeed from denying, that Sixtus V. was, as a temporal ruler, gifted with pre-eminent talents, and qualified to excel, *tam Marte, quam Mercurio*. "Notwithstanding an intermittent fever," writes Pisani, the ambassador of Henry III. at Rome, "he will not keep his bed, consults no physicians,—scoffs at their ignorance,—labours without ceasing, and will not lie an hour,—all for the sake of leaving affairs in

the best possible state for his successor." In this enumeration of the pontiff's chief objects, not a syllable, we perceive, is said either as to the glory of his God, or the salvation of his soul. Other popes have been consummate statesmen, wily negotiators, remorseless murderers, inexorable inquisitors, and have carried the art of cursing to a perfection which it never attained, either in ancient or modern times. In the magnificence of their apparel, the number of their attendants, the splendour and diversity of their equipages, the gracefulness of their fans formed of white peacocks' feathers, the submissiveness of their devotees, and the liberality with which they have transferred kingdoms, and even continents, from their rightful owners to adventurers or usurpers, they are certainly without a parallel. All that I presume to deny is, that corrupt men, thus chosen by others as corrupt as themselves, have in any manner, or in any degree, imbibed the spirit, or followed the example, of Simon Barjona, whose surname was Peter, or have any right to be regarded as his successors or representatives. The Vatican is is not more unlike to the house of Simon the tanner, nor St Peter's church to the upper-room, in which the apostles, after the ascension, all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication with the women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his "first cousins."

The uninterrupted continuity of the Papal policy, in all its secularity and ambition, may be further illustrated by the following extract:—

"Father Berulle to the Minister Villarceaux.—Rome, October 2, 1624. During the pontificate of Urban VIII.—The court of Rome, its conduct, its principles, are very different from the previous notion and judgment which one forms of them without experience. I own that, on the spot, I have learnt more in a few hours, than from all former speeches and accounts. *The condition of France, Spain, and Italy, is the dial to which they ever look.* THE REPUTATION OF

THEIR GOVERNMENT, THE APPLICATIONS AND EXALTATION OF ITS POWER, ARE THE LEADING POINTS IN ITS COUNCILS, AND OF GREATER WEIGHT, THAN MANY THEOLOGICAL GROUNDS. As at sea we are obliged to sail with the wind, thus it is in this court also, if we wish to reach our destination. The Pope demands, that the conditions respecting the English Catholics should be as ample in their favour on the occasion of this marriage with a French princess, as those promised for the Spanish match; he demands, that the children of Charles and Henrietta should be bred up Catholics, the Puritans thrust to the wall, AND THE WAY OPENED TO HIM FOR THE GRADUAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF HIS POWER IN ENGLAND."—*Raumer*, ii. 289.

To say the truth, I am inclined to believe, that, in regard to primacy and infallibility, they appertain to the Pope, when chosen by the college of cardinals, neither less nor more than to the Lord Mayor of London, when elected by the court of aldermen. A fallible cardinal becomes, *momento turbinis*, an infallible Pope—a fallible alderman, just as certainly becomes an infallible Lord Mayor, as soon as he is invested with the gold chain, and the senior alderman has proclaimed to the assembled liverymen in Guildhall, *annuncio vobis gaudium magnum*. In neither case, however, is the infallibility universal—in the Pope it is limited to matters of faith, but applies not to more homely or less transcendental concerns; it rives an oak, but cannot pick up a pin—like Milton, it can hew a colossus out of a rock, but cannot carve heads upon cherry stones. It is probable also, that the Lord Mayor's infallibility is confined to objects of public importance, connected with metropolitan police and civic jurisdiction, and that his decisions do not carry with them paramount authority, unless publicly proclaimed, or, at all events, tacitly acquiesced in, by the right worshipful aldermen in their respective wards; nor am I prepared to deny, that the common council, whether presided in or not by the

Lord Mayor, possesses at least (in conformity with the *dicta* of many learned recorders and sapient common sergeants) a cumulative infallibility. It is painful, however, to reflect, that, whilst the representative of Peter has established his dominion over so many princes and provinces, the power of the successor of Walworth and Whittington extends not beyond the precincts of the city. His lordship, however, need not despise, or be discouraged by, the day of small things. He is already much better lodged than ever Simon Barjona was. The Mansion House is not so inferior to the Vatican, as it is more elegant and commodious than the dwelling of Simon the tanner. The Pope was for many ages a far less important personage at Rome, than the Lord Mayor is in the "capital of nations." True it is, that at present the municipalities of Paris and Vienna, and even of those of York or the Modern Athens, nay, the very Provosts of Wick or Wigton, though they no doubt entertain a high respect for the metropolitan chief magistrate, acknowledge him merely as a *primus inter pares*, and never dream of soliciting a patent of confirmation under his hand and seal, before entering on the discharge of their respective functions. But so it was formerly with patriarchs, archbishops, and prelates, during the earliest centuries in the annals of the church. They would have recoiled with indignation from the proposition, that they required to do homage to Adeodatus or Hormisdas. The unscrupulous dexterity of Papal cunning and violence has, however, ultimately prevailed; and those, whose predecessors were his equals and his fellows, now reverently kiss his feet, after placing him on the altar of their God. There may also, however, be "a good time coming" for the Lord Mayor of London, when the chief magistrates and aldermen, the provosts and bailies, the councillors, treasurers, deacons, and deans of guild, may annually flock to Guildhall, in order to undergo the ceremony of metropolitan inauguration.

I am afraid that, if these humble pages should meet the eye of any of the members of the sacred college, before they are honoured with a place in the Index, they will reproach me with being their enemy, because I tell them the truth ; but at all events, on the *fas est et ab hoste doceri* principle, I think I can lay before them a very happy and useful suggestion. They would do well (in one particular, at least), to adopt the system of annually electing a Pope, just as the Lord Mayor of London only holds his high office during a year ; and if they coupled with this arrangement, the principle of rotation (as is wisely practised by the court of aldermen), much violent bickering, unseemly intrigue, and unhallowed interference would be avoided. The decrepit cardinals, whose ambition often survives every other feeling, would thus have their *rabbia papale* gratified ; and during his pontificate of a year (as “fair play is a jewel”), each would have an opportunity to enrich and ennoble his relations, instead of seeing one, who but yesterday was his equal, swallowing, like Aaron’s rod, the ecclesiastical revenues of the world, and giving at least one proof of his abhorrence of infidelity, by providing most liberally for his own. To use the words of a well-known historical song—

“ Thus barring all pother,
The one and the other
Would all be crown’d Popes in their turn.”

This system of rotation would not only save much trouble to the sacred college, but exonerate them from the disgrace so often entailed on them, by their unwise and venal selections, and by the ignominious necessity of yielding to “pressure from without.” In the conclave of 1605, some youthful cardinals of fifteen had votes on the first scrutiny, to the great scandal of Cardinal Belarmine ; but what must be thought of the infallibility, or rather infamy, of the supreme pontiff, who could confer so high and responsible a dignity on gay and giddy minors, panting for twenty-one. So despotic was the

influence of the "most catholic" king in the conclave of 1590, and so openly and unblushingly exercised, that he sent a list of seven cardinals, and pointedly forbade his managers to allow the Holy Ghost to confer the tiara on any but one of these seven selected sages or sycophants. One of them accordingly was selected, and took the name of Gregory XIV., of whom Maisse, the French ambassador at Rome, gives this graphic account:—"He is an easy man, and of little effect. The Spaniards have persuaded him, through his physicians, that, in order to preserve his health, he must abstain from all business. . . . Within ten months, however, he ran through three millions of gold, no one knew how, and died of a very painful and loathsome disease, although they gave him gold, pearls, and other strengthening things to drink, and wrapped him in the carcass of a sheep, and of a newly-killed horse. The Spaniards gave themselves the greatest trouble to preserve him, but God was mightier than they." Now, if the diadem had lighted on the head of such a candidate, in the course of rotation, there would have been no blame attached to the cardinals, if he happened to be the oldest who had not "passed the chair." But when Borromeo, and many other eminent cardinals, were, at the command of an arrogant monarch, passed over, in order that a mere puppet of his own might become "infallible in matters of faith," because he was assisted "by the Holy Spirit," what can we think of a system so rotten, and so corrupt? and yet any devotee, who visited Rome during his brief pontificate, would hasten to kiss the feet of this infallible driveller; and, it may be, leave such a man as Baronius unvisited and unnoticed—a case somewhat analogous to that of George II., who, not being very conversant with our national literature, and having gone to see one of our great bard's masterpieces, thought mighty little of Garrick, but had his attention wholly engrossed by the well graced and well accoutred actor who represented the Lord Mayor, and was constantly asking

when that eminent functionary would reappear? It has often happened, on the pontifical stage, that some awkward and unseemly stroller, who was barely tolerated as a very sorry representative of Rosencrantz or Guildenstern, is all at once called upon to enact the part of Hamlet, and performs it amidst the unanimous plaudits of the very audience, who had endured with impatience his almost ludicrous representation of the subordinate character.

Be assured, my friends, that the more you study every subject in any wise appertaining to the Papal mystery of iniquity, the more clearly you will perceive, how entirely it is at variance with the divine mystery of godliness. It is a system, which every pious and enlightened man in Europe should labour incessantly to put down and to demolish. Every rite and every tenet with the Romanists must be gross, material, and palpable. They walk by sight and not by faith. Instead of enduring as seeing Him who is invisible, they must bring Christ down from heaven and worship him in the wafer. Instead of bowing beneath his unseen omnipotence, they must behold the sceptre of his unerring wisdom wielded by a frail and often flagitious mortal. Had our government, when Pius IX. presumed to nominate an Archbishop of Westminster, authorized the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Gavazzi as Bishop of Rome, I believe that two-thirds of the Italians would have recognised his authority with thankful and cordial alacrity; and if the bayonets of the French despot were withdrawn from Rome, Bishop Gavazzi would be carried in triumph to the Vatican on the shoulders of an emancipated and enthusiastic population. Ecclesiastical as well as civil tyranny would soon be annihilated. The depredations of cowed palmer worms, locusts, and cankerworms, would be put an end to. It would no longer be said, as it may be now, that which the Dominican hath left hath the Franciscan eaten, and that which the Franciscan hath left hath the Carthusian eaten, and that which the

Carthusian hath left hath the Jesuit eaten ; the locusts would no longer come, and caterpillars without number, to eat up all the herbs in the land, and devour the fruit of the ground. Gavazzi, like another Josiah, would defile Topheth, and put down the idolatrous priests, and them that burn incense to Mary, and break in pieces the images, and cut down the groves ; and he would take away the high places and statues, which (like Solomon in the days of his idolatry) the antichristian usurper has erected on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, and all the shrines erected in Italy for Januarius, the abomination of the Neapolitans, and Francis, the abomination of the Assisians, and Antony, the abomination of the Paduans, would Gavazzi defile—"and the pots, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they minister, would he take away, and the fire-pans, and the bowls, and such things as were of gold in gold, and of silver in silver ;" and it would be unquestionably found, or rather is, I believe, already admitted, that the *brass* of the priests is "in abundance, without weight." Were such a glorious triumph achieved, as I trust it may be ere long, it would be found that now, as in the season of primitive purity and simplicity, the Word of the Lord, which endureth for ever, would be searched by every Christian and read in every family, and once more, as in the days of Paul, the faith of all that are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints, might be spoken of throughout the whole world.

IV.—PAPAL NEPOTISM AND RAPACITY.

I specified, in the preceding letter, certain signal advantages which would, in my humble judgment, result from rendering the Papal elections annual.

There is, however, I must own, one very serious ob-

jection to the plan, namely, the difficulty of enduring a painful and humiliating retrogression from a more than regal dignity and splendour, to a state which, however exalted, is one of comparative subjection and inferiority. It is, no doubt, a dazzling and delightful transition for a cardinal, who was liable to err in matters of faith, when he rose in the morning, to find, before sunset, his infallibility universally recognised; to be ushered into the Vatican as its master, where he had so often acted the part of a sycophant and a slave—*sed revocare gradum*—to reverse the poet's saying, and after having been god yesterday, to become man again to-day, is a falling off indeed. An almost equally mortifying metamorphosis was formerly experienced, at each successive vacancy of the Holy See, by the cardinal nephew of the deceased pontiff; for the old adage, *Ne sis patruus mihi*, by no means holds good of an *infallible* uncle. No sooner had the new vicar of Christ been worshipped in the centre of the altar, than his nephew, or nephews, were summoned to be invested with privileges and advantages, which Peter's nephews, if he had any, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, were not so fortunate as to enjoy. Almost every Pope has had nephews or relatives, and there are not a few pontiffs of whom we know, as we do of Eber and Peleg, and Reu and Serug the patriarchs, not only how many years they lived, but that they begat sons and daughters. It is, however, fortunate, that there has not been even one amongst them, of whom it can be recorded, as concerning Abdon the Pirathonite, that he had forty sons and thirty nephews that rode on threescore and ten ass' colts. Now, Abdon judged Israel eight years; a pontificate of equal duration, with such a swarm of needy relatives to provide for out of the sacred revenues of the church, would have been far worse for Rome, than the plague of locusts was for Egypt. I remember hearing an old song, when I was young, one couplet of which was—(I think I am indebted for it to Bluebeard)—

"What a very good thing to be father-in-law
To a very magnificent three-tailed bashaw."

This, I admit, is very true. He that has a three-tailed bashaw for his father-in-law, does well; but he that gets a pope for his uncle, does better. This is what has enriched and ennobled the Cibos, the Ottobonis, the Aldobrandinis, the Altieris, the Pamphilis, the Chigis, the Montaltos, the Albanis, and many other families, who owe their wealth and elevation to the patronage and prodigality of avuncular "men of God." Had Peter enjoyed similar opportunities of amassing wealth, conferring titles, or subduing principalities, and turned them to as good account, the Barjonas, no doubt, would have to this day occupied a stately palace, and presided at sumptuous banquets in the eternal city. Each of these "fortunate youths," many of whom were made cardinals before, or soon after, they came of age, and now and then resigned the purple when an opportunity occurred of winning a province or wedding an heiress, might say, in the language of Joseph, (without, however, closely resembling that just and generous Israelite in any other respect), "Behold, my uncle wotteth not what is with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand. There is none greater in the house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me," except his infallibility in matters of faith—an official perquisite which is not transferable, and cannot be entailed as an heirloom. But no sooner does the uncle cease to live, than the nephews cease to reign. They may, during a brief series of years, have had more than heart can wish. In their pride, they may have set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue may have walked through the earth; but, alas, they are set in slippery places, and are often cast down into destruction. How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment! They are often utterly consumed with terror. One reason why the wily and wary vicar of Christ crowds as many of his dépendants into the sacred college as pos-

sible, is in order that they may act as a bodyguard to his nephew at the ensuing conclave, and co-operate in effecting the election of some facile and friendly successor, who may wink at the scandalous peculations, by which his predecessor's family has been enriched, and his Master's church impoverished, instead of insisting that the surviving extortioner shall give an account of his stewardship, now that he may be no longer steward. The change, which takes place in the condition of a cardinal nephew, at the decease of his uncle, is almost as striking as the joy of the sacred college at the opening occasioned by the vacancy, for the gratification of their own ambitious and long-cherished expectations. "Then," says the lively author of the history of the conclave at which Gregory XV. was chosen, in 1621,—“then the highnesses, who were adored and idolized by courtly adulation, are all abased, to their own great mortification, so that he who had shown a spirit of domination and of pride, and of contest for pre-eminence, on the first day sees himself humbled, and most submissively bows and bends himself before the man whom, a short time before, he had despised. Then is the haughtiness of the ancient magistrate laid aside, and one who, just before, had thought little of himself, begins to believe, with confidence, that he can facilitate or close at will the steps which lead to the sublimity of the pontificate, to any one who previously has treated him with courtesy and kindness.” One of the most striking instances of the transition from absolute power to utter ruin, occurred in the case of the nephews of Paul IV., (*Carrossa*), who was elected at the advanced age of seventy-nine, in 1555. “His ministers, and especially his nephews,” says the Venetian ambassador at Rome (*Raumer*, p. 262), “keep him in tutelage, and declare openly, that access is only to be obtained to him through their intercession, and that letters, or other writings, can only reach him through their hands. There are no regulations, which they cannot frustrate

through their counter regulations." "The pontiff, who, as cardinal," (says Ranke,) "had most sternly opposed the abuses of nepotism, and had denounced them, even to his own peril, was now seen to abandon himself entirely to this weakness. His nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had passed his whole life amidst the excesses and license of camps, was now raised to the rank of cardinal, though Paul himself had often declared of him, that his arm was dried in blood to the elbow. Carlo had found means to gain over his superannuated relative; he contrived to be occasionally surprised by him in seeming prayer before a crucifix, and apparently suffering agonies of remorse; but still further was the uncle propitiated by the virulent enmity of his nephew to the Spaniards. This was their true bond of union." Thus you see, my dear friends, that hatred of the most Catholic King was the dominant passion in the soul of this common father of the Christian Church! Was this Paul such an one as Paul the aged? His Holiness should rather have assumed the name of Saul; for he who was the champion and encourager of the Inquisition, and not only led men and women to prison, but conferred on that dire tribunal "the barbarous prerogative of applying torture for the detection of accomplices," was surely the successor, not of the converted apostle, but of the bigoted and bloodthirsty Pharisee, who did many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and persecuted his disciples even unto the death. "All purposes of reform were set aside for the struggles of war. His other nephews were not regarded, until they had evinced their participation in his anti-Spanish mania. His Holiness then confiscated the entire property of the Colonnas amongst his nephews, making the elder a duke and the younger a marquis. The pontiff then waged a long, sanguinary, and unsuccessful war against the Spaniards. His nephews filled up the measure of their iniquity before the pontiff died. He banished them all except one, whom he had made a cardinal at 18, and his statue was, after his death,

broken, like that of Nero or Tiberius, from its pedestal, and the head, bearing the triple crown, dragged through the streets; and his successor, Pius IV., immolated his nephews, as tardy victims at the shrine of public vengeance, although it is said, that their influence contributed largely to his own election.

I may here briefly allude, in illustration of the *furor nepotinus*, to the case of Alexander VIII. (1689-1691), who had, like Paul, been elected at the age of 79; for rare, indeed, are the instances, in which the most decrepit dotard abandons all hope of the pontificate, or ceases to think, that he is competent to undertake "the care of all the churches;" for whilst there is life there is hope. When all his other faculties are failing, his infallibility in matters of faith remains unchallenged and unimpaired, and so does his unprincipled and insatiable desire to heap honours and wealth upon his family. This pope provided for all his nephews during the first three weeks of his pontificate; and when it was remarked to his holiness, that he had been rather precipitate, he replied, *Sono venti trè hore et mezza*: he saw that he had no time to lose, and therefore turned it to the best account.

In truth, my friends, the disease of nepotism is so prevalent and so contagious, that, when a pontiff is elected, who is more than usually conscientious, his only amulet for warding off the infection, consists in prohibitions against his relatives being allowed to come to Rome. Such popes are like so many involuntary tee-totallers, who feel such an invincible proneness to intoxication, that they allow no wine or spirits to be served at their table; because, if the temptation be placed within their reach, they know they cannot help getting drunk. What a picture, however, does this present, of the state of mind which elevation to the headship of the church entails upon its possessor! so that he must suppress the best feelings of human nature, and put lover and friend afar from him, least he should commit sacrilege for the purpose of enriching them. Marcellus II. (1555) would not permit

his kindred to approach the capital, but he reigned only twenty-two days. Innocent IX. "ordered that no nephew of a pope should draw an income of more than 12,000 dollars, and forbade his own to come to Rome;"—his pontificate lasted but two months. Pius V. (1572), the last Pope on whom the grand cordon of saintsship has been conferred, raised two of his nephews to the cardinalate. His successor, Gregory XIII., besides providing (as was natural) for his natural son, bestowed the purple upon two of his nephews; "but when a third, encouraged by their promotion, came to court with hopes of equal fortune, he was refused an audience, and commanded to quit Rome within two days"—so convinced must the Pope have felt, that he must be haughty and unkind, in order to avoid being criminal and rapacious. The brother of Gregory had left his home, and was on the road to see and enjoy the honour that had visited his family; but, arrived at Orviete, he was met by a papal messenger, who desired him to return. Tears rose in the old man's eyes, and he was tempted to go yet a little further towards Rome; but, receiving a second intimation to desist, he obeyed it and returned to Bologna. Surely, my friends, his Holiness was not "his brother's *keeper*."

How far the ephemeral Popes, Marcellus and Leo XI., might have adhered to their determination of abstaining from nepotism, had their reign been prolonged, it is impossible to say, but the whole tenor of the Papal history demonstrates, that there was almost always *locus penitentiae* when a vicar of Christ intended to do any thing good. The inherent tendency to this crime must be deeply rooted indeed in the minds of these holy men, since the only alternative for avoiding it was, to treat their nearest of kin with harshness or neglect—and yet I can scarcely help commending them for having "done wisely;" more so, I think, than those who went to the opposite extreme, and loved their relatives "not wisely, but too well." The agony of the eye must be

great before any sufferer will consent to pluck it out—the state of the right hand must be desperate indeed before any patient will submit to cut it off. The difficulty on the part of Christ's vicars of acting in conformity with the provisions of such a bill of exclusion, or the promptitude with which (if ever seriously entertained) the professed intention is abandoned, of keeping at a distance a tribe of hungry relatives, who are inclined to compass them about as bees, is strongly exemplified in the case of Alexander VII., to whom I have already alluded, and who, whatever his other merits may or may not have been, was very distinctly a model both of simulation and of dissimulation.

CARDINAL CHIGI,

AS DELINEATED BY CARDINAL DE RETZ.

I was seated immediately above him during the scrutiny, and whilst it lasted, had an opportunity of conversing with him. It was for that reason I suppose, that he affected to wish to listen only to me, as to what concerned his pontificate. . . . He received from me some information, which I communicated to him during the scrutiny; but he always received it in a manner so remote from all appearance of a desire for the tiara, that he excited my admiration, or at the most, with circumstances so replete with an ecclesiastical spirit, that the blackest malignity could not attribute to him any other desire than that of which St Paul speaks, when he says, that he who desires the office of a bishop, desires a good work. All the discourses, which he addressed to me, were only full of zeal for the church, and of regret that Rome did not sufficiently study the scriptures, the councils, and the traditions. He never wearied of hearing me speak about the maxims of the Sorbonne. . . . Indeed, he acted his part so well, that we thought we should renew in his person, if we could raise him to the pontificate, the glory and the virtue of St Gregory and St Leo. . . . Never was the election of a Pope more universally applauded.—(Retz.) He at first forbade his relatives to come to Rome, and adhered for a time to that resolution.

POPE ALEXANDER VII.,

DRAWN BY THE SAME HAND.

On my return to Rome, I found the Pope as much changed in all other respects, without exception, as he had already appeared to be towards myself. He retained nothing of his pretended piety, except his seriousness when at church. I say his seriousness, and not his modesty—for there seemed to be much pride in his gravity. He not only continued the abuse of nepotism, by bringing his relatives to Rome; he consecrated it by causing it to be approved of by the Cardinals, whose opinions he asked separately, in order not to be obliged to follow that which was adverse to his will. He was ridiculously vain, and even prided himself on his nobility, like a little country noble, whose title was disputed by the bailies. He envied every one without exception. . . . He did not speak one word of truth, and the ambassador from Florence wrote to the Grand Duke those very words at the close of a despatch which he showed me—"In short, most illustrious sir, we have a Pope who never speaks a word of truth.—(Retz.) He appointed (1) his brother to be governor of Rome. (2) That brother's son to be cardinal nephew. (3) Another brother's son was loaded with benefices till he could be made cardinal, (which was not done until the accession of Clement IX.) (4) Another nephew was married to one of the greatest fortunes at Rome, and had 180,000 crowns for her portion, and the Pope purchased for him a principality.

We shall hereafter describe, on the authority of Baronius, what was the condition of the Papacy in the tenth century. I shall now lay before you Ranke's account of its position and principles at the close of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth centuries, after premising for your consideration one preliminary remark. It is probable, that some of you may have heard of the celebrated German physician, Hahnemann, who invented a new and ingenious mode of treating diseases. His maxim was, *Similia similibus curantur*. It is by aggravating for a time the symptoms of the malady, that he proposes to effect a cure. Now, this great benefactor of mankind was, after all, but a plagiarist. There is nothing new under the sun. The Pope has, for ages, been practising moral homœopathy on a large scale, though it must be admitted, that his remedies are not administered in doses of infinitesimal magnitude. One mortal disease is pride, and he cures it by assuming lofty titles himself, and imparting them to the venerable dignitaries, who bow the knee before his throne. Another is covetousness, and his remedy is to sell indulgences, dispensations, masses, investitures with the pallium, remission of purgatorial penalties, and every charm, and every appliance which priestly dexterity could invent, and superstitious credulity desire. Another is the lust of the flesh, and his panacea is to tolerate prostitutes in cities. His cure for the lust of the eye is to adorn himself and his mitred satellites with silks, and lace, and lawn, and velvet, and jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and sedans, and state coaches, and to be borne aloft on a throne carried by twelve bearers, having the canopy over him, and fans, formed of the long-tail feathers of the white peacock, borne by his side, whilst the dust of Samaria shall not suffice as handfuls for all the people that follow him. The last and most fatal malady, which I shall notice, is idolatry, and his remedy is to set up images in every church, in every grove, nay, I may almost say, in every house where men are influenced by his example and



believe in his infallibility. "Not only the supreme dignity of the Pontiff, but all other offices of the church were regarded as mere secular property. The Pope nominated cardinals from no better motive than personal favour, the gratification of some potentate, or even (and this was no unfrequent occurrence) for actual payment of money. Could there be any rational expectation, that men so appointed would fulfil their spiritual duties? One of the most important offices of the church, the penitentiary, was bestowed by Sixtus IV. on one of his nephews. This office held a large portion of the power of granting dispensations. Its privileges were still farther extended by the Pope; and, in a bull issued for the express purpose of confirming them, he declares all who shall presume to doubt the rectitude of such measures to be "a stiff-necked people, and full of malice." It followed, as a matter of course, that the nephew considered his office as a benefice, the proceeds of which he was entitled to increase to the utmost extent possible. "It followed of necessity that the performance of ecclesiastical duties was grievously neglected. "What a spectacle," remarks one of the conscientious prelates of the Roman court itself, "for a Christian who shall take his way through the Christian world, is this desolation of the churches! All the flocks are abandoned by their shepherds! They are given over to the care of hirelings." "What intrigues were set on foot for securing the higher appointments! What eagerness was displayed at elections to be rid of a rival, or of a voter believed unfavourable! The latter were sent out of the way as preachers or as inspectors of remote parishes. Against the former, they did not scruple to employ the sword, or the dagger, and many were destroyed by poison." "Who is me," exclaims one of the prelates before alluded to, "who are they that have turned my eyes to fountains of tears? Even those set apart and elect have fallen off—the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Were they to perish alone, this were an evil, yet one that might be

endured ; but since they are diffused through all Christendom, as are the veins through the body, so must their corruption and downfall bring on the ruin of the world." Of true Christian sentiment and conviction there could be no question in such a state of things. They were, on the contrary, directly opposed. While the populace had sunk into almost heathen superstition, and expected their salvation from mere ceremonial observances but half understood, the higher classes were manifesting opinions of a tendency altogether antireligious. How profoundly astonished must Luther have been on visiting Italy in his youth ! At the very moment when the sacrifice of the mass was completed, did the priest utter blasphemous words in denial of its reality ! It was even considered characteristic of good society in Rome to call the principles of Christianity in question. " One passes " (says H. Ant. Bandino) " no longer for a man of cultivation, unless one put forth heterodox opinions regarding the Christian faith." At last, the ordinances of the Catholic Church and passages from Holy Scripture were made subjects of jest—the mysteries of the faith had become matters of derision.—(*Ranko.*)

Such, my friends, was the state, to which the visible church was reduced, under the guidance of a series of vicars of Christ, who were infallible in matters of faith, because they were assisted by the Holy Ghost ! On this subject, I shall only farther occupy your attention by abridging, from the same high authority, a statement of the sums bestowed upon their families, in the course of about a century, by some of these holy successors of Simon Barjona.

The Popes of this period were prevented by the bulls of their predecessors from investing their relations with principalities, as had been so often attempted in earlier times ; but they did not on that account dissent from the general usage of the ecclesiastical body ; on the contrary, they were only the more earnest in their efforts to

secure hereditary dignity in their families, by conferring on them large possessions, both in money and in land.

They were careful, while pursuing this object, to provide themselves with arguments for their own justification. They proceeded on the principle, that they were bound by no vow of poverty; and having decided, that they might freely consider the surplus proceeds of the spiritual office as their own property, they likewise inferred, that they possessed the right of bestowing this superfluity on their kindred.

1. *Sixtus V.* +1590.—One grand-nephew, cardinal. Income, 100,000 scudi; other made Marquis of Montena, adding afterwards a principality and cardinalship.

2. *Clement VIII.* +1604.—Knew no bounds in conferring ecclesiastical benefices. During a pontificate of thirteen years, more than a million of scudi in hard money bestowed on kinsmen generally; 400,000 scudi given to enable a grand-niece to make a great marriage. The Pope, while making a show of grief at being induced by his nephew to act thus against his conscience, could yet not so carefully conceal his joy, in the depth and darkness of his heart, but that it would burst forth.

3. *Paul V.* + 1621.—Nephew's benefices in 1612 produced an income of 150,000 scudi; other nephew received a principality. Total, one million. The Borghese became the most wealthy and powerful of all the families that had yet risen in Rome. This representative of Simon Peter (who, besides being a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, was "also an elder," and so far as his own knowledge or authority extend, nothing more) is described in a singularly able article in the *Quarterly Review* (No. clxxviii. p. 468), as "a Pope whose violence, rapacity, and insolence would have done credit to an earlier age."

4. *Gregory XV.* +1623.—Authority of nephew still more unlimited. His income from church revenues, 200,000 scudi. Pope's brother, general of church, and

held many other lucrative offices. Duchy purchased, and two heiresses married in succession.

5. *Urban VIII.* +1644.—Brother, general of church. Steadily set himself, before all things, to founding of great family estate. Two of his three nephews cardinals; income of each, 100,000 scudi (including six commanderies of Malta). Regular income of the three brothers in a short time, half-a-million of scudi. During this pontificate, 105,000,000 of scudi passed into the hands of the Barberinis. This enormous accumulation became matter of scruple to the Pope; but he obtained from a commission, which he appointed, and from the General of the Jesuits, such balm as quieted his conscience. But similar fears agitated and perplexed him, when he thought of the day when he should stand in the presence of God; which, however, were relieved by the flattering opiates of sacerdotal casuists; and he died, praying that heaven would avenge him on the godless princes who had forced him into war.

The conflicts between the factions of successive pontiffs, which had previously taken place in the conclaves, were now exhibited among the papal families. The new race that had just attained to power, maintained the supremacy of its rank with jealous tenacity, and for the most part displayed hostility towards the family immediately preceding; nay, frequently inflicted persecutions on it. Thus, though the Aldobrandinis had taken so large a part in the elevation of Paul V., they were, nevertheless, thrust aside by his kinsmen, were treated with enmity by them, and finally tried severely by costly and expensive lawsuits. They called him the Great Unthankful. The kinsmen of Paul V., in their turn, found no higher favour at the hands of the Ludovisio; while Cardinal Ludovisio himself was compelled to leave Rome on the advent of the Barberini to supreme power.

At the accession of Innocent X., the Barberini them

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selves were called to account, and compelled to leave the city—their palaces seized, their offices distributed to others, and part of their property sequestered. The Roman people applauded the Pope in all these proceedings.

6. *Innocent X.* +1655.—His brother's widow acquired a position of the highest importance in the court; foreign ambassadors paid their first visits to her; money flowed into her coffers; her son contracted a splendid marriage. The dissensions, however, in the family became manifest to the whole world, and embittered the life of the Pope (whose age was seventy-two at the period of his election). He elevated a kinsman (having no longer a clerical nephew) to the dignity of cardinal-nephew; which promotion was publicly proclaimed by the firing of cannon, and other solemnities; but the quarrels and intrigues which ensued, rendered him even more capricious, self-willed, and burdensome to himself, than he had been formed by nature. His corpse lay three days before any one of those connected with him, on whom, by the usage of the court, the duty of interment devolved, had given a thought to the care of it.

The following anecdote illustrates the mode in which sacred dignities were procured, or rather prostituted, during this pontificate. After the death of Urban VIII., Odeschalchi began to pay his court to Dame Olympia, sister-in-law of the new pontiff; and, when he had given her several entertainments, she began to make interest for him very zealously, particularly for an action which this prelate did, and which deserves to be related. As he was paying her a visit, it happened, that a silversmith came to her house to show her a very rich and beautiful silver chest, which he had to sell. After she had examined it for some time, she said, in the presence of Odeschalchi and of several lords, who heard her answer, that "it was a beautiful piece of plate; but, as she was a poor widow, she could not go to the price of

it." Having said this, she retired into her chamber. Odeschalchi called the silversmith immediately, asked him the price of that piece of plate, and agreed with him to buy it for 8000 crowns; after which, without more words, he sent it with a compliment to Donna Olympia, who, seeing so fine a present, wondered at this extraordinary action, and went immediately to meet the Pope, and asked him the post of clerk to the chamber as a present for the prelate, and afterwards a cardinal's cap, which he obtained also by Cardinal Paloti's intercession.

This cunning "deviser of liberal things" certainly "received his own with usury," and was requited an "hundredfold now in this time." He sowed bountifully; and besides gathering at once into his garner at least thirty (if not sixty) fold in subordinate dignities, at length reaped the full corn in the ear, and was raised to the pontificate, by the name of Innocent XI., in 1676.

7. *Alexander VII.* + 1667.—Of the nepotism and hypocrisy of this pontiff we have already spoken in another place. In these respects he was in no ways inferior to his predecessors.

The progress of scientific and literary enlightenment throughout Europe, the consciousness that Protestant rulers, Protestant philosophers, and Protestant orators watched for their halting, and the resistance offered to their pretensions even by Popish monarchs and Popish parliaments, and the falling off in many unhallowed sources of revenue, have shamed the pontiffs of recent times into a more clandestine and less flagrant violation of every law, divine and human, in reference to the profuse malversation of church property, in favour of their own near kinsmen and connections. But take the case of the wicked and worldly-minded priests, whom I have just enumerated. Which of them could say, "Incline mine heart to thy testimonies, and not to

covetousness? Thy law is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver." The base and venal cardinals, who, not only during the period which we are considering, but for several preceding centuries, had prostituted the highest dignity to the highest bidder, might well say—

“Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Pontificem vitiosorem.”

Call them by any other appellation you please—emperors or exarchs, grand dukes or grand signors, muftis or moguls, or military tribunes—bestow upon them any dignity that involves no sanctity, and implies no claim to veneration on religious grounds; but degrade not the name of Christ, by denominating a series of ambitious, astute, and selfish mammon-worshippers, who had their portion in this life, and squandered the church's substance in bequests to their bastards, or their nephews, the vicar of Him whose kingdom was not of this world. Pour not contempt on the memory of the humble and holy Peter, who never coveted an evil covetousness to his house, or set his nest on high, by acknowledging as his representatives men, who raised themselves to idolatrous pre-eminence by craft, imposture, and intrigue, whose last state was almost invariably worse than their first; the least wicked and worldly-minded of whom were, according to their own St Gregory, the forerunners of Antichrist, because each has impiously arrogated to himself the powers of universal bishop, and has thus been the representative, not of Peter, but of Boniface III., who made Rome to sin, by usurping that title, which appertains to Christ alone. It has often been affirmed that the Papacy has been a system of development, and I am far from controverting this proposition, but it resembles the development which ensues when an egg produces a *crocodile*, a *boa-constrictor*.

tor, or a *cobra di capello*. There is a development of disease, as well as a development of health—of darkness, as well as of light—of falsehood, as well as of truth—of crime, as well as of virtue—*nemo* (not even Alexander VI. or Boniface VIII.) *repente fuit turpissimus*. There is a development when the good and incorruptible seed produces first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear—and there is a development also when Satan says, in reference to a field where tares were at one time few and far between, “let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley” (Job xxxi. 40); let despotism supplant freedom, and piety be superseded by superstition. There is development when a malefactor, who commenced his sinful career as a boy by purloining a silk pocket-handkerchief, terminates his existence on the scaffold as a burglar and an assassin—and there is development also in the case of Pope Hildebrand, who, though at the outset of his guilty course he entreated the emperor his master to confirm his election, soon exhibited the cloven foot of arrogance and ambition, dethroned and insulted his sovereign, encouraged bloodshed and bigotry, and at length expired as a rebel, an incendiary, and an exile. But nowhere has this nefarious principle of Antichristian development been so grossly and glaringly exhibited, as in reference to the standards of our faith. “I believe in the holy Catholic Church,” says the apostles’ creed. “I believe one truly Catholic and Apostolic Church,” says the Nicene creed—in order to show, that the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile was broken down, and that the church is now disseminated throughout the world, being built on the Rock, Christ Jesus. It was reserved for Pope Pius IV., in the last half of the sixteenth century, to aim at the extinction of this truly and only primitive catholic spirit which the ancient canons breathe, and to substitute, as an unhallowed and sectarian interpolation, “I acknowledge the holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman

Church, the mother and mistress of all churches"—adding, (as at the close of the Athanasian creed) that "this is the true catholic faith, *without which, no man can be saved.*" Salvation is thus made to depend upon the acknowledgment of a principle, with respect to which the apostles are wholly silent; and the Pope restricts within the pale of his own apostate communion that offer of acceptance, which, through Christ, is tendered to all. It is just as if the General Assembly of the Free Church were to substitute, "Ho, every *Free Churchman* that thirsteth, 'come ye to the waters'"—instead of the cheering invitation of the prophet, which is as unlimited as it is gracious. The Tridentine declaration involves, moreover, a palpable falsehood—for, according to the undeniable evidence of antiquity, the title of "Mother Church" applies not to Rome, but to Jerusalem. The General Council of Constantinople proclaimed, on a solemn occasion, "We show unto you, Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all other churches;" and the same affirmation is made by St Gregory the Divine, in reference to the Church of Cesarea, with the single exception of Jerusalem. So that, from first to last, as Bishop Taylor well observes, "it appears that the Roman Church is not the mother church; yet every priest is sworn to live and die in the belief that she is." As well-founded (and not a whit more so) is Bellarmine's assertion that Peter, after he was Bishop of Rome, ordained all the apostles and all other bishops by himself or by others—although Paul was evidently consecrated by none but Christ himself. Development is, if possible, still more daringly exemplified in the position laid down by Pope Innocent IV., "that the Pope can not only interpret the Scripture, but add to it," and Cardinal Cusa, the legate of Pope Nicholas V. to the Bohemians, tells them, in his 3d Epistle, that "*the authority of the church is to be preferred before the Scriptures.*" If an apostle were preaching in one upper room, and a Pope

in the other, the Papist would be bound to give the preference to Christ's vicar—just as he might read with impunity an encyclical letter of Pio Nono, but must not presume, without a licence, to peruse an epistle of John or of Jude. When Goldsmith was talking in a company with fluent vivacity (says Boswell, iv. 266) to the admiration (as he flattered himself) of all who were present, a German who sat next to him, and perceived Johnson rolling himself as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, "Stay, stay, Dr Johnson is going to say something." If Paul, in the presence of a Romish convert, were to reason of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, and the Pope were to manifest any intention to break silence, the zealous neophyte (taking a leaf out of the honest German's book) would tap the apostle on the shoulder, and whisper in his ear, "Stop, stop; I beg pardon for interrupting you, but I am sure you will yourself thank me for doing so, when I inform you, that the infallible mountain is in a state of incipient parturition."

Perhaps, however, the most lamentable illustration of the modern theory of development occurs in the case—the alas! too frequent case—of those ardent enthusiasts, or speculative reasoners, who, after having been trained during early life, in the pure principles of Protestant truth and simplicity, have, by making one false step, or adopting one specious error, or countenancing one unscriptural observance, been imperceptibly led to prostrate themselves before the shrine of an idol, from whose seductions they would have at one time shrunk with abhorrence, but whose gorgeous ritual and soul-destroying heresies, they have at first endured, then pitied, then embraced. Xenophon has immortalized and embellished the striking and instructive apologue of the Greek sage, who represents two rival goddesses—Pleasure and Poverty—as urging their rival claims upon the notice of Hercules at the spot from which two opposite paths

diverged. And this, my friends, in our own day, is often realised when Popery with the mass book, and Protestantism with the Bible, endeavour to engross the intellect, and enlist the affections, of some anxious and earnest inquirer. The former meets him as a "woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtile of heart. She is loud and stubborn, her feet abide not in her house; now is she without, now in the streets, and lieth in wait in every corner."—(Prov. vii. 10.) The other accosts him with affectionate freedom and says, "Now, therefore, hearken unto me, for blessed are they that keep my ways. Hear instruction, and be wise, and refuse it not. Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors, for whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord."—(Prov. viii. 32.) Whilst it is deeply to be lamented, that, of late, not a few of those, who are wise men after the flesh, or mighty, or noble, have fallen from their steadfastness, and been ensnared by Jesuitical craft and cunning, we may derive consolation and encouragement from the reflection, that few, indeed, of our countrymen in humble life have apostatized from the faith of their fathers, whilst Protestant "development" has, in Ireland, taken place to such an extent as to outstrip our most sanguine expectations; and the faithful heralds of the truth, in spite of the curses and calumnies of priestly fanatics, are every where thankfully attesting, that the common people hear them gladly.

Amongst the various triumphs, however, which Popery has gained during its recent season of development, there is none which has excited in my mind so strong a feeling of grief and of astonishment, as that so many British *women*, distinguished by intelligence and accomplishment, have been "carried away by the dissimulation" of crafty casuists, so as to "give ear to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils." I may, indeed, contemplate with almost equal sorrow, but certainly with far

less surprise, the case of many amiable and fascinating young females, who, having been nourished from their infancy with the milk of Popish error, prefer traditionary legends to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and attach more importance to St Theresa, than to St Paul. Their case, however, resembles that of Chinese candidates for admiration, who, almost from the day of their birth, have been the victims of all such ingenious means and torturing appliances as are best qualified to render their feet incapable of discharging the functions which Providence intended them to perform, namely, that of walking, and susceptible of being squeezed into a shoe of such Lilliputian dimensions, as would make Cinderella's glass slipper appear comparatively large and awkward, and would only be suitable for a child's doll, or a cardinal's madonna. But the most apathetic spectator would, I think, be filled with amazement, if he saw three British graces (such for instance as Lady Lothian, Lady Fielding, and Lady Harris), labouring with might and main to force their lovely feet, which had been permitted, in unfettered and unencumbered freedom, to assume nature's symmetry and "comely proportion" (Job xli. 12), into a pair of these dwarfish leathern receptacles, in which they must become utterly unfit for use and for motion, for "glory and for beauty"—(Exod. xxviii. 2.) I am persuaded, that these fair and fashionable proselytes would scarcely be able to carry out their unhappy and ill-judged design without the aid of a miraculous shoehorn blessed by the holy hands of Gregory XVI., and applied with consummate dexterity by the practised hand of a plausible and insinuating cardinal. Not less extraordinary, and perhaps still more lamentable, is it to see them compressing their excellent and vigorous understandings, so as to be led captive by the arbitrary and unhallowed manacles of Popish bigotry and mediæval superstition.

When Paul addressed the Christians at Rome, their

fame was spoken of throughout the world ; but “how is the faithful city become a harlot ! It was full of judgment, righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers ! Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves. Every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards.” Our Lord could say, The prince of this world “hath nothing” in me ; but Christ himself “hath nothing” in his pretended vicars, and, therefore, when Satan offered to them all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, we cannot be surprised, that they have fallen down and worshipped him.

LETTER III.

I.—INCREASED POWER AND PRETENSIONS OF THE PAPACY SINCE THE TIME OF GREGORY I.

I SHALL now proceed to consider, in a more direct and detailed manner, a subject to which I am very desirous to invite your particular attention, namely, the gradual growth of the Papacy, in regard both to intrinsic power and outward splendour, in both of which I have already endeavoured to prove, that its history bears a closer analogy to that of the Cæsars, than to that of Simon Peter, who never possessed or coveted either wealth or pre-eminence.

I may just remark, my friends, by way of introduction, that our Lord said, on a solemn occasion, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." Now this is an expression peculiar to himself. Moses never said, "Believe also *in* me;" David never said, "Believe also *in* me;" none of the prophets ever said, "Believe also *in* me;" Mary never said, "Believe also *in* me;" no apostle ever said, "Believe also *in* me;" and if Christ himself had not been God, it would have been arrogant and even blasphemous in him to have said, "Believe also *in* me," which is equivalent to asserting, that it is as necessary to believe in him, as to believe in God; and yet this is precisely what is done by the son of perdition, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God." It is a vain thing to believe in Christ, a vain thing to rely exclusively on his merits and mediation. You must believe also *in* me. We may think what we please, or not think at all, about the patriarch of Antioch, or the archbishop of Grenada; we may, and

indeed had better, admit, or even assert, that the primate of the Greek Church is involved in the guilt of heresy and schism ; we may, and in fact the Pope himself does, ignore with impunity the very existence of the bishop of London,—but woe be to the sinner who believes not in the bishop of Rome, and presumes to question his infallibility in matters of faith ! for him there is no forgiveness, either in this world or in that which is to come. In vain shall such an one venture to remark, in proof of apostolic equality, that, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, the twelve shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and no intimation is given that the throne of Peter, of whom we hear so much, will be loftier than that of Bartholomew, of whom we know so little. The apostle says, “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved ;” but no, says the Pope, “believe also *in me*,” otherwise your faith is vain, and your damnation as just and as inevitable as if you pronounced Christ himself to be a mere man, or held him up to scorn as an impostor. “Come unto me,” says the Redeemer ; no, exclaims the Pope, look to the Virgin, it is to her that it appertains to save or to destroy ; Christ himself cannot rescue you from the pit of despair, unless you trust in her, and unless you “believe also *in me*.”

I think I have already remarked, that Gregory I., who occupied the Pontifical chair from 590 to 604, was one of the most distinguished and respected prelates of his day, and endowed with many good qualities. By some he has, with much reason, been styled the last bishop of Rome, because he neither claimed supremacy for himself, nor would allow a more ambitious rival to usurp it. But even he could not escape the contamination of the monomaniacal influence which Popery exercises upon its professors. I shall merely allude to the striking departure from Christian faithfulness which he evinced, when he, with Jesuitical

cunning and adroitness, advised Austin not to abolish amongst the Saxons the custom of sacrificing oxen to the devil, but to appoint Christian festivals, on which the oxen might be killed, and the feasts take place as before; or when, by an injudicious and inconsistent *mezzo termine*, he advised Serenus, who laboured in word and doctrine amongst the Franks, to renounce the practice of pulling down and destroying images, but, whilst suffering nothing to be *worshipped* that was made with hands, to allow the images to remain in the room of books, for the benefit of those who could not read. But I must call your attention to this venerated saint's conduct in the matter, not of Peor, but of Phocas, as it throws great light upon the workings of the Popish system, even in the case of its least objectionable adherents; and seems to have been the precedent, on which his namesake Gregory XIII., and his most Catholic Majesty Philip II. acted, when they countenanced and commemorated with approving joy the massacre of St Bartholomew.

Whatever Romish casuists or chroniclers may think of the infallible and most Catholic panegyrists of that atrocious act, they will not, I presume, be the eulogists or apologists of the butcheries committed by Robespierre, whose name is for ever associated in the annals of crime with the judicial murder of a guiltless and amiable monarch, as well as with many other acts of fearful and deliberate wickedness. The see of Canterbury was, I believe, filled at that epoch by a most respectable and excellent prelate, Dr Moore. Now, I should be glad to know what Cardinal Wiseman or Dr Cullen would think, if, in turning over the leaves of the annual register for 1793, they were to find a letter written soon after the tragical death of Louis XVI., by his grace, to the French assassins, couched in the following terms:—"Glory be to God in the highest, who, as it is written, changes times, and removes kings, and sets up kings; who has made known to all what he was pleased

to speak by his prophet; the Most High rules in the kingdoms of men, and gives them to whomsoever he will. Various are the changes, and many the vicissitudes of human life, the Almighty giving in his justice sometimes princes to afflict his people, and sending sometimes in his mercy princes to comfort and relieve them. We have hitherto been most grievously afflicted by witnessing the tyranny which oppressed our neighbours in France; but the Almighty has chosen you to banish, by your merciful dispositions, all their afflictions and sorrows. Let the heavens, therefore, rejoice, let the earth leap for joy, let the whole people return thanks for so happy a change! May the republic long enjoy these most happy times! May God with his grace direct your heart in every good thought, in every good deed! May the Holy Ghost, that dwells in your breast, ever guide and assist you, that you may, after a long course of years, pass from an earthly and temporal to an everlasting and heavenly felicity! Now that it has pleased the Almighty, in his goodness and mercy, to invest you with supreme authority, I shall send a deacon of my church to tender my congratulations, who will fly to your feet with inexpressible joy."

With what indignant eloquence would either of these distinguished Romish prelates hold up the memory of the Protestant writer of such an epistle, to universal scorn and contempt! and yet these are the very terms of the letter, which St Gregory addressed to the most cruel and execrable tyrant, Phocas, who not only put his predecessor Maurice (who had never injured him) to death, but commanded his five sons to be first inhumanly murdered before his face! and afterwards caused the widowed empress, her remaining son, and three daughters, to be executed, besides afterwards slaughtering an incredible number of victims! Why, Robespierre was a saint, when compared with Phocas—or, I had almost added, with the unprincipled flatterer, who pronounced fulsome an eulogium upon the perpetrator of these

horrors. The case of the archbishop would have been far less heinous and inexcusable—for he was not a subject of Robespierre, as Gregory was of Maurice; he had received from Louis XVI. no such favours, as Maurice had bestowed on Gregory—favours which, though after his benefactor's death they were utterly forgotten, were thus acknowledged during his lifetime by the eulogist of his murderer—"My tongue cannot express the good I have received of the Almighty, and my lord the emperor. I think myself bound in gratitude to pray incessantly for the life of my most pious and most Christian lord—and, in return for the goodness of my most religious lord to me, how can I do less than love the very ground which he treads!" To Leontias, the wife of Phocas, Gregory wrote a letter as fawning as that which he addressed to her husband; and the sole object of his holiness, in coveting the favour of either, was to promote the interests of the Papal see, and induce the usurper to cancel the grant of the title of universal bishop, which Gregory would not endure to see enjoyed by his rival at Constantinople, though he never for a moment thought of claiming it for himself! Whatever may have been Gregory's merits in other respects, would a man, who could stamp such crimes with the seal of his approval, have been deemed entitled to a place in any other calendar of saints, than that of the Romish apostasy, of which it may with so much truth be predicated, that it has long since incurred the wo denounced against such as call evil good and good evil? Father Cahill assures us, that the entire French nation is longing to embrue their hands in English blood; a proposition which, in a restricted sense, I am (as already stated) by no means prepared to question. Now, supposing that an army of French fanatics were to land in Britain, and "plunge their crimsoned daggers" into the hearts of the Queen and Prince Albert, after butchering the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal children, before their eyes, and that the General of the Jesuits—or.

it may be, Father Cahill himself—had been proclaimed first president of the English Catholic Republic, would any Romish dignitary address to the miscreant, who perpetrated these crimes, such a letter as Gregory wrote to Phocas? If they would, where is their loyalty, or their moral sense? If they would not, why do they prostrate themselves on every 12th of March before the shrine of the man, who was the ungrateful sycophant of the murderer, and beg an interest in his prayers? I observe, that the 5th of the same month is set apart for venerating St Phocas. It seems not improbable, that this saint is neither more nor less than the sanguinary imperial usurper, since we have the authority of the infallible Gregory himself for believing, that “the Holy Ghost dwelt in his breast,” and it cannot be denied, that Rome owes his majesty “a day in harvest,” or a liberation from purgatory; for, whilst millions of heretics and schismatics have denied, in every age, that our Lord conferred on Peter any prerogatives in heaven, or any supremacy on earth, it has always been admitted by the most strenuous of these perverse gainsayers, that to Phocas, whether Papal gratitude has (as in duty bound) canonized him or not, the successor of Peter is indebted for that universal episcopate, which Peter never dreamt of, and which Gregory indignantly disclaimed. It would have been well for Gregory, if, instead of auguring on behalf of the assassin of his sovereign and benefactor a long and glorious reign, he had said, “Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?” for that implied prophecy would have been more fully borne out by the event, than his confident prediction, that the end of the world was at hand.

When we have perused, with feelings of sorrow and disgust, the fulsome and flagitious encomiums, with which Gregory strove to cheat and to cajole the usurper who had murdered his benefactor and sovereign, it is refreshing to turn to the page of holy writ, and find how Jeremiah acted, though living under the influence

of what we are apt to call a more obscure and less beneficent dispensation. Zedekiah was the prophet's sovereign, even as Maurice was of Gregory. Zedekiah despised Jeremiah's warnings, and consigned him to a loathsome dungeon. Maurice (as we have already stated) had behaved so kindly to Gregory, that, "in return for the goodness of his most religious lord to him, he could do no less than love the very ground on which he trod." Nebuchadnezzar, after vanquishing Zedekiah, "slew his sons in Riblah before his eyes, and slew all the nobles of Judah," and carried the hapless monarch captive to Babylon. Phocas, when he had conquered Maurice, murdered his children in his presence, slaughtered the emperor himself, and spread death and desolation amongst both high and low throughout the realm. We have already noticed the *venite exullemus*, which Gregory addressed to the successful and sceptered murderer—what a contrast to the pathetic and patriotic *miserere*, in which the inspired prophet bewails the sufferings of his monarch, and describes the sorrows of his country! "How is the gold become dim, how is the most fine gold changed! The stones of the sanctuary are poured out in the top of every street. . . . Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven; they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness. The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen." I am persuaded, my friends, that, on such an occasion, a Mufti or Mollah would be more just and more grateful than a jesuit, a cardinal, or a pope. Had Mehemet Ali marched to Constantinople, dethroned the sultan, and massacred his family, the chief expounder of the Koran would not have offered at the rebel's feet the incense of approving admiration, or, if he had so far demeaned himself, and that there exists in the Turkish capital (as at Venice) a *libro d'oro*, in which the saints, most distinguished for their sanctity and services, are

recorded, the name of the grand Mufti, who bestowed a selfish and criminal sanction upon treason and murder, would not be found included there. The principles and practice of the priesthood, who preside over the mosques throughout the Ottoman empire, excel those which are taught and acted on by Pio Nono and his sacred college, as much as, in point of justice, humanity, and courage, the conscientious Mussulman, Abdul Medshid, outstrips the perjured Papist, Francis Joseph.

But, although Gregory was guilty of two great crimes, that of ingratitude towards a generous benefactor, and adulation towards an usurping assassin, he was, at other times, loyal towards his imperial sovereigns, and an enemy to hierarchical encroachment. He always wrote to the emperors in the most devoted and submissive terms, even when he presumes respectfully to remonstrate against any improper exercise of their authority, addressing them on all occasions as his most sacred and most religious lords. He would as soon have denied the faith, as have treated an emperor in the same inhuman and arrogant manner, in which Gregory VII. acted towards Henry IV. Though tenacious of maintaining the rights of his see, as defined and exercised by his predecessors, he evinced no disposition to extend them. The most zealous Protestant never abhorred more cordially, or abjured more emphatically, the unhallowed title of universal bishop or patriarch, which, within two years after his decease, was conferred by a bloody tyrant upon his own next successor but one. No sooner was that rank, under imperial sanction, assumed by the Bishop of Constantinople, than Gregory (treading, it is but just to state, in the steps of his predecessor, Pelagius)* wrote to

* "Pay no attention to the power, which he unlawfully usurps, under the name of universality. Let no patriarch ever apply to himself so profane a title. You may foresee, my dearest brethren, the mischievous consequences from such beginnings of perverseness among the priesthood. For he (Antichrist) is near, of whom it is written, that he maketh himself king over all the sons of pride."—(*Pelag. Ep. ii. 8.*)

his nuncio at that capital, and entreated him to use every endeavour for obtaining the suppression of that *proud, profane, and antichristian* title, from the emperor, the empress, and the bishop himself. In this object he was unsuccessful; but, in a subsequent letter to the bishop, he describes the title as being vain, ambitious, profane, impious, execrable, antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical. "If," says he elsewhere, "there were an universal bishop, and he should err, the universal church would err with him," thereby denying the existence of infallibility, either in himself or in any human being. And, again, "WHOEVER CALLS HIMSELF UNIVERSAL BISHOP, OR DESIRES TO BE SO CALLED, IN THE PRIDE OF HIS HEART, IS THE FORERUNNER OF ANTICHRIST." When Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, bestowed, in a letter, that designation upon Gregory himself, he repudiated it with an indignation as great as any of his successors would have manifested, if it had, in any instance, been withheld from them. In this early stage of Papal power, he showed as much forbearance as Julius Cæsar exercised, in reference to the title of King, in the infancy of the imperial usurpation, "*Plebi regem se salutanti, Cæsarem se, non regem, esse respondit.*"—(Suet.)

"Ye all did see, that, in the Lupercal,
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which thrice he did refuse. Was this ambition?"

"If," says Gregory, "you give more than is due to me, you rob yourself of what is due to you. I choose to be distinguished by my manners, and not by titles. Nothing can redound to my honour that redounds to the dishonour of my brethren. I place my honour in maintaining them in theirs. *If you call me universal pope, you thereby own yourself to be no pope.* Let not such titles, therefore, be mentioned, or ever heard of, amongst us. Your holiness says in your letter, that I commanded you. *I commanded you!* I know who you are, and who I am. In rank you are my brother—

by your manners, my father. I therefore did not command, and beg you will henceforth ever forbear that word." This very remarkable letter shows, that, in point of humility, there was a resemblance between Peter and Gregory, which never existed afterwards between the apostle and any of his successors. He who said to Cornelius, "Stand up, I also am a man," would doubtless (had it been offered) have refused the tiara with far more sincerity than Cæsar declined the diadem. But we also learn from hence, on Gregory's authority, that other bishops had as good a title as himself to be designated "pope," or "your holiness." This state of matters, however, was not of long continuance; for in 607 Boniface III., during his brief pontificate of about nine months, obtained from Phocas the transfer of the title of universal bishop from the see of Constantinople to that of Rome.

As our Lord himself commands us to judge of every tree by its fruits, it may be well to consider what influence, for the better or the worse, this change effected on the character of the Roman pontiffs. It is evident, that, although God was pleased to gratify their ambition, he at the same time sent leanness to their souls. During the six first centuries, the bishops of Rome may be compared to the kings of Judah, amongst whom there were some bad, but also many good kings. There were representatives of Rehoboam, Ahaz, and Manasseh; but there were also many who resembled Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah. But after the death of Gregory, the popes may be compared to the kings of Israel, amongst whom there is scarcely a single good monarch to be found. Boniface III. occupies amongst them the place of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. Of Baasha, Nadab, Elah, Omri, Ahab, &c., it is stated, that they departed not from the sins of Jeroboam. All that can be said of Hoshea, the last, and perhaps least exceptionable amongst them, is, that he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, but

not as the kings of Israel that were before him. Of the least culpable and obnoxious of the popes in later times, it must still be said, that, although less lustful than Alexander VI., less arrogant than at least twelve out of the sixteen Gregories, less warlike than Julius II., less cruel than Urban VI., less bigoted than Pius V., less luxurious than Leo X., he departed not from the sin of Boniface III., who made Rome to sin ; for they have all persisted, after his example, in retaining the style of universal bishop, which the last Christian bishop of Rome declared, that no one could assume without being the forerunner of Antichrist. Each of them, whatever he may have been in other respects, by cleaving to the sin of Boniface, who made Rome to sin, as truly as Jeroboam did Israel, has, to use Gregory's language, which, however strong, is scarcely strong enough, been "vain, ambitious, profane, impious, execrable, antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical." This disposition was at once developed in Boniface himself, just as idolatry was at once manifested in the case of Jeroboam. No sooner (according to Bower) was the imperial edict brought to Rome, than his holiness assembled a council ; and although Phocas probably intended only to confer on him the title, he began at once to exercise the power, of an universal bishop, with all the authority of a supreme head, or rather absolute monarch, of the church. Let any one also read the lives of Gregory II. (from 715 to 732), and his successor, Gregory III. (from 732 to 741), and he will at once perceive, how rapidly the grain of mustard seed was becoming the greatest among herbs. The former is described by Bower (and his judgment is borne out by the facts, which he exhibits in detail) as "of all the popes, who had yet sat in the chair, the most assuming and arrogant." He summoned a council, at which, according to both Greek and Latin authorities, he excommunicated his sovereign, and ordered, that thenceforth no tribute should be paid him, because he was opposed to the worship of images. "Gregory," says

Baronius, "left a worthy example to posterity, that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign, if, being often admonished, they nevertheless obstinately persist in their error." This arch-rebel, however, is very properly honoured with a place in the calendar; as is also, with great consistency, his successor and namesake, who "laid out the whole wealth of his church—the patrimony of the widows, the orphans, and the poor—on pictures and statues, crowding them chiefly into the churches of St Peter, St Mary *ad præsepe*, and St Andrew, whither the people flocked daily to worship them." He died at the very time when he had concluded a treasonable alliance with Charles Martel, the fruits of which were reaped by his successors, through the dexterous audacity of Zachary and Stephen II.

Of the state of the Papacy during the tenth century, we cannot wish for a more striking or unexceptionable testimony than that of Baronius, who describes it as "an iron age, barren of all goodness—a leaden age, abounding with all wickedness—and a dark age, remarkable above all the rest for the scarcity of writers and men of learning. In this century, the abomination of desolation was seen in the temple of the Lord; and in the see of Peter, revered by the angels, were placed the most wicked of men—not pontiffs, but monsters. And how hideous was the face of the Roman Church, when petty and impudent courtesans governed all at Rome, changed sees at their pleasure, disposed of bishoprics, and introduced their gallants and their bullies into the see of St Peter. No mention was then made of the clergy electing or consenting; the canons were trodden under foot; the decrees of the popes were despised; the ancient traditions turned out of doors; and the old customs, sacred rites, and former method of choosing popes, quite laid aside. The church was then without a pope, but not without a head—its spiritual head (Christ) never abandoning her." Now, here his eminence is quite at one with every genuine and devoted Protestant. We con-

tend, just as he does, that Christ, the spiritual head, never leaves nor forsakes *his true church*—that church which is without spot or wrinkle—that church which comprehends the general assembly of the first-born, whose names are in the book of life—that church which he has purchased with his own blood. But we deny, that such a church, as he himself describes that of Rome to have been during that dreary period, and such as I contend that it has often, if not always, been ever since, is, or can be, the **TRUE** church, the pillar and ground of the truth.

I may here quote a most striking and instructive passage from one of the most eloquent articles in one of the most celebrated of our periodical publications (the *Edinburgh Review*), in which, by way of specimen, the following striking summary is presented to us of the workings, during this same period, of that system, for abhorring and repudiating which we are taxed with being rebels against the Almighty:—"Except in the annals of eastern despotism, no parallel can be found for the disasters of the Papacy during the century and a half which followed the extinction of the Carolingian dynasty. Of the twenty-four popes, who, during that period, ascended the apostolic throne, two were murdered, five were driven into exile, four were deposed, and three resigned the hazardous dignity. Some of the vicars of Christ were raised to that awful pre-eminence by arms, some by money; two received it from the hands of princely courtesans, one was self-appointed, a well-filled purse purchased one papal abdication, the promise of a fair bride another, one of the holy fathers pillaged the treasury, fled with the spoil, returned to Rome, ejected his substitute, and mutilated him in a manner too revolting for description. In one page of the dismal history, we read of the disinterred corpse of a former pope brought before his successor to receive a retrospective sentence of deposition; and, in the next, we find the judge himself undergoing the same posthu-

mous condemnation, though without the same filthy ceremonial. Of these heirs of St Peter, one entered on his infallibility in his eighteenth year, and one before he had seen his twelfth summer. One, again, took to himself a coadjutor, that he might command in person such legions as Rome then sent into the field. Another, Judas-like, agreed, for certain pieces of silver, to recognise the patriarch of Constantinople as universal bishop. All sacred things had become venal—crime and debauchery revelled in the Vatican, while the afflicted church, wedded at once to three husbands (such was the language of the times), witnessed the celebration of as many rival masses in the metropolis of Christendom." And yet, my dear friends, each of these twenty-four popes, however flagitious his life, however gross his ignorance, however palpable his impiety, was the vicar of Jesus Christ, and "could not err in decisions concerning the faith, because he is assisted by the Holy Spirit!"—(*Catechism*, quoted by Mr Thomson, p. 104.) The worst of the pontiffs, who reigned and rioted during that disastrous period, occupies his numerical rank in the catalogue, and must have been invested with all the privileges and prerogatives appertaining to his office.

The history of the popes throughout the tenth century, certainly bears a close analogy to that of the kings of Israel. We are told, for instance, with that marvellous conciseness which characterises the inspired narrative, that, on one occasion, the people of Israel were divided into two parts; half the people followed Tibni the son of Ginath, to make him king, and half followed Omri. But the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath, so Tibni died, and Omri reigned. How many such unseemly contests present themselves, in reference to the possession of Simon Peter's chair, in which one party fought for one candidate, and the other for his rival, until the one reigned, and the other was strangled, exiled, or deposed! What a large proportion of arro-

gant and worldly-minded tyrants are found in the series of pontiffs, who resided at Avignon, after the election of Clement V. in 1305, until the return of the Papal court in 1378 to Rome, which, although the metropolis of their diocese, they had for seventy years criminally abandoned, or only briefly visited. From 1378 until the election of Martin V., during a schism of forty years (as I have already stated), the rival pontiffs branded each other with accusations, which, I believe, were in all cases most justly merited. All Europe rung with anathemas and execrations; for Rome's seven hills resemble Mount Ebal, rather than Mount Gerizim, and few and far between have been the pontiffs ever since, who have not been distinguished, often by their crimes, and almost always by their intrigues, their nepotism, their secularity, their total want of principle, when its abandonment could promote the interests of their see, or the aggrandisement of their families. Martin V. broke every solemn pledge which he had given to the council of Constance in 1418 before his election. Eugenius IV. was deposed by the council of Basle, on account of his arrogance and evidently heretical opinions. Pius II. affords a strong argument (I may admit) in favour of Papal infallibility, because, as soon as he was elected, and not till then, he perceived and retracted all the opinions for which he had been previously contending. Paul II. was covetous, cruel, and fond of pomp. Sixtus IV. was sanguinary and flagitious. Innocent VIII. was covetous and lustful; and as for his successor, Alexander VI., the force of baseness could no further go. It would not be difficult to trace, from that period until our own day, such a history of the subsequent pontiffs, as would exhibit in most, if not in all of them, the greatest possible contrast to the conduct and character of the humble and self-denying fisherman, whom they pretend to represent, but never attempt to imitate. Even the best amongst them, as I have already observed, by retaining the unhallowed title of universal bishop, are, according to their own canonized predecessor, at best

the forerunners of Antichrist. The assumption of that dignity has led to the deterioration of their moral character in two respects ;—it has rendered them, first, ambitious of increasing their territory, and next, fond of pageantry and display, in both which particulars, they more closely resemble the emperors than the apostles. From the inauspicious moment, when, taking advantage of mediæval darkness, they first obtained a footing in Italy as secular princes, neither crimes nor intrigues were spared for augmenting their territory in every quarter. The only precedent, which I can think of, for justifying their holding such large possessions, is that of Aaron and his successors, as recorded in the 2d book of Chronicles, with which it certainly may challenge a comparison.

1 CHRON. VI. 54.

54. Now these are their dwelling-places throughout their castles, in their coasts, of the sons of Aaron.

55. And they gave them Hebron in the land of Judah, and the suburbs round about it.

56. (But the fields of the city, and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh.)

57. And to the sons of Aaron they gave the cities of Judah, namely, Hebron, the city of refuge, and Libnah with her suburbs, and Jattir and Eshtemoa with her suburbs.

58. And Hilen with her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs.

1. Now these are the territories of the successors of Simon Barjona, with their castles and palaces.

2. And there was given them the patrimony of St Peter; Viterbo and the suburbs thereof round about it.

3. (But Parma and the villages thereof they gave to Farnese, the spurious offspring of Pope Paul III.)

4. And to the Holy See they gave the Campagna, with Rome, the capital of the world; also Ravenna with her suburbs, and Ancona, and Civita Vecchia with her suburbs.

5. And Freacati with her suburbs, Ferrara with her suburbs.

What would Peter have said, if, whilst he was seated at a frugal meal, in an upper chamber of his friend Simon the tanner, an angel had laid before him a map of Italy, and pointed out to him the fair provinces, of which, in after ages, the “supreme pontiffs” of the Christian world would, through craft, superstition, and violence, become gradually possessed, in virtue of a title, said to be derived from himself!

There is one consideration, connected with this subject, on which I wish to say a few words. How does it happen, that, whilst all the Romish pontiffs are infallible in matters of faith, so large a majority of their number have been

so prone to err in point of practice? How is it that the Holy Ghost, who never fails to assist them in the one case, is so apt to desert them in the other? *Maitre Jacques*, in Moliere's play, is both a coachman and a cook, and varies his *costume* according to the functions which his master calls upon him to discharge. Now, as there is no very close connection between driving a chariot furiously, and dressing a dinner skilfully, I can suppose, that *Maitre Jacques* might be almost infallible as a judge of horses, and yet execrable as a compounder of maccaroni or mullicatauny. But faith and practice are so inseparably connected, that I do not see how it is possible to dissever the pontiff from the man, and to believe, that the one can never be wrong in regard to doctrine, whilst the other is seldom right as to the discharge of the plainest and most important moral duties.

The growing love of pomp and pageantry was equally conspicuous amongst the ancient Roman emperors and the modern Roman pontiffs. In the one case, it seems to have reached its climax in the time of Dioclesian, and in the other in that of Leo X.; and when you read the two accounts, you can scarcely tell which is the ecclesiastical and which the secular potentate—which was the acknowledged heathen, and which the nominal Christian.

“The pride, or rather the policy, of Dioclesian engaged that artful prince to introduce the stately magnificence of the court of Persia. He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament detested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula. It was no more than a broad white fillet, set with pearls, which encircled the emperor's head. The sumptuous robes of Dioclesian and his successors were of silver and gold; and it is remarked with indignation, that even their shoes were studded with the most precious gems. The access to their sacred persons was every day rendered more difficult by the institution of new forms and ceremonies. The avenues to the palace were strictly guarded by

“As a man, Leo was able, candid, remarkably good-natured, and of a mild disposition. In his intercourse with other men, he was affable, in his liberality unbounded; but his private morals, though superior to those of his court, are admitted by Pallavicini to have been not altogether without reproach. To this amiable character, he added several of the qualities of a great prince. He was the friend of the sciences and arts. He had the earliest Italian comedies acted in his presence; and indeed there were few in existence at that time which he had not seen acted. He was passionately fond of music also, so that his palace daily resounded with the playing of instruments, and he was often heard humming over tunes that had been performed in his presence. He was

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the various schools, as they began to be called, of domestic officers. The interior apartments were intrusted to the jealous vigilance of the eunuchs, the increase of whose numbers and influence was the most infallible symptom of the progress of despotism. When a subject was at length admitted to the imperial presence, he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, and to adore, according to the eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master."—(*Gibbon*.)

fond of magnificence, and spared no expense, when required, for festivities, games, theatricals, and rewards and presents. The supreme pontiff's court was exceeded by none, either in splendour or in pleasure. Nay, on its being understood, that Julian Medici thought of establishing his residence at Rome with his young wife, "Praise be to God," exclaimed Cardinal Bibbiana, Leo X.'s most influential counsellor, "for we were in want of nothing but a court of ladies." The court of the Pope was not considered as complete until one, in which ladies could appear, was superadded. To religious feelings, Leo X. was an utter stranger."—(*D'Aubigné*.)

It is difficult to say in which of these "courts" Simon Barjona and his beloved brother Paul would have felt least at home. O how soon would Peter have exclaimed, with mingled feelings of pity, indignation, and contempt, "Arise, let us go hence!" "Be it far from us to keep company with hypocritical mockers at feasts, that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flocks, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that chaunt to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph."—(*Amos vi. 6*.)

I am firmly of opinion (says Bayle), that the exalted power, to which the Popes have raised themselves, is one of the greatest prodigies in human history, and a thing that will not happen twice. Were it to do again, I believe it could never be done. Future ages would never afford a point of time so favourable to this enterprise as past ages; and were this great edifice destroyed, it would be impossible ever to rebuild it. All the Court of Rome can now do, although it is filled with the ablest politicians in the world, is barely to support itself. Its acquisitions are now at an end. It does not now dare excommunicate a crowned head, and is often obliged to dissemble its resentment against that Catholic party

who disputes the Pope's infallibility and superiority, and frown on such bodies as are most favourable to them. Were there now an anti-Papacy, I mean a schism like to those which have been so frequent, and created so much confusion in former times, when pope set up against pope, and council against council,

"Infestisque obvia signis
Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis,"

it could not come off with honour, but would be quite disconcerted and at its wit's end.—(*Bayle, art. Gregory VII.*)

The Roman pontiffs used all the arts and means possible to succeed in their designs. Their fulminating anathemas have been enforced by arms, crusades, and the tribunals of the Inquisition; whilst craft, violence, carnage, and artifice have conspired to protect them. Their conquests have cost the lives of as many men, or almost as many, as those of the Roman Commonwealth. Many writers apply to new Rome what was observed by Virgil concerning the old—

"Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
Inferretque Deos Latio.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem."

Zipporah told Moses, "Surely a bloody husband art thou to me;" but if the Church of Rome were the wife of Jesus Christ, her husband might tell her with more reason, "Surely a bloody wife art thou to me."—(*Bayle*).

I might here close the consideration of this branch of the subject, my dear friends, but as many of the readers, whose attention I am most desirous to engage, may not have access to such works as portray in detail the state of despotism, ignorance, and impiety, to which the church was reduced at the period of the Reformation, I shall lay before you some extracts from Mosheim on that subject, in order that you may more fully and more gratefully appreciate the extent and importance of the

blessings, which that glorious event has procured for mankind :—

“The public worship of the Deity was now no more than a pompous round of external ceremonies, the greatest part of which were insignificant and senseless, and much more adapted to dazzle the eyes, than to touch the hearts. Of those who were at all qualified to administer public instruction to the people, the number was not very considerable, and their discourses, which contained little besides fictitious reports of miracles and prodigies, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, deceived the multitude, instead of instructing them. Several of these sermons are yet extant, which it is impossible to read without the highest indignation and contempt. Those who, on account of their purity of manners, or their supposed superiority in point of wisdom and knowledge, held the most distinguished rank among these vain declaimers, had a commonplace set of subjects allotted to them, on which they were continually exercising the force of their lungs, and the power of their eloquence. These subjects were, the authority of the holy mother church, and the obligation of obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of the saints, and their credit in the court of heaven; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed virgin; the efficacy of relics; the duty of adorning churches, and endowing monasteries; the necessity of good works (as that phrase was then understood) to salvation; the intolerable burnings of purgatory, and the utility of indulgences. Such were the topics that employed the zeal and labours of the most eminent doctors, and they were indeed the only subjects that could tend to fill the coffers of the good old mother church, and advance her temporal interests.”—(*Mosheim*, iv. 24.)

“The bishops of Rome lived in the utmost security and ease; and being free from apprehensions and cares of every kind, followed without reluctance, and gratified without any limitation or restraint, the various demands

of their lusts and passions. Alexander VI., whom humanity disowns, and who is rather to be considered as a monster than as a man, whose deeds excite horror, and whose enormities place him on a level with the most execrable tyrants of ancient times, stained the commencement of the 16th century by the most atrocious cruelties. The world was delivered from this Papal fiend in the year 1503, by the poisonous draught which he had prepared for others, as is generally believed; though there are historians who attribute his death to sickness and old age.

“He was succeeded in the pontificate by Pius III., who, in less than a month, was deprived by death of that high dignity. The vacant chair was obtained through fraud and bribery by Julian della Rovere, who assumed the denomination of Julius II. To the odious list of vices, with which he dishonoured the pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and phrenetic passion for war and bloodshed. . . . His whole pontificate was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he suffer Europe to enjoy a moment’s tranquillity as long as he lived. We may easily imagine the miserable condition of the church under a vicar of Christ, who lived in camps, amidst the din of arms, and who was ambitious of no other fame than that which arose from battles won and cities desolated. Under such a pontiff all things must have gone to ruin; the laws must have been subverted, the discipline of the church destroyed, and the genuine lustre of true religion entirely effaced. . . . Death carried off this audacious pontiff in 1512, in the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects.

“He was succeeded, in the year 1513, by Leo X., of the house of Medicis, who, though of a milder disposition than his predecessor, was equally indifferent about the interests of religion, and the advancement of true piety. He was a protector of men of learning, and was

himself learned, as far as the darkness of the age would admit. His time was divided between conversations with men of letters, and pleasure; though it must be observed, that the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature; he was remarkable for his prodigality, luxury, and improvidence, and has even been charged with impiety, if not atheism. He did not, however, lose sight of the grand object, which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, that of promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman see. For he took the utmost care, that nothing should be transacted in the Lateran council (which Julius had assembled and left sitting) that had the least tendency to favour the reformation of the church."—(*Mosheim*, iv. 10.)

How can we, my dear friends, be sufficiently thankful to the noble army of martyrs, who counted not their lives dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy, in emancipating degraded and deluded millions from the horrible pit of tyranny, and the miry clay of superstition! In order that you may cherish these feelings of gratitude with a still more ardent intensity, I shall subjoin a few portions of certain letters, written from Rome by the celebrated Niebuhr, the historian, between thirty and forty years ago, from which you will be enabled to contrast the freedom and comfort, which you yourselves enjoy as a fruit of the blessed Reformation, with the wretchedness, slavery, and degradation, of which the unhappy helots of the Papacy continue still to be the victims:—

"*7th Feb.* 1817.—Every countenance is careworn, even those that are not emaciated by hunger. All is so changed here, that even the far-famed gesticulation and grimace of the Italians have almost entirely vanished. The people are kept in order by the iron rigour of the police. The machine, on which those who infringe the

police regulations are whipped, is almost permanent. You certainly hear of no murders committed within the city; and it may be that, *when a people is condemned to live in such an indescribable state of physical and political misery*, nothing but this iron discipline can enable us of the upper classes to live in safety. But what a state of things! You cannot venture to go where this coercion cannot also reach; and in Tivoli, a highly respectable man was murdered a few weeks ago in his own house by masked robbers.”—(*Niebuhr*, ii. 86.)

“26th June 1818.—The slavish subjection to the church is ghastly death. The most superficial prophet of so-called enlightenment cannot have a more sincere aversion to enthusiasm than the Roman priesthood, and, in fact, their superstition bears no trace of it. Little as the admirers of Italy care for my words, I know that I am perfectly correct in saying, that *even among the laity you cannot discover a vestige of piety*. The life of the Italian is little more than an animal one, and he is not much better than an ape endowed with speech. There is no where a spark of originality or truthfulness. Slavery and misery have even extinguished acute susceptibility to sensual enjoyments, and there is, I am sure, no people on the face of the earth more thoroughly *ennuied* and oppressed with a sense of their own existence, than the Romans. . . . The present government have undertaken the task of introducing tolerable civil security by police in the midst of ever increasing wickedness and degradation—a system of constraint and terror that may impose fetters upon the wild passions of the animal man. They never so much as think of securing at least his physical comfort. He may sink into deeper and deeper misery; but he shall fear blows and the galleys more than he cares for his own instincts. Surrounded by an *omnipresent* espionage of police, conscious how he himself would be ready to accuse and betray any other man for a certain reward, Dread shall be his supreme deity.”—(P. 131.)

"It is no easy task for German parents to bring up children here. You must have them almost constantly with you ; for *it were better to see them dead*, than that they should grow up like the people around them. No one can fully appreciate this without personal experience, and I beg you will not shake your head at what I say. If you were only here a week as a resident, and as the father of a family, you would see what is the state of a people without reason and conscience, with whom all impulses are let loose. . . . You see here what the human being becomes under the combined influences of a wretched superstition and utter incapacity for piety."—(P. 141.)

"If any one wishes to know how the Papists behave when they want to disseminate opinions respecting those who think differently from themselves, let him read the reports spread by the court of Rome about the death of Paul Sarpi, and the infamous lies about Luther in Belarmine's catechism."—(P. 144.)

"The rich love nothing, and take no interest in any thing. There is no, strictly speaking, burgher class at all, and nothing is rarer than to find artisans who understand their trade and are industrious. The priests are generally very poor, and incredibly wicked. In Rome, there are parish priests who go about begging. The monks are certainly all nearly good for nothing, though I know one very estimable Franciscan. Learning and literature are at a lower ebb than perhaps in any other country. The devotion is merely external, and this has very much diminished. I have been assured by Italians themselves, that the younger people have scarcely any faith at all. From the greatest to the least, all unite in hating and despising the government."—(P. 149.)

"Here, in Italy, faith in the church has so completely died out, that the mummy would fall into dust at the first hard blow. But what will replace it, God knows, since there is not a human throb in the heart of these

people, and not a want is felt beyond those of the animal nature. It is just the same among the educated classes in Spain, where religion is regarded as an insupportable yoke.”—(P. 183.)

Such, then, my friends, was, at that time, and such ever has been, and such will ever continue to be, until the Papacy shall be no more, the condition of the nations who bow beneath the iron sceptre of Antichrist, whilst so many of his votaries in these lands proclaim themselves to be the children and the champions of civil and religious liberty! I conclude by inviting your attention to the portraiture of the state of the Roman population at the present moment, as delineated in the *Witness* newspaper, with a truthfulness which no caviller can gainsay, and an eloquence which no competitor can equal:—

“Is Christ’s vicar a model to all governors? Does his throne rest on the strong foundations of truth, and justice, and clemency, and mercy? and is the region, over which he bears sway, renowned throughout the earth as the most virtuous, the most happy, and the most prosperous region in it? Alas! the very opposite of all this is the fact. There is not on the face of the earth a region more barren of every thing Christian, and of every thing that ought to spring from Christianity, than is the region of the Seven Hills. And not only do we there find the absence of all that reminds us of Christianity, or that could indicate her presence, but we find there the presence, on a most gigantic scale, and in most intense activity, of all the elements and forms of evil. When the infidel would select the very strongest proofs, that Christianity cannot possibly be divine, and that its influence on individual and national character is most disastrous, he goes to the banks of the Tiber; and there he is but too successful. The weapons which Voltaire and his compeers wielded with such terrible effect in the end of last century, they borrowed from Rome. Now, why is this? Either Christianity is to a most extraordinary degree destructive of all the temporal interests of man, or Romanism is not Christianity.

“No one but an infidel will maintain the first part of the alternative,—that Christianity is destructive of man’s tem-

poral interests. Christianity, like man, was made in the image of Him who created her, and, like her great Maker, is essentially and supremely benevolent. She is as much the fountain of good as the sun is the fountain of light ; and the good that is in the minor institutions, which exist around her, comes from her, just as the mild effulgence of the planets radiates from the great orb of day. She cherishes man in all the extent of his diversified faculties, and throughout the vast range of his interests, temporal and eternal. This is the mission of Christianity, if we allow the statements of her great Founder to decide the question. But it is plain to all who have eyes to see, or minds capable of judging, that this is not the mission of Romanism. *Romanism is as universal in her evil as Christianity is in her good.* She is as omnipotent to overthrow, as Christianity is to build up. Man, in his intellectual powers and his moral affections,—in his social relations and his national interests,—she converts into a wreck ; and where Christianity creates an angel, Romanism produces a fiend. Accordingly, the region where Romanism has fixed its seat is a mighty and appalling ruin. Like some Indian divinity seated amidst the blood, and skulls, and mangled limbs of its victims, Romanism is grimly seated amidst the mangled remains of liberty, and civilization, and humanity. Her throne is a graveyard,—a graveyard that covers, not the mortal bodies of men, but the fruits and acquisitions, alas ! of man's immortal genius. Thither have gone down the labours, the achievements, the hopes, of innumerable ages ; and in this gulf they have all perished. Has man toiled to perfect the arts, to achieve victories, to enlarge his knowledge, and to extend his dominion over nature, only that he might offer at this shrine these hard-earned acquisitions ? And yet the Papacy has become the unworthy heir of them all. Look at Italy, glorious once with the light of intelligence, of art, and of liberty, and crowned with the laurel of conquest, but now naked, and manacled, and moping in the gloom of tyranny. Who converted Italy into a barbarian and a slave ? The Papacy. *The growth of that foul superstition and the decay of the country have gone on by equal stages.* If secured against further decay, it is because the country has already reached the last stage of decadence. The Papal States at least have done so. In the territory blessed with the Pontifical government, there is no trade ; there is no industry ; there is no law ; there is no justice ; there is no patriotism ;

there is no security; there is no happiness; there is neither personal worth nor public virtue: there is nothing but corruption and ruin. The plain around Rome is a desert. Seed-time and harvest, speaking generally, have ceased upon it. Why is this? Is it because the Romans are so plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life, that they do not need to cultivate it? The reverse is the fact. Rome, to a large extent, is a city of paupers. The traveller cannot pause a moment before any ruin or temple, but instantly he is surrounded by a knot of suppliants. The whine of poverty is never absent from his ear. He enters churches and museums amid rows of beggars. At meal-time they assemble by scores at the doors of the convents, to devour the crumbs which fall from the tables of the monks. Why, then, do they never think of putting a spade into the rich plain around them, which might feed them all, were they ten times more numerous than they are? Partly because the wretched system, under which they live, has destroyed their industrious habits; but mainly because the absurd restrictions of the government have ruined the agriculture of the country. There is neither enterprise on the part of the landlord, nor benevolence or capacity on the part of the government, to originate any plan of public improvement. The favours, which government bestows on its subjects, are all of a ghostly character. It loads them with indulgences, but forgets to give them bread. It fortifies them against purgatory, but it leaves them groaning under all the miseries of this life. Law and justice are equally unknown in Rome; for we are not disposed to dignify with the name of justice the irresponsible and capricious tyranny of its sacerdotal sovereign. The corruption of its courts is notorious. Were a Roman to be accused of having pilfered the obelisk of Rhamses, or of having stolen the dome of St Peter's, it would be in vain for him to plead, that the former was standing in the Piazza del Popolo, and that the latter still occupied its position on the Vatican mount, if it was the interest of the government that he should be found guilty. While the churches are empty, the jails are full; and they are filled with men who have been dragged from their homes at midnight, who are ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment, and who are condemned unheard, and without being confronted with the witnesses. Science and knowledge of all kinds are well-nigh extinct in Rome. The press is employed only to print the announcement of fete-days, the terms of indulgences, and

the condemnation of citizens. The bookstalls are occupied with the merest trash; and the Roman, having no books to read, is driven to spend his time in gambling, or, it may be, in pursuits even less innocent. In a city where there are some thousands of priests, there are but two solitary sermons preached in the week; and as regards either scriptural or rational knowledge, these might as well not be preached. They are vapid, incoherent harangues on the immaculate conception of Mary, the extraordinary feats of St Dominic, and the peculiarly dangerous and damnable character of Republicanism and Protestantism. It is not to the rogue, but to the honest man, that the police is formidable. And from the ordinary *sbirro* of the streets up to the great purple-clad *sbirro* of the Vatican, all have the same employment—that employment being to track their subjects to the caffè, the club, the post-office, the church. If there is one more distinguished than another for skill in the workshops of Rome, the probability is that he will be picked out, and, being a skilful, and therefore a dangerous man, he will be sent out of the city in a cart, handcuffed like a felon, and followed by a couple of *gend'arme*. Indeed, few save felons can lay their head on the pillow at night with the certainty of not finding themselves in a prison before morning. A skilled artizan will by and by be as rare in Rome as a Bible reader; and men will be reduced to the simple and primitive modes in use before the birth of the arts. Indeed, even now, to look at the garments of the Roman peasants, one would suppose that the loom had yet to be invented; and to look at the Campagna, he would fancy, that such an implement as the plough had never been heard of in the world. Altogether, Rome is perhaps the most extraordinary spectacle of dirt, ruin, and grandeur, on which any one ever gazed. There is this difference, however, that the grandeur has come down to the Popes from their predecessors; the filth and ruin are their own. In fine, the Papal States are a physical, social, political, and moral wreck; and from whatever quarter that religion has come which has created this wreck, it is undeniable, that it has not come from the New Testament. If it be true 'that a tree is known by its fruits,' the tree of Romanism was never planted by the Saviour."

Although, in the preceding letter, I have already spoken of the disastrous consequences, which resulted to the church and to the world, from the assumption, by

the Roman pontiff, of a title and jurisdiction, which is wholly irreconcilable with the prerogatives of Him, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, I shall illustrate that subject still further, by the subjoined striking and important extract from Jeremy Taylor, to whose writings, in reference to this controversy, I have been so often and so largely indebted :—"Boniface III. obtained of Phocas to be called universal bishop, since when '*periit virtus imperatorum, periit pietas pontificum.*' During the succession of about six ages, in which the holy doctors of the church gave such clear testimony of the necessity of obeying even the worst princes, and many thousands of holy Christians sealed it with their blood, there was no opposition to it, and no one of any reputation, no man of learning did any thing against the interest or the honour of princes. But in the next period, I mean after Gregory the Great, it was not unusual for the bishops of Rome to stir up subjects to rebel against their princes ; and from them came the first great declension and debauchery of the glory of Christian loyalty and subjection to their princes—witness those sad stories of Pope Gregory VII., Pope Urban, and Paschal, who stirred up the emperor's son against the father. If a false religion be set on foot, a religion that does not come from God, a religion that only pretends God, but fears him not, they that conduct it, can lead on the people to the most desperate villanies and machinations. We read in the life of Henry III., King of England, that, when he had promised any thing to his nobility, that he had no mind to perform, he would presently send to the Pope for a bull of dispensation, and supposed himself acquitted ;—and who could suffer such a religion, that destroyed the being of contracts and societies, or bear the evils consequent to such a religion ? And of the same nature, but something worse in this instance, is that the Roman lawyer answered to F. Davalus, that, at the command of the Pope, he might take up arms against the Emperor Charles

V., his prince, without any guilt of treason. And it was yet very much worse, which was done and said by the Pope, John XXII., against the Emperor, Louis IV. — ‘If he refuses to obey us, we command patriarchs, bishops, all priests, princes, and cities, to desert him, and compel him to obey us.’ By these, and much more, it appears, the evil ministers of a false religion have great power in doing what they please. They make the people absolute slaves, and lift them up again with boldness to do mischief. If we consult the doctrines and practices of the fathers in the primitive and ancient churches, we shall find, that they never durst think of excommunicating kings, they had no power, no right, to do it. Priests can only reprove, and argue, and give a free admonition, says Chrysostom; and therefore the first supreme prince that ever was excommunicated by a bishop, was Henry IV. the Emperor, by Pope Hildebrand.

“The decrees and canons of the Bishops of Rome oblige the conscience of none but his own subjects. If bishops, in their spiritual capacity, have no power of making laws of external regimen without the leave of their princes, or the consent of their people; then supposing the Pope’s great pretence were true, that he is the head or chief of the ecclesiastical order, that from him they receive immediately all the spiritual power they have, yet this will afford him no more than what Christ left to the whole order. Since the Bishop of Rome, by acts which all the world knows, had raised an intolerable empire, he used it as violently as he got it, and made his little finger heavier than all the loins of princes. It is no trifling consideration, that the body of the canon law was made by the worst and most ambitious popes. Alexander III., who made Gratian’s decree to become law, was a schismatical pope, an anti-pope, and unduly elected; the rest were Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., Clement V., and John XXII., persons bloody and ambitious, traitors to their princes, and but-

chers of Christians by the sad wars they raised, and, therefore, their laws were likely to be the productions of violence and war, not of a just and peaceable authority. Who made the Bishop of Rome to be the ecclesiastical lawgiver to Christians? For every bishop hath from Christ equal power, and there is no difference but what is introduced by men, that is, by laws positive, by consent, or by violence."

Of the conduct and character of the two pontiffs, namely, Gregory VII. (+ 1085), and Innocent III. (+ 1216), to whose lofty genius and unprincipled audacity Rome is mainly indebted for the erection of that stupendous edifice, of which Boniface laid the foundation, the essays in ecclesiastical biography, a recent publication of Sir James Stephen, one of the most profound, luminous, and eloquent writers of the present day, afford very striking and startling illustrations, of which I can only furnish you with a very few extracts. The former (Hildebrand) is justly designated as the very impersonation of royal arrogance, and of spiritual despotism. During five successive pontificates, he guided the counsels, prompted the crimes, and suggested the usurpations of his immediate predecessors. One of them (Nicolas II.), in 1059, summoned a council, which conferred on the college of cardinals the exclusive right of voting at papal elections. It set aside, not only the acknowledged rights of the emperors to confirm, but the still more ancient privilege of the Roman clergy and people to nominate their bishop. At the death of Alexander II., whilst that pontiff's corpse was extended on the bier, a spontaneous shout declared Hildebrand to be pope, by the will of the holy Peter himself. 'That this electoral drama was a mere improvisation, may be credited by those, before whose faith all the mountains of improbability give way.' 'To the emperor he breathed nothing but submission and humility,' and the former 'ratified his election.' 'A few weeks after his accession,' he convened a council, which imposed the fetters of celi-

bacy on the clergy, 'at once, effectually, and for ever.' 'He proclaimed to every potentate, from the Baltic to the Straits of Calpe, that all human authority being holden of the divine, and God himself having delegated his own sovereignty over man to the prince of the sacred college, a divine right to universal obedience was the inalienable attribute of the Roman pontiffs, of whom, as the superior earthly suzerain, emperors and kings held their crowns, patriarchs and bishops their mitres!' I pass over many intervening events of importance, in order to state that, a few years thereafter, in the presence 'of the emperor's mother, brought there to witness and to ratify the judgment to be pronounced on her only child, Hildebrand invoked the holy Peter, prince of the apostles, to hear, and Mary the mother of God, and the blessed Paul, and all the saints, to bear witness, while, for the honour and defence of Christ's church, in the name of the sacred Trinity, and by the power and authority of Peter, he interdicted to King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy, absolved all Christians from their oath and allegiance to him, and bound him with the bond of anathema,' &c. 'Whatever may have been Gregory's reliance on the promises of heaven, he certainly combined with it a penetrating insight into the policy of earth.' I shall not detain you by minutely transcribing the subsequent crimes of this atrocious usurper; the defeat and humiliation of the Emperor; 'the religious masquerade which followed between the high priest and the imperial penitent;' the 'three glorious days,' in the inclement month of January, during which Henry stood as an outcast in the courtyard of the fortress at Canossa, until he was permitted, 'in sordid raiment, to draw near on his bare feet to the more than imperial majesty of the church, and prostrate himself, in more than servile deference, before the diminutive and emaciated old man, from the terrible glance of whose countenance, we are told, the

eye of every beholder recoiled as from the lightning.' And this relentless and rancorous rebel is numbered amongst the successors of Simon Barjona, and holds an honourable place in the sainted catalogue of Romish worthies! Hostilities were renewed; a civil war was kindled in Germany under the auspices of the vicar of the Prince of Peace. A German prince was persuaded, in the strength of the Papal deposition, to usurp the imperial crown, but soon after perished in the field. A rival pope was chosen, in opposition to the sacrilegious violator of every law, divine and human, who was for three years besieged within the walls of Rome. The gates were at length thrown open to the legitimate monarch in spring 1084. Gregory 'sought a precarious refuge in the castle of St Angelo, whilst the rival pontiff placed the crown of Germany and Italy on the brow of Henry and of Bertha.' The Normans extricated Hildebrand at the very moment when surrender was at hand; but his ruthless allies 'revelled in plunder, lust, and carnage, like demons by the glare of their native pandemonium. Gregory gazed with agony on the real and present aspect of civil war. Perhaps he thought with penitence on the wars he had kindled beyond the Alps. Two-thirds of the city perished. Every convent was violated, every altar profaned, and multitudes driven away into perpetual and hopeless slavery.' Such, my friends, were a few of the calamities which this sacerdotal Attila, the scourge of Satan, inflicted on Rome, and on the world. 'He sought in the castle of Salerno, under the protection of the Normans, the security he could no longer find amongst his own exasperated subjects. He assured his weeping friends OF HIS INTERCESSION FOR THEM IN HEAVEN!!! He forgave, and blessed, and absolved his enemies, though with the resolute exception of the Emperor and the anti-Pope;' and breathed out his spirit with the indignant exclamation, 'I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and, therefore, I die in exile.' Of his own guilt, his own danger, his

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own need of forgiveness, the wretched man was wholly unconscious! His last words taxed God with injustice in the dealings of his providence, instead of resting his hopes of acceptance on the doctrines of his grace!"

In speaking of Innocent III., Sir James Stephen informs us that, "during the first twelve years of his pontificate, he had converted into realities the most audacious visions of Hildebrand—he had exacted the oath of fealty to himself from all the imperial officers of the city—he had seized on the marshes of Ancona and Umbria—he had annulled the election of Frederick, the infant son of the deceased emperor, and, as vicar of Christ on earth, had substituted for him the young Otho of Brunswick, whom he afterwards excommunicated—he had laid France under an interdict to punish the divorce of Philip Augustus—he had given away the crowns of Bohemia and Bulgaria—he had received homage from John for the crown of England—and, availing himself of Count Baldwin's capture of Constantinople, he had become the arbiter of the fortunes of the East." In regard to his treatment of heretics, Sir James speaks of "cruelties beyond conception horrible. The brand, the scourge, and the sword had fallen from the wearied hands of the ministers of his vengeance. Hundreds were cast alive into the furnace, and not a few plunged into the flames with exulting declarations of the faith for which they perished. *The vicar of Christ bathed the banner of the Cross in a carnage, from which the wolves of Romulus, and the eagles of Cæsar, would have turned away with loathing.*"

Now, my dear friends, Gregory and Innocent, stand in the same relation to the Papacy, which Paul and Peter occupy in reference to the Church of Christ; having laboured as earnestly to impose upon the world the yoke of superstition and tyranny, as the apostles strove to emancipate mankind from the thralldom of idolatry and sin. "I read, and read again," (says Otto of Freysingen, an honest historian, who lived in the

days of Hildebrand), "the annals of the Roman kings and emperors, but I no where find that before the most serene Henry IV., any of them was excommunicated by the Roman pontiff, or deprived of his kingdom." To believe that such men, (and all their successors have professed and acted on their principles,) were really the vicars of Christ, and the successors of Simon Barjona, presupposes an intensity of monomaniacal credulity, the existence of which would be incredible, if it were not daily exhibited before our eyes.

A similar delirium can alone account for the admission of infallibility, as claimed by the Popish Church. A short essay on that subject, by my reverend and excellent brother, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, is a work so distinguished by logical arrangement and perspicuity, that I earnestly recommend it to the notice of all who take an interest in the question. It still remains a subject of controversy and dispute amongst Romanists themselves, whether this boasted infallibility is vested, (1) in the Pope as the successor of Peter—(2) in a general council—(3) in both conjoined—(4) in the decrees of a council, when ratified by the Pope, and accepted by the church. Does not this amount to a presumptive proof, that a privilege does not exist any where, of which, although it has "a name," the "local habitation," is so dubious and uncertain? No such prerogative appertained to the high priest of the Jewish Church; nor has God been pleased to appoint an infallible legislator to enact unerring laws, or an infallible judge to determine controversies between nations for the prevention of wars, or between individuals for the settlement of lawsuits, or an infallible physician to prescribe certain remedies for all diseases. Nor is it possible, that we should be better able to understand the decision of an infallible earthly pontiff, than the words of Him "who spake as never man spake," and the declarations of his apostles, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The Chinese would think, that the

existence of a supreme power in Great Britain was very uncertain, if a travelled mandarin were to tell them, that there is such an authority here, but that it is uncertain whether it is vested in the Queen alone, or in the Parliament, or in the Queen and Parliament together ; or whether the laws which they enact, must receive, in order to render them valid, the assent of the different Lord-Lieutenants, by whom the different counties are ruled.

I may here also briefly advert to four passages in Scripture, on which the Pope mainly rests his claim to supremacy and infallibility. (1.) "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church." Jeremy Taylor enumerates no fewer than eight of the fathers, who maintain, that the confession of Peter, and not his person, was the rock on which the church was founded—Jesus Christ *himself* being the chief corner-stone, and Peter only included with his coequal brethren, as a stone in the "foundation of the prophets and apostles." Paul, who professed that he himself "*was in nothing* inferior to the very chiefest of the apostles" (and consequently a rock, as well as Peter), when he gives an account of the office-bearers in the church, says, "*first* apostles," &c., without assigning any primacy or priority to Peter, or asserting, as do the Romanists, that the other apostles received ordination at his hands, or owed him any fealty or submission. If a traveller had given an account of the ancient form of government at Venice, it would have appeared very extraordinary if, he had spoken of "*first*, senators," and made no mention of the Doge. (2.) "For thee have I prayed, that thy faith fail not." This prayer had evidently a personal reference to Peter, and no mention whatever is made of his pretended successors. It did not even preserve *him* from afterwards denying his Lord with cursing and swearing ; or from adopting errors, which, many years afterwards, caused Paul to withstand him to the face. Far less can it be urged as a ground why any popes,

and especially the Hildebrands and Borgias, should be invested with infallibility in matters of faith. (3.) "To thee I will give the keys"—a promise not made to Peter alone, but as the representative and spokesman of the whole apostolic college, on whom the same privilege was not long afterwards formally bestowed. "If," says St Augustin, "the keys were only given to Peter, and so promised to him that the church hath not the keys; then the church can neither bind nor loose, remit nor retain, which God forbid." (4). "Feed my sheep." This was the province of all the apostles. It is the duty assigned by Paul to all the elders of Ephesus. Of David it is said (which could never be predicated of any pope), that he "*fed* God's inheritance according to the integrity of his heart."—(Ps. lxxviii.) So far were the ancient bishops of Rome from claiming infallibility or superiority on this account, that Damasus referred many questions to St Jerome, and Liberius solicited the advice of Athanasius on a matter of faith—a course which neither of them would have adopted, had they been convinced that they themselves could not err. It is no less justly than generally believed, that the threefold injunction to "feed," which our Lord imparted to Peter, was intended as a restoration of that official dignity as an apostle, which he had forfeited by his threefold denial. So far is the beloved disciple from representing this event as specially redounding to the honour or to the comfort of Peter, that we are only told of the penitent and erring apostle having been "*grieved*" because his Lord said unto him the third time, "Lovest thou me?" (John xxi. 17)—a question which he never propounded once to any of the other apostles, because by none of them he had been thrice, or even once, formally denied; nor did he on that occasion again confer on *them* the privilege of feeding, because in none of their cases it had been forfeited by transgression.

I contend, therefore, that, in not one of these four passages is the slightest reference made to the successors

of Peter, either at Antioch, for his sojourn at which we have irrefragable divine testimony, or at Rome, for his residence at which we have only the authority of an uncertain human tradition. But if these texts, which I think allude only to Peter personally, must be extended to the Romish pontiffs, there are others which might, in my opinion, be far more justly applied to them, though the Papists would, of course, contend, that *they* refer only to Peter as an individual. "Thou art an offence unto me ; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."—(Matt. xvi. 23.) There has not been a Pope since Boniface III., who made Rome to sin, to whom, on account of his heresies, cruelties, worldly-mindedness, or injustice, this text might not, with ample justice, be extended : "Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice."—(Matt. xxvi. 34.) This prophecy has been, not virtually, but clearly fulfilled during many centuries at the election of every Pope : (1.) When he allows himself to be chosen vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, an office which our Lord never intended any mortal to fill. (2.) When he permits all the cardinals to prostrate themselves at his feet, without adopting the language of the humble fisherman, whom he professes to represent, and saying, "Stand up ; I myself also am a man." (3.) When he consents to be idolatrously placed in the centre of the altar, and adored as God by a stupid and staring multitude of deluded blasphemers. But, lastly, if the doom of the Popes were at all commensurate with their deserts, the prophecy uttered by our Lord to Peter, in reference to the "death by which he should glorify God" (John xxi. 18, 19), would have been verified in the case of nineteen-twentieths of his apostate successors. Each of them, as a punishment for his oppression, his tyranny, his sensuality, his avarice, his traffic in souls of men, should have "stretched forth his hands, and another should have guided him, and carried him whither he would not," to the scaffold, or to

the gibbet. It would, no doubt, amount to a monomaniacal hallucination to assert, in defiance of the evidence of history, that these atrocious incendiaries, like so many "other malefactors," whose crimes were generally far less heinous, have endured the penalty of their guilt at the place of execution; but it is not a whit less repugnant to common sense and universal experience to believe, that they have been successively invested with the mantle of infallibility.

It must also never be forgotten, my dear friends, that this infernal system admits of no reform or relaxation. The pontiffs are as arrogant, as antichristian, as uncharitable in the present day as during the palmiest season of mediæval bigotry and oppression. Listen to the language of Pius VI., who died in a French prison anno 1799:—"I, the Sovereign Pontiff, and the Prince of Bishops, am Moses in my authority—Peter in my dignity—and by my authority I am Christ himself. To me likewise are remitted the keys of heaven, and the sheep of Christ."—(*Brev. Rom., Paris 1775.*) This jurisdiction, according to Bellarmine, involves "the temporal supremacy of Christendom." "It is vested wholly and solely in the Pope, and derived from him to all other bishops." "It is *jure divino*, not indeed directly and immediately for its own sake, but for the sake of the Pope's spiritual power." "It extends to the disposing of all the temporal possessions of all Christians;" and Pius IX., in an allocution to the cardinals (Sept. 1851), lays it down as a basis "that the Catholic religion, with all its rights, ought to be exclusively dominant, in such sort, that every other worship shall be banished and interdicted."

"Romanism, therefore," says Mr Conelly, in his admirable pamphlet (and he speaks from his own observation and experience, whilst he had the misfortune to be a member of its pale), "is not merely a religion, a system of relations with the invisible world, a rule of faith, and form of worship—it is an organized terres-

trial polity, with its own visible head, its own laws, its own penalties, and its own instruments (often secret ones), for the enforced regulation of men's actions in every relation and in every imaginable contingency of sublunary life."—(P. 29.) "The system is irrevocable and irremediable."—(P. 21.) "When I compare the Church of Rome, as I now see it, with what I painted her to myself, with the imaginary realization of our blessed Saviour's scheme for fallen man's sanctification, *no words can convey my horror at the contrast*. I should often doubt the conclusions of my reason, mistrust my moral sense, and regard my certain knowledge as a dream, if God's written Word, and man's universal conscience, if the experience of both hemispheres and of ten centuries did not confirm me."—(P. 33.)

II.—POPERY A MONOMANIA.

OF late years, my friends, since I became more intimately acquainted, than I once was, with the wiles and workings of this delusive and destructive system, I have been led to adopt the conclusion, that Popery is a kind of *monomania*, under the influence of which, although a Papist may be, and often is, a man,

"Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
More—bonus sanè vicinus—amabilis hospes,
Posset qui rupem, et puteum vitare patentem,"

he is prepared to sacrifice truth, mercy, and uprightness, at the shrine of falsehood, tyranny, and injustice, when, by doing so, he thinks he can do the Pope service, promote the aggrandisement of his apostate church, and obey the behests of her unprincipled ministers.

1. The first proof of this allegation I deduce from their acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome as vicar of Christ, supreme head of the church, successor of Peter, and infallible in matters of faith. I have already

stated at great length the grounds on which it appears to me that, of all the arrogant assumptions ever urged upon human credulity, this fundamental doctrine of Popery is the most preposterous and the most unfounded.

The subject, however, is of such paramount importance, that I shall here lay before you a few considerations in reference to the questions of supremacy and infallibility, which were not so fully dwelt upon in the preceding letters.

On the first of these points, it is certain (says that profound divine, and admirable critic, Canon Wordsworth), that St Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, knew nothing of such a supremacy in Pope Anicetus; that Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and the Synod of Asiatic Bishops, and St Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, and the council assembled in that city, knew nothing of any such supremacy in Pope Victor; that St Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and the African bishops, knew nothing of it in Pope Stephanus; that St Augustin and the bishops of Africa knew nothing of it in Popes Zosimus and Boniface, and that the bishops of Rome themselves were ignorant of it for 600 years.—(*Wordsworth's Theoph. Anglo.* Part ii., p. 246).

The 101 fathers (says D' Aillé, p. 310) of the second general council, and the 630 of the fourth, were all of opinion, that the ancients had advanced the see of Rome above that of other bishops, by reason of the pre-eminence and temporal greatness of the city of Rome above other cities; and for the same reason, they also thought good to advance, in like manner, the throne of the patriarch of Constantinople to the same height with the former, by reason of the city, where he resided, being now arrived to the self same height of dignity with Rome itself.—(*Concil. Constance, Can. 3.*)

This supremacy is as hateful and antichristian an usurpation, in our own day, according to the judgment of the Greek Church, and many other Eastern communions,

as in the eyes of the most zealous of its Protestant antagonists. It is only two years since a firm and dignified protest has been put forth, by the Greek patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled with twenty-nine bishops in synod, against the encroachments of Rome. This protest was called for by an attempt on the part of the Roman Pontiff to divide the Greek dioceses into Latin sees, similar to that which he has still more recently made in England. They do not shun to declare, that "the Church of Rome has cut herself off from the teaching of the apostles, upon many catholic and most essential articles of Christianity." Nay, they go so far as to affirm, that she is "the great heresy of modern times," having ceased to be "purely guided by the doctrine of the fathers, and to walk by the never-to-be-forgotten rule of Scripture and holy councils," and "claiming to herself the power of a spiritual monarch and arbitress, which not even St Peter possessed."—(*Meyrick*, p. 53.)

It affords no slight presumption against this arrogant and unfounded claim, that fraud and forgery have been unblushingly resorted to in confirmation of it. Very many epistles (says Jeremy Taylor) of Popes, from St Clemens to St Gregory (about 500 years), were enforced on the church as the genuine writings of those excellent men, who governed the Church of Rome in all her persecutions and hardnesses, and of these epistles the present Church of Rome makes very great use to many purposes, and yet no imposture could be greater than this:—1. They are patched up of several arguments and materials, not at all agreeing with the age in which they are pretended to be written, but are snatched from the writings of other men in later times. 2. They were invented after St Jerome's time, as appears in the citation of testimonies of Scripture from St Jerome's translation, and the author cited St Jerome's version of the Hebrew Psalter. 3. They were not known in Rome for eight ages together, which were a strange

thing, that the records of Rome should have no copies of the epistles of so many bishops of Rome. 4. They are infinitely false in their chronology ; and he that invented them, put the years of false councils to their date, as Baronius himself confesses, quite reckoning otherwise ; and in the epistles of the whole forty-five, the decrees of councils and the words of ecclesiastical writers are cited, who yet were not in all their ages, but wrote after the death of these popes who are pretended to have quoted them, or something is said that could not be done or said by them, or in their times. 5. They are written with the same style, and therefore it is no more probable, that they should be the genuine epistles of so many popes, than that so many men in several ages should have the same features in their faces ; but these epistles say over the same things several times, even unto tediousness, and yet are the very same words, without any differing expressions. 6. Sometimes their words were most intolerably barbarous, neither elegantly fine, nor elegantly plain, but solecisms, impure words, and the most rude expressions, not unlike the friars' Latin, or the *epistolæ obscurorum virorum*. 7. None of the ancient writers of the church did ever cite any testimony from these epistles for 800 years together, only part of the epistle of St Clement was mentioned by Rufinus and the council of Nice. 8. None of those who wrote histories ecclesiastical, or of the church writers, made mention of them, but all that do, were about 830 years after the incarnation. 9. And all this beside the innumerable errors in the matter ; and a more notorious cheat could never have been imposed upon the world, but that there are so many great notorieties of falsehood, that it would be hard to say which is greater, the falsehood of the pontifical books, or the boldness of the compiler. Now, if so great a heap of records can at once be clapped upon the credulity of men, and so boldly defended as it is by Turrian and Binius, and so greedily entertained as it is by the Roman confidants, and so often

cited as it is by the Roman doctors, and yet have in it so many strange matters so disagreeing to Scripture, so weak, so impertinent, and sometimes so dangerous, there is very great reason to reject the topic of traditions, which can be so easily forged, and sometimes rely upon no greater foundation than this, whose foundation is in water and sand, and falsehood that is most unstable.—*(Jeremy Taylor)*.

That no bishop was acknowledged as supreme in the days of primitive antiquity, is elsewhere demonstrated by the same learned prelate, in a passage, which I shall transcribe for your consideration. "As is the power of the Holy Trinity one and undivided, so is the episcopacy divided amongst all bishops, but the power is the same," says Pope Symmachus. "The church," says Pope Damasus, "is committed to us in common, and we have no other way of being one flock, and one shepherd, but by speaking the same things," that is, consenting and giving into the common government. "It is all one," says Jerome, "there is no difference in worthiness and power, whether he be bishop of Rome or Eugubium, Constantinople or Rhegium, Tanaiser, Alexandria; what Peter was, that the rest of apostles were,—he was the vicar of Christ on earth, and so were they, so are their successors." . . . The power which the bishops have, they have it immediately from Christ, they are successors of the apostles; of all, not of Peter only, many apostolical churches, which were established by others, being succeeded in, as well as Rome. These things are evident in matter of fact, and universally affirmed in antiquity, clearly and without dispute. From hence it must needs follow, that, by the law of Christ, one bishop is not superior to another. "It remains," said Cyprian, at the council of Carthage, "that we all speak what every one of us doth think, judging no man, refusing to communicate with no man, that shall happen to be of a different judgment, *for none of us makes himself a bishop of bishops*, or by tyrannical terror compels his colleagues

to a necessity of complying, for every bishop has a liberty and power of his own arbitrement, neither can he be judged by any one, nor himself judge any other; but we all must expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by himself and alone has power of setting us over the government of his church, and of judging us for what we do." These views are fully borne out by the declaration of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., that "before the Nicene council, every man lived to himself, and little respect was paid to the Roman Church."

It is not less absurd or delusive to maintain, as other Papists do, that infallibility resides in general councils. In fact, the Protestants scarcely require to take any part in this controversy, since the advocates of this latter opinion, as well as the decisions solemnly adopted by many of these assemblies, completely demolish the pretensions of the Pope to infallibility; whilst the ultramontane champions of his holiness are not less successful in confuting the claims of general councils. "There is not," says the learned Albert Pighius, one of their number, "a word about general councils in the canonical books of Scripture; nor did the primitive church of Christ receive, by apostolical institution, any special directions respecting them." This able writer (says Archdeacon Sinclair, p. 28) represents the practice of summoning a general council in cases of ecclesiastical emergency to be an expedient piously introduced by the emperor Constantine, for the purpose of composing the dissensions of the church. But the same author insinuates a charge of great ignorance against the emperor and his council, who, in adopting this course, *appeared not to know that the privilege of infallibility belonged to the Papal chair*. This imperial ignorance is a remarkable admission by the advocate of the Papacy in his zeal against general councils. He succeeds in demolishing the latter, but acknowledges at the same time a fact which is fatal to the former. For if Constantine and

the bishops of his court were ignorant of the Papal pretensions, *it must be obvious, that such pretensions either could not have been put forth at all, or could not at that time have been generally recognised.*—(P. 29.) Even if the infallibility of general councils were acknowledged, there is no certain criterion by which the spurious can be distinguished from the genuine—the precious from the vile—the orthodox from the heretical. Some of them which Rome has repudiated, were at least as numerous as others which she has acknowledged. There are some cases, in which councils have been partly confirmed and partly rejected; others, in which they have been confirmed by one Pope, and rejected by another. Sometimes it is problematical whether the council was general or provincial; and in many instances the canons have been drawn up in ambiguous terms, in order to conciliate adverse parties, and put an end to such virulent and unseemly altercations, as were themselves sufficient to disprove the infallibility, and even the common sense, of the assemblies which they divided and disgraced. Even at their last and most celebrated council (that of Trent) there were only 38 members present at the commencement of the sixth session, and some of these not bishops. At last these amounted only to 57 archbishops and bishops—nay, at the first session, there were only three archbishops and 23 bishops; so that, when compared with the aggregate numbers of the Christian episcopate, this *conciliabulum* was rather a packed committee than a “full, free, and fair” ecclesiastical parliament.

2. The belief in transubstantiation affords, in my judgment, another most valid ground for contending, that the Papist labours under a mental hallucination. On this subject also, I have fully laid before you my opinions; and shall therefore only repeat at present, that I am quite unable to understand, why the most mysterious and least tangible of all miracles should be renewed many hundred times every day, without the slightest

necessity or advantage. By the awful sacrifice offered on Calvary, God received, as is admitted on all hands, an atonement of inestimable value. Now, if all the sins were computed, from the first transgression of Adam until the last offence which shall be committed before the consummation of all things, their number, however enormous, would still be limited, and could therefore bear no proportion to the infinite atonement of Christ. How, then, is it reconcilable with the first principles of the Divine wisdom and justice, that, in addition to this all-sufficient and infinitely more than sufficient ransom, the priests of the Romish Church should every day offer multitudes of "unbloody sacrifices," each commensurate in efficacy with the death of the Lord himself? I know not whether the tenet itself, or the belief attached to it by millions of rational beings, is most amazing and most incomprehensible. To maintain, that the service of the eucharist is as momentous and as beneficial as the mystic sacrifice on Calvary, which it typifies and represents, appears to be as anomalous and as absurd as to assert, that the annual Waterloo entertainment at Apsley House is as important and as glorious as the achievement which it commemorates.

3. I may next notice another expedient, to which the Papists unblushingly have recourse, I mean that of speaking lies in hypocrisy, in order to perpetuate the dominion of human error, and retard the victory of divine truth—a habit, which it is charitable to account for on the principle of *monomania*, since it affects many persons, who would not have recourse to falsehood in furtherance of any other object. Of the calumnies invented against the Waldenses in the 13th century it is scarcely necessary to speak. False witnesses did rise up, who laid to their charge things that they knew not. Because they were opposed to the Romish apostasy, Dr Doyle, in his evidence, denounces them as favourable to Manicheism (perhaps because they were opposed to Monachism) and addicted to unnatural crimes. I shall

content myself also with barely alluding to the base charges, reiterated even by the most modern Romish historians, against the memory of the great and good Calvin—charges, which the illustrious D'Aubigné has irrefragably demonstrated to be applicable to another individual, who bore the same name, but died in the communion of the Popish Church.

The pertinacity with which the recent conversions in Ireland from Popery are ascribed to bribery and intimidation, although not a single instance has been adduced in confirmation of the charge; as well as the effrontery with which the holy, zealous, and intrepid champions, through whom these triumphs of the cross have been achieved, are denominated “jumpers,” afford additional illustrations of the extent to which the votaries of Papal omnipotence have recourse to wilful falsehood, as often as the interests of the church require, that conscience should be sacrificed at the shrine of superstition. The frequency, with which false rumours of conversions from Protestantism to Popery are circulated, is also worthy of notice; and the indefatigable and most respectable rector and curate of Rugby have lately demonstrated to what an extent exaggeration of the number of apostasies in that quarter had been carried under the sanction of an authority, to which no lover of divine truth, and no admirer of departed human excellence, can advert without feelings of acute concern.

Another striking instance of the palpable and glaring falsehoods, which every thoroughgoing Papist will promulgate for the sake of benefitting his church, and blackening his opponents, is afforded by the account of the state of religion in Scotland, exhibited in the recent columns of an Ultramontane French newspaper. I am persuaded, that no one at all acquainted with the real state of matters, will recognise in this description one feature of the original, from which the portrait professes to be drawn:—“There can be no doubt that, at no distant period, society, composed of such heterogeneous

elements, will become the prey of the most absolute scepticism. And, indeed, it has already reached that point, in so far as men are concerned, with whom for the most part religion is but a name, and its practice a sort of fashion." In connection, too, with this subject, I would ask whether history, sacred or profane, furnishes so amazing and unparalleled an instance of effrontery, as is exhibited in these realms by the unscrupulous devotees of a sanguinary and bigoted religion (a religion which, wherever it prevails, carries on against all its opponents a warfare of expulsion or extermination), when they come forward, and deliberately state, in the face of God and man, that they are the objects of religious persecution, at the very moment when they are erecting cathedrals, cursing heretics, importing dispensations, selling indulgences, filling nunneries, practising osteopathy, deifying wafers, multiplying Jesuits, and may carry on with Rome a free trade in mitres, the only restriction being, that their prelates shall not assume titles from towns or cities within the pale of the British dominions, or, in other words, that the Pope shall not exercise a prerogative, which appertains exclusively to the sovereign of Great Britain? Would any Protestant minister have written a letter, under a fictitious character, to the pseudo-Archbishop of Westminster, in order to elicit from an honourable and too confiding correspondent a letter, which he intended to use for the purpose of injuring his character and hurting his feelings? Would a Protestant collect Popish tracts, and insinuate his doctrines clandestinely into Popish families, by leaving the title-page, and substituting for their contents, lucubrations of his own? Has any Protestant minister advised those, over whom he has influence, to creep unawares into Popish families in disguise, and violate the sacred rites of confidence and of hospitality, by endeavouring secretly to convert their children or servants, when incautiously received into their houses? Is it from Protestant dungeons that

Achilli has made his escape? Have the Protestants Gavazzi and Guicciardini sought refuge in the expansive sanctuary of Popish freedom, from the tyranny and intolerance of Protestant superstition? Are Rome and Florence teeming with Protestant chapels, whilst Papists, in bigoted London and intolerant Edinburgh, can scarcely find a hole or a corner in the suburbs, where images may be kissed, or water consecrated, or salt and spittle employed to render babes meet for Paradise?

4. I appeal, in support of this allegation, to the dark and dismal register of nefarious acts perpetrated by Popery, since the mystery of iniquity was first developed. I maintain, that this *monomania* pervades every rank and every class, and I may add both sexes, in every Popish country, whether it be the king as supreme, or the princes, the governors and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the councillors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces. Can there be a stronger proof of this assertion, than that Popish kings have been nursing fathers, and Popish queens nursing mothers, to that most sanguinary and antichristian tribunal, the Inquisition, and have often assisted in person at the infliction of a most cruel death on its hapless and helpless victims? Have Protestant sovereigns ever been present at similar exhibitions of atrocious cruelty? or would Popish monarchs or grandees desire or condescend to go in state, to witness the execution of malefactors condemned for treason or for murder? It is perfectly well known to any *tyro* in history, that Charles IX. of France, after having gained their confidence and lulled their suspicions by the most revolting and unprincipled dissimulation, not only caused many thousand of his best and bravest subjects to be massacred on St Bartholomew's day, but superintended and took part in the outrages on humanity, which were exhibited on that occasion, and which were to most of his nobility and courtiers, both male and female, a theme

for eulogium and exultation. If the crime of these murdered martyrs had been any other than that of heresy, it is probable, that his most Christian majesty would have shrunk from shedding one drop of their blood. Raumer, after inserting a letter, written *on the very day of the massacre* by Charles IX., to his ambassador at Rome, subjoins the following comment:—"However inured we may be to the depravity of these times, we can scarcely recover ourselves from the astonishment, nay horror, which we feel, on finding that the king, *on the day of the most bloody execution, ordered by himself*, begins a long dissertation with insignificant trifles, drags in between the important question as to the marriage, a paltry dealing with the Cardinal of Ferrara, and at last, with ice-cold indifference and apathy, '*au demeurant*,' comes to the horrors of the day, and with unblushing front goes through the narration of it."—(*Raumer*, i. 281.) Is it either uncharitable or unjust to ascribe such conduct to a religious *monomania*? It was on this occasion (says the author of a pamphlet, published about a century ago, and for the reprinting of which, as well as for his own masterly publications, we are deeply indebted to the excellent Dr M'Niell) that Coligni, admiral of France, was murdered by the basest of ruffians, who rudely mangled his body, and sent his head to Rome as a present to the Pope, where it was received with every demonstration of joy. The messenger that brought the news of this monstrous barbarity received a thousand crowns for his reward. The letter was read in the conclave, *Te Deum* sung in all the churches, cannons discharged, bonfires made, and a jubilee published throughout all Christendom. A grand procession was undertaken to the church of St Louis, where the nobility, bishops, cardinals, and several ambassadors attended, the Pope, who walked under a canopy, having his train carried up by the Emperor's ambassador; and the better to keep up the memory of this glorious transaction, the

Pope caused it to be painted round his great hall at Lateran, and then recorded in marble.—(P. 22.) A medal was also struck in commemoration of this glorious event; and we do not hear, that a single cardinal, or a single Jesuit failed to participate in the exultation manifested by their infallible head, when this barbarous *Hugonottorum strages* was consummated. Supposing, however, that, in our own days,

“A band of fierce barbarians, from the hills,
Rushed like a torrent down on ill-starr'd Rome,
Sweeping the nuns and monks”—

that Pio Nono, the whole College of Cardinals, and one-half of the inhabitants were slaughtered with just as little mercy as if they had been only as many heretics—that not only the Lateran Palace, but the Vail of the Virgin Mary—not only the Vatican Library, but the Holy Staircase, which Pilate had so often trodden, both before and after the crucifixion—not only the Laocoon, but the Bambino Dell'ara Celi, were ruthlessly destroyed;—now if, as soon as the news reached Buckingham Palace, by the electric telegraph, our most gracious Queen were to order the Park and Tower guns to be fired—that a general thanksgiving-day for so auspicious a triumph were appointed, on which the Bishop of London was selected to preach at St Paul's before her Majesty, her court, and her ministers—that the Archbishop of Canterbury was commanded to draw up a form of prayer adapted for the occasion—and that thanks to the chiefs, by whose prowess the feat was achieved, were unanimously voted in both Houses of Parliament, being moved and seconded in the House of Lords by the Earl of Winchelsea and the Duke of Manchester, and in the Lower House by Sir Robert Inglis and Mr Spooner—would not all Europe, and especially all “Catholic Europe,” ring with exclamations of horror and disgust, scarcely, if at all inferior, to the burst of indignation, which the crime itself would universally excite? And in what respect was the joy manifested by “Christ's

vicar" less revolting or less extraordinary? I am sure that if, on this plea, the sanity of his Holiness had been judicially called in question, and that an impartial jury had been empannelled, at the striking of which all Protestants as well as Papists had been challenged on the score of prejudice, either on the one side or on the other, so that none were admitted to serve but Turks, Jews, Infidels, Red Indians, or Parsees, as soon as the fact was established, that one, who claimed to be the head of a Christian church, and the representative of Deity upon earth, had hailed with approving acclamation a murder most foul and most unnatural of so many thousand innocent and peaceable subjects, whose religion was their only crime, the twelve honest men, without leaving the box, would have unanimously returned the following verdict:—"We find that his Holiness, Pope Gregory XIII., has been of unsound mind, and wholly unfit to conduct the affairs of any civil or religious community since the 8th of September 1572."

The vicar of Christ, however, was far from being singular in receiving the intelligence of this horrible massacre with such intense and inhuman satisfaction. The learned and indefatigable Raumer has made known to the world a dispatch transmitted from Madrid to Charles IX. by his ambassador, St Goar, in which the sentiments manifested by his most Catholic majesty on the same occasion are thus pourtrayed:—"King Philip received the account of St Bartholomew's night on the evening of the 7th. He has shown upon the receipt of it, contrary to his nature and wont, as much and more joy than upon all the luck and prosperity which have ever befallen him. He cried out to all his people, or ordered them to be sent for, and said to them, 'He now saw that your majesty was his good-brother.' The next day, I had an audience of the king, where he (who otherwise never laughed) began to laugh, and showed the greatest satisfaction and content. He began with praising your majesty on account of your title of most Chris-

tian king, and said there was no king who could be compared with your majesty in bravery and wisdom. He next praised to himself the determination, and the long dissimulation of so great an undertaking. . . . He, moreover, ordered processions and *Te Deum*—he even commanded all the bishops to have processions and thanksgivings in their dioceses, especially for the King of France. He expressed, in general, distinctly what he thought of the event, and showed his displeasure towards those, who tried to make him believe, that it had taken place on a sudden and without determination." In this respect Philip showed himself the dutiful offspring of his august, but atrocious parent, Charles V., who, in his last injunctions, had said, in reference to his successor, "I exhort, I warn, I adjure him, to punish heresy with the utmost rigour, without regard of persons, *without extending mercy to any!*"

This, however, was far from being the only, or, perhaps, even the most striking evidence, of the *monomania*, by which the intellect and heart of Philip were obscured and hardened under the influence of Popery. I remember when, upwards of forty years ago, I first read Schiller's splendid tragedy of Don Carlos, it seemed to me, that he had far exceeded the bounds of credibility, when he introduced such a dialogue as the following, between Philip's queen and the ladies of her court:—

"*Mondecar*.—What scenes of festive gaiety ere long

Madrid will be presenting! For a bull-fight

On the great square are preparations made,

And an *auto-da-fé* has been to us

Already promised.

Queen.—Promised? Hear I that

From my own gentle *Mondecar*?

Mondecar.—

Why not?

They that are burnt are only heretics.

Queen.—I hope my *Eboli* thinks differently?

Eboli.—I? please your majesty, I humbly pray,

Not as a less good Christian to esteem me,

Than Lady *Mondecar*."

I have since, however, discovered, that the great poet has presented to us a historical portrait, not a distorted

caricature, for, without consulting other authorities, or entering into other details, I transcribe the following paragraph from Raumer:—"Philip" (says Vandenesse) "landed at Laredo, after having endured a fearful tempest of twenty-four hours' duration. October 8, an *auto-da-fè* was held in the plain of Valladolid, in presence of the king, his son, *his daughter*, and countless spectators. Twenty-eight men and women were led forward, their sentences read aloud, the obstinate (a sad spectacle) BURNT, and the rest conducted back to prison." This wretched bigot continued to be, *qualis ab incepto*, "most Catholic" to the very last. The French ambassador announces to his court, in 1564, that, when he complained of the manner, in which certain Frenchmen were maltreated by the Inquisition, Philip excused himself by saying, that he had little power or authority in matters, which depended on that body; he could do nothing further than recommend the grand inquisitors to cause good and speedy justice to be done to the parties. The grand inquisitor promised, that they should be treated no worse than native Catholics; and the good and speedy justice came to this, that they were burnt in the king's presence.—(*Raumer.*) In 1591, we are informed by the French ambassador, that "the king makes use of the inquisitors if he chooses to carry any thing through by arbitrary means. Thus has there an *auto* taken place in Toledo, at which three persons of rank suffered, and upwards of 300 people were thrown into prison." These, then, are the feasts to which, in every Popish realm, kings, queens, prelates, courtiers, and, in short, all ranks hurried with alacrity, when the exulting inquisitor entered with his crucifix in his hand and said, "Come, for all things are now ready." His son, Philip III., inherited his bigotry, without possessing his talents. It was he who, under the influence of Popish *monomania*, compelled his unoffending and industrious Moorish subjects to depart from his coasts. His most Catholic Majesty informs

us, that "very learned and holy men advised him to take short methods, to which he was in any case bound by his duty to resort, and that he ought to chastise the Moors without regard to life or property." Even Louis XIV., the patron of literature, and to whom posterity has given the appellation of Great, expelled, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, millions of loyal and quiet Protestants from their homes; and to whatever Popish country we retrospectively direct our attention, we shall find every where the domination of that spurious system of Christianity cemented by the martyr's blood, and desecrated by the exile's tears.

No very long period has elapsed since heretics were burnt in the Peninsula. We are expressly told by Southey (ii. 87), that, in 1800, "he conversed (in Portugal) with a lady who remembered the *auto-da-fe*." Should Popery obtain the ascendancy in Protestant Europe; and especially in Great Britain, I have no doubt whatever, that the fire and faggot days of Bonner and Gardiner would be renewed in Smithfield, and in every large town throughout each of the three kingdoms. On the horrors perpetrated during the brief, but bloody, reign of Mary, it is unnecessary for me to dwell. I would rather refer you for details to the annals of my lamented friend, Christopher Anderson, where you will learn (vol. ii. p. 258-312) that from 800 to 1000 learned Englishmen, besides those in other conditions, sustained the honourable character of exiles on account of their attachment to divine truth. These constituted an army of *confessors*. The number of martyrs, from the 4th of February 1555 to within seven days of the Queen's exit (17th November 1588), a period of only three years nine months and six days, who were burnt to ashes, or died by starvation, slow torture, and noisome confinement in prison, can never be given with accuracy by any human pen. "In reading through the details, as the heart grows sick, so every one must come to the same conclusion, that there is but one list, and that one

accurate and indelible ; but it is one above. The highest point of human guilt is to be found in persecution for the *truth's* sake, or in violence done to *conscience* ; and when, at last, inquisition is made for blood, the Judge of all will remember every drop that has been shed for 'the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.' " —(P. 262.) A list exists of 318 : of these, 288 were consumed in the flames, eight or ten were positively famished, and twenty more pined and expired in their dungeon. . . . Nothing could exceed the more than savage barbarity, by which these, the most valuable subjects in the kingdom, were put to torture and death. Of the entire number, more than 150 were consigned, in *groups*, to one common fire ! Thus we find, of such companies, that there were six instances of three individuals at different times, five of four, and four of five ; six instances of six, and four of seven ! There were two dreadful cases of ten the same day ; the first at Lewes, in Kent, of six men and four women, including the master and servant, the mother and her son, in one common conflagration ! The second was at Colchester, of five men and five women, six of whom were martyred in the morning, and four in the afternoon. Several of these must have been advanced in life, as their united ages amounted to about 406 years. But the most horrible scene of all, in point of number, was in the neighbourhood of London, when not fewer than thirteen, eleven men and two women, were consumed in one pile, on the 27th of June 1556. The number of persons present was estimated at 20,000, "whose ends generally in coming there," says Strype, "and to such like executions, were to strengthen themselves in the profession of the gospel, and to exhort and comfort those who were to die." How different from the feelings, which animated the Popish monarchs, nobles, cardinals, bishops, and inquisitors, who assembled to satiate their thirst for heretical blood, by witnessing the tortures endured by the innocent victims of their Satanic barbarity ! Heart-broken for the loss of Calais, and the

neglect of her husband, the sanguinary authoress of these legalised murders expired at the very moment when Philip of Spain and Henry of France "were meditating the extension over all Europe of such a tribunal as the Inquisition had already shown itself to be, by its exercise of authority in Spain."—(*Macintosh.*) And the one Law-giver, who is able to save and destroy, cut off no fewer than thirty of her bloody and obsequious prelates and dignitaries, during her own reign and the thirteen months that followed.

These cruelties, my dear friends, form an essential element in the Popish creed; and I reiterate my firm conviction, that, if the Pope obtains the ascendancy, the same scenes will be speedily renewed. "Not only is the denunciation of the nearest and dearest a bounden duty; but the fierce zeal that would lead a man voluntarily to assist in torturing the doomed HERETIC is, to this day, solemnly set forth in the public liturgy of Rome as a *blessed title to canonization*; and year after year the people of Italy and Spain are summoned to kneel before the altar of St Ferdinand of Castile, and bless God for the model king who, whenever a HERETIC was to be burnt, came forward, and with his royal hands heaped fagots on the pile, which, as he believed, anticipated hell."—(*Pascal the Younger.*)

"Well do I remember," says Connelly, in the admirable and important tract, which he has published since his return to the fold of Protestantism, "the elaborate argument of one of the most distinguished, if not the *most distinguished*, of the canonists of Rome, *which convinced me of the right and duty of Papal persecution*; and I defy any honest man of ordinary capacity to resist the argument, if he will acknowledge the *lowest* pretensions of the Papal Church. To burn heretics, whenever practicable and expedient (and it is now inculcated on the Roman Catholic children of England by command of Dr Wiseman), is as binding as abstinence on a Friday."

I must not altogether omit to notice the extent, to

which the exhibition of monomaniacal cruelty was carried in our own country, during the dark and dreary period of Popish despotism and superstition. John Resby, an Englishman, was put to death at St Andrews, in 1308, and Paul Craw, a Bohemian, in 1432, on account of "the dread which was felt lest one ray of light from abroad should disturb the surrounding gloom or existing authority."—(*Anderson*, ii. 308.) Patrick Hamilton was "tried, condemned, and reduced to ashes, before the sun went down," in February 1528. "Amid the noise and fury of the flames now kindled, and the tumult of the multitude, his last words were distinctly heard—'How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!'" In 1534, King James V. presided, in a scarlet attire, when Straiton and several other of his loyal subjects were condemned, two of whom were burnt on the following day. I pass over the exile and misfortunes of the distinguished Alexander Ales, who was converted by the arguments and example of this illustrious Scottish proto-martyr. The persecutions were renewed by Cardinal Beaton, in 1538. Under his auspices, and through his instrumentality and that of the Bishop of Dunblane (a prelate as notorious as his Eminence himself for licentiousness and bigotry), five pious and devoted Christians were condemned to the flames; and the king (following the footsteps of his father-in-law, Francis I., in 1535) "was himself present to see the red flames on the Castle-hill, by which they were consumed to ashes before his eyes, on the 1st of March 1539."—(*P.* 499.) The accuser interrupted one of them, and said, "Knowest thou not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and express commands, to have a New Testament or Bible in English, which is enough to burn thee for?" Then the council of the clergy gave sentence on him to be burnt, for the having and using of the same book—the New Testament in English. The disgraceful defeat at Solway, the death

of his two sons, and his disappointment at the birth of his afterwards unhappy daughter, in 1542, broke the heart of the misguided monarch, who had sanctioned and witnessed these outrages on humanity. After his decease, the Cardinal put five martyrs to death in 1545, one of whom (a woman) was drowned. "She was the wife of one of the sufferers, with an infant at her breast. Before she was thrown into the water, she gave the infant to another, and expressed great joy at following her husband to a better world."—(P. 530.) The judicial murder of the celebrated George Wishart, on the 1st of March 1546, closed the black catalogue of this sacerdotal monster's crimes; and he himself became the victim of a sanguinary retribution on the evening of the 29th of May in the same year.

5. But in no respect, my dear friends, is the unprincipled greediness of the Romish Church so palpably and so fearfully manifested, as in the cunning craftiness, with which her sleek and subtle priests creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins and remorse, or old men, whose faculties have been blunted by dotage or disease, and who are terrified by the appalling prospect of that "something after death," that imaginary, but not on that account less dreaded prison, in which, unless they make their peace with the church, they may be doomed to pass many ages of suffering and of woe. They dare not trust in the pure gold of the divine sacrifice, tendered without money and without price by their God in his Word, and in reliance on which the silver, or rather the dross, of human merit or Popish indulgence is nothing accounted of by the true and well-instructed believer. On these solemn occasions it is that the unhallowed and unscrupulous dexterity of the priest is manifested in all its turpitude, and that, serving not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, or the far more insatiable cravings of their church, by good words and fair speeches, or by highly-wrought descriptions of impending torments, they gain such an ascendancy over en-

thrall'd and enfeebled invalids, as to induce them, under the influence of monomaniacal terror, to act unjustly to their nearest and (it may be) most needful relatives. The priest proceeds as if God had said in his Word, he that loveth son or daughter more than the church, is not worthy of me. The unprincipled devices, by which the dying are intimidated, and the law eluded, have often been developed in such a manner, and to such an extent, as must cover the entire church with everlasting infamy. I can conceive some upright and conscientious legal adviser, when instructed to draw up a will, by which the church is to be enriched and the family disinherited, exclaiming in the ears of the dying parent, "Let the children first be filled, it is not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it unto the dogs—beware of dogs—beware of evil workers—beware of Jesuits—beware of nuns." Such warnings and remonstrances are uttered in vain. Satan, in the shape of a confessor, stands at his right hand to deceive him, and, under pretence of saving the affrighted parent's soul, wheedles him into the perpetration of the crime of denying the faith and being worse than an infidel, by preventing him from providing for his own, and specially for those of his own house.

This flagitious and unprincipled system of sacerdotal spoliation began to disgrace the church at a very early period of its history. The law of Constantine (says Milman, in his admirable history of Christianity, vol. ii., p. 380), which empowered the clergy of the church to receive testamentary bequests, and to hold land, was a gift, which would scarcely have been exceeded, if he had granted them two provinces of the empire.* It became almost a sin to die without some bequest to pious men; and before a century had elapsed, the mass of property, which had passed over to the church, was so enormous, that the most pious of the emperors were obliged to

* The property of the church in Spain, before the revolution, has been estimated at twelve millions sterling *per annum*, being two millions more than the entire public income.

issue a restrictive law, which the most ardent of the fathers were constrained to approve. Jerome acknowledges, with the bitterness of shame, the necessity of this check on ecclesiastical avarice—"I complain not of the law, but that we have deserved such a law." The ascetic father and the Pagan historian describe the pomp and avarice of the Roman clergy in the fourth century. Ammianus Marcellinus intimates, that the magnificence of the prize may account for the obstinacy and ferocity, with which it was contested. He dwells on the prodigal offerings of the Roman matrons to their bishop; his pomp, when, in elaborate and elegant attire, he was borne in his chariot through the admiring streets; the costly luxury of his almost imperial banquets. But the just historian contrasts this pride and luxury of the Roman pontiff with the more temperate life and dignified humility of the provincial bishops. Jerome goes on sternly to charge the whole Roman clergy with the old vice of the heathen aristocracy—hoeredipety, or legacy-hunting; and asserts, that *they used the holy and venerable name of the church to extort, for their own personal emolument, the wealth of timid and expiring devotees.* The law of Valentinean justly withheld from the clergy and monks alone, that privilege of receiving bequests, which was permitted to the lowest of mankind—heathen priests, actors, charioteers, and harlots. Ambrose admits the necessity of the law (l. ii. *adv. Syrum.*) Augustin, while he loftily disclaims all participation in such abuses, acknowledges their frequency. "Let any one," says he, "who wishes to disinherit his son, and make the church his heir, look out for some one else to carry out his intentions, and not Augustin; nay, if God be propitious, he will find no one."

The grasping and unprincipled avidity of the Romish priesthood, as I have already observed, has been recognised and reprobated, in every age, and in every land, to which their baneful influence has extended.

It is in vain, (to borrow an admirable article from a

recent number of that excellent paper, the *Britannia*) that in Mexico "with lavish kindness the gifts of God are strewn," while the soul-degrading idolatries of the Church of Rome exercise their fatal influence over the priest-ridden population, and render them the abject tools of ignorance and superstition. There is no country in the world, in which the tyranny of priestcraft is so fatally and so firmly established. The following sketch of a deathbed scene gives a striking instance of the enormous price, at which worthless absolution is purchased by guilt and folly from priestly imposition:—

THE PRICE OF ABSOLUTION.

"Let all present leave the apartment," exclaims the priest, in an authoritative voice. "We would be alone; to receive the final confession, and, by the aid of the blessed Virgin, to administer the last consolations of holy church to our departing brother."

The friends and relations slowly withdraw; the holy father watches them quit the chamber with a cunning sparkle in his eyes, and, when he is alone with the dying man, thus addresses him:—

"It is the will of Heaven, my son, that the Angel of Death should set his mark upon thy brow! Ave Maria! Thou desirest the last beneficent and most consoling offices of the church. Are the supports and ministrations of our holy office precious to thee now?"

"Sacraments of the church—pains of purgatory—masses—charities—settlement of my affairs—provision for my family," are the only words audible from the lips of the dying man.

"In what frame of mind dost thou find thyself, my son, towards our holy religion?" resumes the reverend father.

"I desire to receive the holy sacrament at thine hand, holy father; and to secure thy powerful intercession with our Lady, for—ah! the release of my soul from purgatory!"

"Thou hast been a great sinner, my son; but the

power of the church is great. Thou hast been remiss in thy observances; thy penances have been neglected, and thy sufferings must needs be proportionate; but the intercession of the church is all powerful; and it will not be refused thee. Doubtless, thou desirest that the worldly possessions thou art about to leave should be appropriated to the redemption of thy soul, by prayers and ordained masses. The line of thy duty is plain, my son, and I believe me that thou dost so desire it."

As the priest repeats these words in an impressive voice, he stoops over the couch of the sufferer, and, with his own sleek hand, tenderly smoothens the pillows that support his head, and listens for the forthcoming reply.

"My hacienda in the south, to the pious uses of the church—likewise my three mansions in the Plaza—interest in the share-mine—my property at Tampico—likewise the third of my fortune, as testified. For the rest—my wife and family—my brother and—"

"Dost thou, in thy last hour, offer a divided gift to Heaven, lost man?" indignantly exclaims the father. "Dost thou think that God—and thou must soon appear before Him—will be satisfied with a tithe of thy possessions?"

"But my wife and children—"

"I tell thee again that it will require all thou hast that the unceasing efforts of the church may rescue thee from the tortures that await thy unhappy soul. Dost thou still hanker after thy earthly riches, and scheme for the sordid interests of thy worldly connections? Then perish in thine iniquity!"

"What will become of my wife and children? I cannot leave them unprovided for—without a peso—without a shelter!"

"Then embrace the purgatory that is yawning for thee! Thy last hour is come! Death is even now dealing with thee. Eternal torments await thee! Perish, then, in thy contempt, and in thy crimes!"

"The will of the church is mine, holy father, for I feel that I am dying."

An attendant is summoned, and a notary and his clerk are sent for. "For," explains the wily ecclesiastic, "our brother is desirous of arranging his worldly affairs in the company of his spiritual adviser."

The notary arrives; the desired instrument is hastily drawn up; a trembling hand is raised to the paper; and a broken voice exclaims, "Ah! my wife and children!" The hand at first refuses to sign the deed; but more threats and promises are resorted to, and at length the thing is done. Absolution in full is granted; the bugbear of purgatory is withdrawn; the last sacrament is administered to the sufferer; but, ere the consecrated wafer can have had time to melt upon his tongue, he dies!

"Your money, or your life!" was the summons of the English robber; "Your estate, or your soul!" is the demand of the Mexican priest.

PRIESTS AND DEATHBEDS.

QUEBEC, *March 19.*

A recent *cause célèbre*, in which an attempt was made to set up a will made by a Protestant physician on his deathbed, after the loss of his reason, in favour of some Catholic priests and others, and was only frustrated by the persevering exertions of the most eminent members of the bar, has not a little indisposed the community against the Roman Catholic clergy. The heirs-at-law in that case, who succeeded eventually in obtaining possession of the property, about £25,000, are officers of high rank in the British army.

We see by the following extract from the *New York Herald*, that the subject has already excited alarm in the United States:—

"It appears that an archiepiscopal corporation at Quebec, in Canada, lately incorporated by an act of the Legislature, is rousing public attention in that city, by obtaining possession, for their own benefit, of the pro-

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perty and effects of dying persons, who, by the arts of pious ecclesiastics, are induced to leave their families and relatives in want and poverty."

Of the extent to which this system of sacrilegious pillage is carried on at Rome itself, two instances are furnished by Kirwan, in an admirable and most important work, entitled, "Romanism at Home," which I earnestly recommend to universal perusal:—"A Roman of wealth married a lady of foreign birth, and by whom he had a large family of children. After a life of love and harmony, he died, leaving his property to his widow and children, by a will duly authenticated. Although regardless of the priests in health, he sent for one when dying, who confessed him, and anointed him, and 'fixed him off' for purgatory or paradise. A few days after his death, that priest swore before the tribunal having jurisdiction in such cases, that the dying man confessed to him a great sin, and to atone for which he wished his entire property, contrary to his will, to go to the church. And, on the oath of that priest, the will of the deceased was set aside, his property was turned into the treasury of the church, and his widow and children were turned out penniless into the world! Thus, nothing is necessary to deprive any family in Rome, that has lost its head, of its property but the oath of a priest! and if you had seen them in crowds, as I have, you would conclude, as I have, that it would be an easy matter to get a priest in Rome that would swear any thing. Absolution from perjury, that enriches the church."

The other instance is as follows:—"It would seem as if there is a law in Rome, which gives all property to the church which has no *lawful* heir. An old man, of large possessions, married a young and handsome lady, and died, leaving a son behind him, the heir of his possessions, just on the eve of his majority. Not many months ago, a suit was instituted to prevent his entering on his paternal possessions, on the ground of his illegitimacy. And the church gained the suit—the mother

of the boy testifying to her own shame, and confessing that the father of her child was a shaven-pated, crimson-capped cardinal!"—(P. 125.)

One of the most solemn questions propounded in Scripture is, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Truly, the Pope has cut the Gordian knot, and furnished us with a very intelligible, if not equally satisfactory, solution. His Holiness has "shown thee, O man, what is good!" It is not necessary, in the literal sense, to offer the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul, and follow the precedent of the king of Edom, who took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering; but, whether the Lord will or will not be pleased with thousands of rams, and ten thousands of rivers of oil, they will, at all events, not be repudiated by the Pope or by the priest. If a dying penitent says to his director, as Naaman did to Elisha, "I pray thee, take a blessing of thy servant," depend upon it, the answer will not be, "As the Lord liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none." There will be no necessity to urge him; for, at the first hint, he will be sure not to refuse; nay, the urgency will begin in the opposite quarter; and this is the sense in which the priest might say, like Jacob, "I will not let thee go, except thou *bless* me." There are not, I believe, many dupes, who can so screw their faith in priestly delicacy and forbearance to the sticking point, as to suppose, that the dying man *urges* the priest to take a blessing from him, it matters little whether for the church or for himself. His relatives are as unscrupulously pillaged in the one case as in the other. The priest probably has Elijah's example in view, who said to the widow, in reference to her meal, "Make *me* thereof a little cake first, and bring it unto *me*."

I may here point out a marked distinction between the conduct of Peter and that of the priests, who have sworn obedience to his successor. Peter did not visit Cornelius, until Cornelius desired to see him. "I

sent for thee," says the devout centurion, "and thou hast well done that thou art come." Then Peter opened his mouth, and, instead of making any inquiry as to Cornelius' "carnal things," and asking of him "an alms" for himself or for the church, he preached not himself—said nothing about his own supremacy—omitted to inform him, that he had it in his power to give him plenary absolution, even in cases reserved for the immediate jurisdiction of the "holy see"—was silent as to the market price of indulgences, or the current value of dispensations; preached, I say, not himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord. The priest, on the other hand, (especially when there is any prospect of pelf or plunder) is, as in the late case of an aged and unprotected Frenchman, found of them that sought him not; and I have no doubt, that, if he exclaimed to the dying man, "Behold me, behold me!" his victim may have ejaculated, "Friend, how camest thou in hither? what have I to do with thee? who hath required this at thine hands to force thy way into the chamber, where, being sick and nigh unto death, I lie defenceless and cannot resist thee? I beseech thee, torment me not."

It is not unlikely, that, in such a case, the priest would reason with the expiring old man concerning "temperance," in regard to making idols of our relatives, especially when their interests come into competition with those of holy church; and also concerning "righteousness," so as to bring before his enraptured eye the spacious and costly treasure-chambers, overlaid, like those of Solomon, with pure gold within and without, and of which the Vicar of Christ alone possesses the key, and monopolizes the superintendence. There, in lofty piles, which no man can measure or number, are heaped up the accumulated and ever-increasing hoards of merits, not only accruing from the illustrious saints of successive generations, but swelled out in amount by the unclaimed dividends, *virorum obscurorum*, whose names and histories, and services, have not been "writ-

ten for our learning." These treasures are most liberally imparted by the holy father, even to applicants whose sins are red as scarlet, in exchange for gold, silver, and precious stones ; although heretics, who decline to be customers for such wares, contend that they will prove no better than "wood, hay, and stubble," at the bar of Divine retribution. Nor would he fail, also, to reason as to a "purgatory to come," and exhort the penitent to escape for his life, by devising liberal things for the church, and not looking back to his friends or connections, lest his soul should be consumed.

I cannot also refrain from bringing under your notice the following case, which so strikingly develops the unprincipled and grasping greediness of Popish ecclesiastics, whether male or female. Mr M'Carthy, an Irish gentleman engaged in the butter trade, left landed and general property to the amount of about £100,000. Two of his daughters had, with his consent, become nuns in the convent of Black Rock in the years 1828 and 1829, when their father gave £1000 entrance-money with each of them, on the understanding, that they were not to participate in any property that he might leave at his death. A considerable time before the father's decease, and shortly after her own profession as a nun, one of the daughters wrote to him a letter, renouncing all claims upon his property, and when subsequently he drew up the draft of his will, he left each of the nuns "only one British shilling each, and no more, both having been already provided for." The father died in July 1843, and the religious community, to which the daughters belonged, with a baseness and cupidity unparalleled any where but in the annals of Popish effrontery and despotism, extorted from these unfortunate ladies deeds of assignment of their claims for the use of the convent. The Popish bishop, and Father Matthew, gave testimony on behalf of the claim, but the Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland dismissed the bill with costs ; and any Protestant comment on this black and nefarious transaction

is rendered wholly unnecessary by the following extract from Lord Chancellor Brady's judgment: "Then it comes to this, that when it clearly appears to a court of equity, that one of the two co-plaintiffs, by coercion and duress, (and I am not using words stronger than are applicable to the case,) had been induced to execute a deed, and at the very moment of hearing the case she was still held in the same state of coercion and duress, is it to be said, that the court is to be tied hand and foot, and must give effect to such proceedings as these? I will put the case of a jailor putting his prisoner in a dungeon, and extracting a deed from him there, and then coming into court, having his victim still in his power, and saying, 'We want this property, the court must give it us in right of this deed.' I protest I would not do any such thing. I think a court of equity would become a nuisance, if it were to be made the medium of confirming an instrument such as this, and it is only in that light that the position of the parties is to be relied upon here in confirmation of the instrument, to which they have called upon the court to become a party."

Whether so flagrant an outrage on all the first principles of divine precept, and human feeling, should be characterised as monomaniacal, simoniacal, or demoniacal, judge ye. There is, I think, one particular, in which there is a striking analogy between a general council of prelates, and a particular convent of nuns. In each case, the members are totally different, as individuals, from what they become as a corporate body. Every member of a general council is, in his single capacity, liable to err; but when taken in the aggregate, they are collectively infallible. Every nun is bound to poverty by a solemn vow; but, as a body, they must aim at being rich, and at acquiring, *per fas aut nefas*, any amount of wealth, by the sacrifice of any amount of dutifulness, honour, or integrity.

When the ministers of our church are summoned to witness the awful solemnities of deathbed scenes, their

questions are such as these :—"What think ye of Christ? Where is your faith? Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" On all occasions connected with the discharge of their holy functions, but especially at such an hour, they would say, "It is not reason, that we should leave the Word of God, and serve tables, or dictate wills. We must give ourselves to prayer and the ministry of the Word." To them it would appear to be most unseasonable, and most unseemly, to follow up these solemn interrogatories by asking, "Is your money vested in land, or laid out on mortgage? Are you largely interested in long annuities? Have you such a thing as a £100 note in the house? How many shares do you possess in the Great Western?" Our unlearned and ignorant "lay teachers" would feel persuaded that, by entering upon such an unhallowed cross-examination, without possessing any right to be judges or dividers, and following it up by exhorting their penitents to leave "*nil præter plorare*" to their nearest connections and worthiest friends, and devote their substance to Him, who hates robbery for burnt-offering, (more especially if they attempted to persuade the testator, that forgiveness and salvation could be purchased for money), all their previous admonitions and warnings would be neutralized and nullified. Our ministers are persuaded, that "whoso robbeth his father or his mother" (or his relatives, friends, and dependants, by an unjust transfer of his property to lazy nuns or luxurious priests), "and saith, It is no transgression, the same is the companion of a destroyer." —(Prov. xxviii. 24.) The dying man might well say, "You come here, not because you care for the poor sinner's soul, but because you 'have the bag, and bear what is put therein,' and wish me to replenish it; you seek me because of the loaves. Is this a time to receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants and maid servants?"

The harrowing and heart-rending case of that respectable Roman Catholic, Mr Taylor, can never be forgotten by any one, whose ears the sad story reached. The world was for a short season duped by the wretched and reckless subterfuge, that his aged parent, when tottering on the brink of the grave, after having been long in a strait between two conflicting emotions, and of a doubtful mind, whether he should listen to the impulses of natural affection, or submit to the dictation of sacerdotal importunity, had indeed cancelled all previous wills on behalf of his family, but had not disinherited them, because, forsooth, he bequeathed to them a liferent of the property, which was afterwards to devolve in perpetuity upon the horseleech-give-give-church. But it is evident, that this refined modification of the cruel and unprincipled arrangement, cut the dutiful and disappointed son to the very heart; he is thus precluded from bequeathing the substance, which ought to have been left at his free disposal, to his babes, if any should ever be born to him; "he himself shall go to the generation of his fathers; no children of his shall ever see light."

A few years earlier, the father had executed a deed, a just and equitable deed, in favour of those most dear to him; and perhaps, when the wily "man of God" insinuated to him the wisdom or the necessity of enriching the church, and disinheriting his grandchildren, he may have shrunk, at first, with horror from the perpetration of so gross an act of injustice, and experienced the feeling so exquisitely portrayed by the great French fabulist—

"Mes arrières neveux me devront cet ombrage—
Hé bien—defendez vous au sage,
De se donner des soins pour le plaisir d'autrui ?
Cela même est un fruit que je goûte aujourd'hui."

But, no; "except ye make over your whole property, or, at least, assign ample legacies to the church, ye cannot be saved." Shall not God visit for such things, my dear friends? Shall not his soul be avenged on such a church and such a priesthood as this? Be

assured that, when a disciple of Loyola shall persuade a dying dotard to say to his nearest relatives, who have, as long as his health and faculties were unimpaired, been the objects of his tenderest solicitude, "It is corban, or a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me," and he is suffered to do little or nothing for those, whom nature, justice, and affection recommended to his posthumous munificence; the temple, in the estimation either of God, of angels, or men, can never sanctify the gold; and He, who has commanded us to "do justly," will say, "Thy money perish with thee; your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire." That cardinals, bishops, and priests should exercise an unhallowed influence to effect this object, is not to be wondered at. They (as Macduff says) have no children, and therefore cannot feel as parents feel. The Pope has "written them childless," in order that the church might be to them, what it actually is in most instances, father and brother, and sister and mother. The priests say not, as Elisha did, when he multiplied the widow's oil, "Pay thy debts, and live thou and thy children off the rest;" but (to recur to the case of Mr Taylor, which cannot be too prominently recalled to public notice), they, they who call themselves ministers of the holy and the just One, can induce "a kind and affectionate parent, after he had attained the age of eighty and upwards, and when his mind was affected by severe illness, and in immediate contemplation of that great change, the approach of which renders the strongest and best prepared wholly unable to resist any influences, which may be brought to assume the sanction of religion," to execute a "will in which the bulk of his property is left to his children for their lives only; a will, which contains no power enabling his son to make any provision whatever in favour of a wife or children as to the property so devised; but, on the

contrary, his life-estate is coupled with very stringent provisions against any attempt at incumbrance or alienation!" It thus appears, my friends, that Mr Taylor at length succumbed; at least, we may infer as much from the public and uncontradicted statement of his son—natural apprehension of death prevailing over natural affection for his offspring; and,

"Grandchildren starve, that holy men may dine."

"Such a will," says the injured, but dutiful son, "appears to me to create, not a *supposed*, but a real and effectual *disinheritance*, and such I have always felt it to be," and this is what a cardinal finds it in his heart and conscience to describe as a "*supposed* *disinheritance*!" It is, I think, impossible on any other plea than that of antichristian *monomania*, to account either for the injustice of the parent, or the sophistry of the priest.

Mr Taylor states in his letter, in reference to the Cardinal, that "he believes him to be far too honest and high-minded to be concerned, directly or indirectly, in such a transaction." But amongst priests, as well as other classes, there is a "diversity of gifts, one star differeth from another star in glory." There may be celestial priests, whose affections are set upon the things which are above; but there are also priests terrestrial, whose wisdom is earthly, sensual, and devilish. When it was announced to Mr Taylor's family, "The man of God is come hither," it is probable, that they welcomed him with frank and unsuspecting courtesy. "Our parent is 'upwards of eighty years of age;' he is circumstanced much as Isaac was when he was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see. The 'man of God' is 'too high-minded' to 'take a present,' were it even forty camels' burden. He will never earn the name of Jacob, the supplanter. It is true, that 'a naughty person, a wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth. He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers; frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually; he soweth

discord.'—(Prov. vi. 12-14.) But the Lord's servant is not a dog, that he should do this thing. When he enters the chamber of sickness, he will say to our dying parent, I seek not yours, but you ; and if a few moments can be spared from the solemn offices connected with death and eternity, the man of God will, no doubt, put him in remembrance (though he once knew it, and has already done what is right and just in reference to the distribution of his property) how important it is that he should set his house in order, and not become worse than an infidel by omitting to provide for his own." But if some prophetess, when absorbed in a trance of mesmeric *clairvoyance*, had seen and divulged what secretly took place, and if that which was spoken in the ear in closets, could have been proclaimed on the house-tops, the son might well have set his face steadfastly, and the tears might have trickled down his cheeks, when the priest left the parent's room ; and if the "man of God," unconscious that "such a transaction" was known to his victim, had said, "Why weepeth my friend?" he might have replied, "Because, if ever I were to marry and beget sons and daughters, I know the evil that thou wilt do unto my children. Thou wilt not, like Hazael, set their strongholds on fire, and slay their young men with the sword, or dash their children, or rip up their women with child ; but thou wilt mar their inheritance, by securing the reversion for the church, and causing stringent provisions to be 'made against any attempt on my part at incumbrance or alienation.' God himself was pleased to enact, under the Old Dispensation, that, if a man dies, and have no son, his inheritance shall pass unto his daughter, and if he have no daughter, his inheritance shall be given unto his brethren, it being, of course, taken for granted that, if he had a son, his right was sacred and indefeasible ; but now, under the sway of Christ's vicar, all things are become new. No account must now be made of sons, or daughters, or brethren. It seems to have been declared, in reference to the church, Thou

shalt eat and never be satisfied. In consequence of this 'well-intentioned (?), but most unjust and mistaken, act,' as soon as my days have been abridged, as well as embittered, by a procedure which is 'calculated to throw a shade of sorrow over my path through life,' the 'man of God' may say to my widow, 'Arise and go, thou and thine household, and sojourn wheresoever thou canst sojourn.' The 'man of God' may rise up early in the morning, and take bread and a bottle of water, and give it unto her (putting it on her shoulder) and the child, and send her away, and she may depart and wander in the wilderness.' Had it not been for thee, my aged parent would not have 'dealt falsely with me, nor with my son, nor with my son's son.' Canst thou look me in the face and say, 'In the integrity of my heart, and in the innocency of my hands, I have done this?' My sorrow is aggravated by the reflection, that it is not an enemy that has thus grievously injured me, for then I could have borne it; but it was thou, a 'man of God,' my father's guide, and mine acquaintance, with whom we have so often walked unto the house of God in company. By which of the inspired writers, or by which of the holy traditions, or by which of the ancient fathers, are we taught to do evil to man, that good may come to the church? to disinherit families that souls may be saved? The church may possibly commend thee, because thou hast done wisely, instead of saying to me and mine, as in conscience bound, I will not take any thing that is yours; but this is not the way in which an 'honest and high-minded' man of God would be jealous for the Lord of Hosts. Thou hast done evil in the sight of the Lord, and evil in the sight of every man, whose heart has not been hardened under the debasing influence of superstition. Were it not that 'no earthly considerations could induce me to expose those I have loved and cherished from my earliest infancy,' I would 'cry unto the Queen and unto the nation for my house and for my land; and if I could prevail upon my-

self to make 'painful and unwilling disclosures,' I believe, that the voice of public indignation would infallibly lead to an act of public justice; or it may be that, when I am gathered to my fathers, and have gone the way of all the earth, the cry of an injured widow and her orphans may arouse the sympathy of human authorities, as well as enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. The Queen, with the concurrence of her Parliament, may then appoint a certain officer, saying, 'Restore all that was hers, and all the fruits of the field, and all that has been kept back by fraud.' The 'man of God' who could find it in his heart to employ, for the purpose of inducing an affectionate parent to disinherit his family, such influences as are brought to assume the sanction of religion, would be capable of taking a thick cloth, and dipping it in water, and spreading it on the testator's face, if his heart were turned within him, and his relentings kindled together, and he were to intimate a wish to return to his first love, and do his first works, by giving validity to 'the former will, by which his whole property had been left for the benefit of his children.' For this unhallowed act, I have no doubt, that you will claim applause, instead of coveting absolution, like the titled French murderer, who, when acknowledging his sins on his deathbed, was reminded, that he had omitted to mention the part which he had taken in the massacre of St Bartholomew, upon which he replied, 'Why, that is the very ground, on which I confidently rely for admission into the kingdom of heaven.'" I need scarcely ask you, my dear friends, whether you believe (you do not, I am sure, any more than myself, harbour any such suspicion for a moment), that the least scrupulous and most bigoted minister, connected either with the Established or Free Churches of Scotland, would advise any wealthy parent amongst his hearers, to leave his family a mere liferent interest in his property, and bequeath the ample reversion to the Endowment Scheme in the one case, or to the Sustentation Fund in the other? I am

firmly persuaded, that there is not, throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, a Presbyterian "man of God," who would sanction, or a Presbyterian parent, who would commit, so glaring and so unnatural an act of oppression and injustice; for we, my friends, against whom the bull *In cœna Domini* fulminates an annual sentence of everlasting damnation, we have been taught that the *majus bonum ecclesiæ* does not consist in meat and drink, in money or mortgages, or in heaping treasure together, for the last days,

"Si possis recte, si non quocumque modo,"

but in doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with our God.

Yes, my dear friends, that soul-destroying and iniquitous usage was once imposed upon our pope-ridden ancestors. St Malcolm earned his place in the calendar by alienating large portions of the crown property in favour of the church; and the same pernicious expedient was frequently resorted to by high and low, young and old, by which friars were enriched, and families impoverished, until neither our fathers nor we were able to bear it; and you see how this galling yoke still prevails, in so far as Popery still holds her unrighteous and demoralizing sway.

Beware, then, my dear friends, of these false teachers, who come to men, when on their dying beds, in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. To any one who, being given up to strong delusions, is approaching the precipice of priestly circumvention, I would exclaim, with affectionate earnestness, "Give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids. Deliver thyself as a roe from the hand of the hunter, and as a bird from the hand of the fowler."—(Prov. vi. 4.) How sad and how disheartening have been the instances of both male and female *monomaniacs*, gifted, on all other points, with intelligence and generosity, who have entailed ruin on their dearest relatives by squandering riches on their

apostate church ! “ Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the door of her house, lest thou give thine honour unto others, and thy years unto the cruel, *lest strangers be filled with thy wealth*, and thy labours be in the house of a stranger; and thou mourn at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed.”—(Prov. v. 8–11.)

Some time since Mr S. P. Lecourt's uncle (of Quebec), died in one of the parishes in that country, leaving a large fortune, a part of which he had, for a long time previous, very naturally expected he would have to come in for, having always been on terms of the warmest friendship with his uncle. His surprise and astonishment may be better conceived than described, when, on hearing of his death, and proceeding to his residence, he there found two priests encamped, who, with a *sang froid* and assurance quite peculiar to the confraternity, very coolly informed him, that his presence there was not at all relished; that he is to get nothing from out of his uncle's estate, the latter having, by will, left the whole of his property, with a few trifling exceptions, to “*Sa Grandeur*,” the Archbishop of Quebec. Mr L. talked to them about taking possession, which they, of course, laughed at, telling him, that they have possession, and intend keeping it. He protests, which they treat with perfect contempt, and the affair ends by the holy co-operatives walking off with bags and boxes crammed with gold and silver coins, bank notes, and other valuables, exceeding in value, he states, the sum of £40,000—to say nothing of the plate, worth hundreds of pounds, which these despisers of earthly goods had taken the precaution of carrying off, before the old gentleman died, lest it should fall into other than ecclesiastical clutches.

Another instance of unprincipled rapacity is mentioned in the same document. The Rev. Mr M'Mahon, a priest universally respected, who might have accumulated a large fortune, contented himself with saving

£1000, of which, by a codicil, dated 1st April, he left the interest to two little boys, his orphan nephews, together with what might be needful for their maintenance and education, till they could provide for themselves; the remainder to go to the archiepiscopal corporations. But on the 1st of October last, "two days before the rev. gentleman's death, and whilst he is in a state of great bodily weakness and suffering, occasioned by his not having taken food for weeks before his death, and from other causes, sacerdotal emissaries are dispatched to his residence, in company with a couple of French Canadian notaries, and he is there privately induced to put his signature to another codicil, written in French, revoking *in toto* the one of the 1st of April last, and leaving the sum in question, interest and all, to our holy friends, without any provision for his nephews, who have, by this barefaced piece of archiepiscopal chiselling, been deprived of their little all, and left without a home, or the means of subsistence."

In truth, my dear friends, the more you consider the subject in all its bearings, the deeper will your conviction become, that Popery is a system in every respect diametrically and entirely opposed to Christianity. The two essential elements of gospel religion, according to our Lord himself, are these—to love God with the whole heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. Does Popery inculcate or exemplify either of these precepts? Most assuredly not. (1.) Mary has, in their creed, superseded and supplanted Omnipotence. At Rome there are seventy churches dedicated to the Virgin under one name or another, while there are only two devoted to Jesus Christ, and not one to Almighty God. The late Pope has solemnly declared, that Mary is the sole foundation of the sinner's hope; and there are few, if any, Romanists who will not say "amen" to this infallible declaration. Our Lord himself has cautioned us against this idolatrous transfer of allegiance from the Creator to the creature. For when a woman said to him, "Blessed is

the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou has sucked," his answer was, "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it;" thereby warning us against thinking more highly than we ought to think, even of his own mother, who was only blessed and accepted, like other holy women in every age, because she heard the word of God and kept it. It is true, that she is not represented in Scripture as exclaiming, like Peter, "See thou do it not." But then, we are never informed in holy writ, that any man, woman, or child ever knelt devoutly at her feet.

I subjoin, in proof of the idolatrous worship of Mary, in our own time, a more full account of the homage lately paid by the queen of Spain in her chapel:—"The day before yesterday, on quitting the sanctuary of Atocha, the queen directed, that no alteration should be made in the decoration of the temple, and commanded, that its magnificent illumination should be preserved until she offered the Holy Virgin the present which, in her humble devotion, she had resolved to deposit at her shrine. Accordingly, at seven o'clock P.M., one of the most sumptuous carriages of the palace, drawn by eight horses, and escorted by halberdiers, drove up to the gate of the church. In it were seated the camerera major and the grand major domo of the queen, holding in their arm a large basket, covered with a rich cloth, on which were embroidered the royal arms. The clergy went in procession to receive the envoys of her majesty, and accompanied them to the altar of the Virgin, close to which the camerera of the sacred image, Countess de Salvatierra, was standing. Count de Pino Hermoso told her that he came, in the name of her majesty, to deposit at the feet of the Queen of Heaven the homage of the dress and jewels she wore on that day, at the moment she solemnly presented to her her beloved daughter, as a visible testimony of her filial devotion and eternal gratitude for the blessings, which heaven had conferred on her, through her powerful intervention.

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The basket was then placed on the altar, and the cloth removed. The pious offering of her majesty consisted of the splendid costume she wore on the 18th, as well as the dress in which she was attired on the 2d, when she was stabbed by Merino. The mantle exhibited the marks of the wound, and its ermine lining was stained with the precious blood of her majesty. In the basket were likewise the jewels, which adorned her majesty's head and breast. Among them was a diamond stomacher so exquisitely wrought and so dazzling, that it appeared to be formed of a single stone. The grand major-domo next stated, that, if her majesty's crown was not forthcoming, it was because it required to be altered in order to fit the head of the holy image, but that it should be brought to the church the moment that alteration was made."

This point may be still further illustrated by a reference to the passage quoted by our Lord himself (Matt. iii. 10): "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and *Him* ONLY shalt thou serve." This precept is most strictly obeyed by every consistent Protestant, for we serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and worship him, because he is God, and one with the Father, and he that honoureth the Son honoureth the Father; but it is no where said, he that honoureth Mary honoureth the Father. It is, therefore, a direct violation of this law, not only when to Mary are ascribed many of the powers appertaining to Deity alone, but when "Behold our Lord the Pope cometh with ten thousand of *his* saints," and calls upon us to kneel before their images, observe their festivals, implore their aid, and deprecate their wrath. His Holiness, too (as was formerly observed), has anticipated the pretended discovery of Adam Smith, in reference to the division of labour. Most of the saints have their particular departments assigned to them. Some are gods of the hills, and others are gods of the valleys, and some are only acknowledged in certain localities, just as Dagon was the god of the Philistines, and Baalzebub

the god of Ekron. "At Florence, and even at Rome," (says Mr Thomson,) "Januarius was considered as little better than an impostor, and the miracle of the melting of his blood was treated with ridicule. When I reached Naples, however, I soon found, that there one might more safely deny the existence of the Deity, than doubt the great miracle of his blood." Popery, however, does precisely what God declares that he, as a jealous God, will not do, or allow to be done with impunity,—give his glory to another, or his praise to graven images.

In regard again to the other great commandment, the rule adopted, or at least acted on, by every true Romanist is, to do to others precisely the reverse of what he would wish others to do to himself, and expect from them every privilege, and every concession, which he withholds or suppresses wherever his influence extends. They insist upon erecting, in Protestant countries, as many churches as they think fit, but they with difficulty, or not at all, grant to them the right of building, within *their* dominions, even one decent place of worship. They consider themselves aggrieved, if Jesuits are not allowed, like Satan of old, to go to and fro in the land, and walk up and down in it; but if any Protestant gives away a tract, or circulates a Bible, he is banished from their territories as a malefactor or an incendiary. They are exasperated because the Pope is not allowed to exercise the royal prerogative in Britain; and divide the whole land into sees, according to his discretion; but if a Protestant bishop were appointed to officiate in Florence or at Rome, he would either be consigned to a dungeon, or driven from the place with ignominy. In every Protestant country they claim, or rather are quite dissatisfied with having received, the most perfect equality, and represent themselves as objects of unmerited persecutions. Wherever their own baneful sway has extended, they have often inflicted such revolting tortures on men and women who refused to bow the knee to their mitred Baal (besides canonizing many

atrocious murderers, who, like Dominic, have imbrued their hands in blood)—

“That had not Heaven for some strong purpose steel’d
The hearts of men, they must per force have melted,
And bigotry itself have pitied them.”

The following extract is given from a diary, which is preserved in the Library at Paris :—

“*February 1689.*—Fifty unconverted Huguenots were arrested in the Vivarais for having attended an assembly. Whosoever was detected in the actual commission of such an offence was usually executed; any one convicted on subsequent evidence was sent to the galleys for life.”—(*Raumer*, i. 480.)

Of the principles, which they really entertain, in reference to that “civil and religious liberty” for which they are so clamorous, we may form some notion from the enclosed candid and “unvarnished tale,” propounded by the *Rambler*, a publication of undoubted authority and considerable circulation :—“We are children of a church, which has ever avowed the deepest hostility to the principles of ‘religious liberty,’ and which has never given the shadow of a sanction to the theory that ‘civil liberty,’ as such, is necessarily a blessing to all. How intolerable it is to see this miserable device for deceiving the Protestant world, still so widely popular among us! We say, ‘for deceiving the Protestant world;’ though we are far enough from implying, that there is not many a Catholic, who really imagines himself to be a votary of ‘religious liberty,’ and is confident that, if the tables were turned, and the Catholics were uppermost in the land, he would in all circumstances grant others the same unlimited toleration he now demands for himself. Still, let our Catholic tolerationist be ever so sincere, he is only sincere because he does not take the trouble to look very closely into his own convictions. His great object is to silence Protestants, or to persuade them to let him alone; and as he certainly feels no personal malice against them, and laughs at their creed quite as

cordially as he hates it, he persuades himself that he is telling the exact truth, when he professes to be an advocate of 'religious liberty,' and declares, that no man ought to be coerced on account of his conscientious convictions. The practical result is, that now and then, but very seldom, Protestants are blinded, and are ready to clasp their unexpected ally in a fraternal embrace. They are deceived, we repeat, nevertheless. Believe us not, Protestants of England and Ireland, for an instant, when you hear us pouring forth our liberalisms. When you hear a Catholic orator, at some public assemblage, declaring that 'this is the most humiliating day of his life, when he is called upon to defend once more the glorious principle of religious freedom,' be not too simple in your credulity. These are brave words, but they mean nothing—no, nothing more than the promises of a parliamentary candidate to his constituents on the hustings. He is not talking Catholicism, but Protestantism and nonsense; and he will no more act on these notions in different circumstances, than you now act upon them yourselves in your treatment of him. You ask—If he were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers, yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, would depend entirely upon circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you, and possibly even hang you! But be assured of one thing: he would never tolerate you for the sake of 'the glorious principles of civil and religious liberty.' Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his own religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. The very name of liberty—except in the sense of a permission to do certain definite acts—ought to be banished from the domain of religion. It is neither more nor less than a falsehood. No man has a right to choose his religion. *None but an atheist can uphold the principles of religious liberty.*

Shall I, therefore, fall in with this abominable delusion? Shall I foster that damnable doctrine, that Socinianism and Calvinism, and Anglicanism and Judaism, are not every one of them mortal sins, like murder and adultery? Shall I hold out hopes to my erring Protestant brother, that I will not meddle with his creed, if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I tempt him to forget, that he has no more right to his religious views, than he has to my purse, or my house, or my life-blood? No! Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds. It is intolerance itself, for it is the truth itself. We might as rationally maintain, that a sane man has a right to believe that two and two do not make four, as this theory of religious liberty. Its impiety is only equalled by its absurdity." Now, such (says my distinguished friend, Dr Cumming) is the language of a Roman Catholic periodical, conducted by some of the most distinguished perverts from the Protestant Church. It is most manly and most honest, and just what one would expect from an honest Romanist. It is the echo of the encyclical bull of Gregory XVI., in the year 1832, which speaks of "liberty of conscience, that execrable and detestable error."

Such writers as this in the *Rambler* (continues the Doctor), simply echo the sentiments of their great head, the Pope. I subjoin another extract from *L'Univers*, the organ of the Roman Catholic Church in France; and you may be aware, that a very celebrated bishop in France has forbidden every newspaper but this to the priesthood of his diocese, and that they obediently comply with his commands. Now, there appeared in *L'Univers*, only a few months ago, the following:—"A heretic, examined and convicted by the church used to be delivered over to the secular power, and punished with death. Nothing has ever appeared to us more natural, or more necessary. More than 100,000 persons perished in consequence of the heresy of Wicklyffe; a still greater number by that of John Huss; it would

not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by the heresy of Luther, and it is not yet over. After three centuries, we are at the eve of a recommencement. The prompt repression of the disciples of Luther, and a crusade against Protestantism, would have spared Europe three centuries of discord and of catastrophes, in which France and civilization may perish. It was under the influence of such reflections, that I wrote the phrase which has so excited the virtuous indignation of the Red Journals. Here it is (he writes in this manner, because in France every writer appends his name to his article):—‘For my part I avow frankly, my regret is, not only that they did not sooner burn John Huss, but that they did not equally burn Luther; and I regret further, that there had not been at the time some prince sufficiently pious and politic to have made a crusade against the Protestants.’ Well, this paragraph might have been better penned: but as I have the happiness to belong to those, who care little about mere forms of expression, I will not revoke it. I accept it as it is, and with a certain satisfaction at finding myself faithful to my opinions. That which I wrote in 1838 I still believe. Let the Red philanthropists print their declaration in any sort of type they please, and as often as they please. Let them add their commentaries, and place all to my account. The day that I cancel it, they will be justified in holding the opinion of me, which I hold of them. (Signed) Louis Venillot.” So that you have here modern documents, all preaching and vindicating the persecution pursued in the early ages. The sentiments entertained by foreign Papists, of deep-rooted hatred to Great Britain, and her civil and ecclesiastical institutions, is not less intensely felt, or openly promulgated by the Irish priesthood. “You never,” says one of them, “had so glorious a prospect or better opportunity of success. England is threatened with invasion, all the continental kingdoms hate her, and would gladly lend a helping hand for her destruction. France

thirsts for an opportunity to wipe off the disgrace of Waterloo. Louis Napoleon is anxious to make his position strong and tenable, and sees no better opportunity of carrying out his designs, than by indulging the national pride, and gratifying the desires of the French to humble England. He will most probably do something of the kind to make himself, like his uncle, the idol of the army and navy. Such is England's position in Europe; and if she looks to America, how stands the case? An American Minister at St James's may flatter England by promises of a union; but this I know, that such a union will never take place; it would be the signal for revolution here. One-third of the population is Irish, or of Irish descent; they hate England with an intensity, of which you have no possible conception. Half of the American army is Irish, and nine-tenths of her navy are jolly tars from Paddy's land, who would whoop, and halloo, and jump as Indians at the prospect of a dash at the boasted wooden walls of wicked England, which crushed, and robbed, and plundered their country, and made themselves exiles. Such is England's position; such her prospects here and at home. Remember O'Connell's saying, 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity,' and of a truth her opportunity is at hand. It remains with you not to allow it to be thrown away. You are on the eve of an election; for God's sake and the people's sake, don't throw the chances of success away by returning incompetent members; members who will use the parrot-cry of 'civil and religious liberty,' and talk about the Protestant Church and the Titles' Bill, in order to walk into Parliament and betray the interests of the landholders and the poor of God. If you confine your selections of members to the landlord class, you deserve to be betrayed and spit upon. They have ever been Ireland's greatest enemies; the English garrison oppressing the people, and living on the plunder of unjust rack-rents. I tell you, moreover, there are men now joining the Defence Association, who never yet

joined the people, and there is every reason to apprehend their motive is not to save or assist, but to promote their own ambitious interests, using the new association as a stalking-horse to ride into Parliament."

Listen also, my friends, to the fearful tyranny practised of late against our Protestant missionaries in Germany, and consider how loud the outcry of Romish fanatics would have been, had the jesuitical conspirators against our church and country been driven from the precincts of the British empire. "We have been expelled," says our pious, eloquent, and enlightened countryman, Mr Wingate, "from Austria and from Hungary by an imperial mandate, without any reasons being assigned. You might say, happy expulsion! And, indeed, were not a great interest at stake, we would say, happy deliverance from such a country, and such a land! Men, high in influence and in station, have wept with us as we left, and said, 'Oh! that the Government would expel us! Oh! that we might be sent, even as banished men, from this land! But alas! we must here drink the cup of wo and suffering. We must here endure all that they lay upon us.' We have been told from sources, the authority of which we cannot doubt, that men have offered half of their fortune to procure passports for themselves and families, to enable them to leave the land, but all in vain. Thirteen millions of people are under strict martial law. A few days before we left, an edict was published, to the effect that, if arms were found in any house, the individual in whose custody they were found, without reference to rank and station, might immediately be brought before a court-martial, consisting of four individuals, and tried, condemned, and shot at the drum-head. Many arrests were taking place around us at the dead of night, for causes of far less importance than a jealous Government could attach to our presence in that kingdom. The occurrence, which has this day brought us together, does not stand single; it is one in a long series of insults and injuries, that have all that

similarity which indicates a common origin, and expresses a hostility, which is the mingled fruit of Jesuitism and despotism, of hatred and fear. It is the same influence which, not long since, desolated Tahiti—which drove hundreds of converts from Madeira into exile—which threatened the life of Dr Kalley, and all but destroyed it—which banished Guicciardini and his friends from Florence for the crime of Bible-reading—which, in many of the custom-houses of the continent, has ranked the Bible among contraband goods, and made the man who shall be found in the possession of a Bible a suspected person, if not a criminal. It is this same influence, becoming bolder through forbearance, which, without any other crime proved against them than that of being British and Protestant, has effected the expulsion of these good men from Austria, after the useful labours of ten years. The wires by which all these things have been accomplished are numerous and ramified, and are generally hidden underground."

Another "man of God," and minister of the Prince of Peace, on the 25th of October 1851, denounced, in the following terms, the parents of the children who attended a Protestant school. What would we have said, if the worthy and excellent clergyman of Rugby had anathematized, in language as profane and as vulgar, the priest Furlong, and the pervert Wilberforce? Having quenched the candles, and rung the bell, the priest said, "I pray God to pour down all vengeance on those, who sent their children to Kiltrellig school on last week (particularly two.) May the devil be their guide, on the right hand and on the left, lying and rising, in bed and out of bed, sitting and standing, within and without; may all misfortunes attend their families and labours. And any person or persons sending their children to this school henceforth, may they be struck blind and deaf, so as to never see any of their children again, and may the children sent to this school go wild; may they never leave this world, until they be such examples, as that the mar-

row may come out through their shin-bones. May they be pained both sitting and standing, and may they never leave this world, until they be in such a state, that the dogs could not bear to come to their carcasses when dead. I pray to God, as to every child who goes to the school, that for every day he spends in it, his life may be curtailed a twelvemonth, and that they may never enjoy the years of maturity; and as to those people, who send their children to the school, that their crops and their goods may be taken away by the devil; and may all these misfortunes attend any person taking their posterity in marriage thirty years hence. I pray the Almighty to hear this prayer, as the minister of God; and I now strictly command this congregation to kneel down, and pray to God to grant this prayer."

I may, lastly, mention, my dear friends, that, whilst the votaries of antichrist in this land are so discontented with the amount of religious freedom conceded to themselves, the European powers, which profess the Popish faith, carry their intolerant zeal and animosity to such a pitch, as even to throw obstacles in the way of the interment of deceased Protestants in the lands subjected to the iron sway of Popery. In order that you may appreciate the folly and wickedness of their pretensions, let us suppose that the tables were turned, and the position of parties reversed, in the recent correspondence on this subject between the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the minister of "Her Most Catholic Majesty:"—

"LONDON, *July 6, 1851.*

"SIR,—I have the honour to state to you that the Minister of the Home Department has informed me, under date of the 3d inst., that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant the permission requested by you for the construction of a burial-ground for Spanish Catholics, under the following conditions:—

"1. The burial-ground will be erected outside the gate; and it will be constructed with subjection to the

hygienic or sanatory rules required by establishments of this kind.

"2. No church, chapel, nor any other sign of a temple, or of public or private worship, will be allowed to be built in the aforesaid burial-ground.

"3. All acts, which may tend to the performance of any divine service whatsoever, are prohibited. And,

"4. In the conveyance of the dead bodies to the burial-ground, any sort of pomp or publicity shall be avoided. I avail, &c. (Signed) "PALMERSTON."

To this letter the Marques de Miraflores addressed the following answer to the Spanish minister in London:—

"MADRID, *July 28, 1851.*

"SIR,—I have received your despatch of the 15th inst., enclosing a copy and translation of a note which the British Minister for Foreign Affairs has addressed to you, stating that the British Government consent to the establishment of a burial-ground for Spanish subjects at London, upon certain conditions specified in his Excellency's note.

"I have to instruct your Excellency to state to Lord Palmerston, that her Majesty's Government are glad to find, that the British Government has at last granted a permission, which, however, her Majesty's Government are entitled by treaty to demand as of right; but her Majesty's Government, in acknowledging this tardy compliance with the stipulations of the treaties between the two Crowns, cannot refrain from adding a strong expression of their deep regret to find, that this permission is accompanied by conditions so inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the age, and indicative of a system of religious intolerance on the part of the British Government towards those who profess the Catholic religion, which forms so striking and unfavourable a contrast with the liberal and enlightened system of perfect religious freedom, which prevails in the Spanish dominions towards the professors of the Protestant faith.

“Her Majesty’s Government cannot but hope, that the time is not far distant, when principles of action, which belong to an age now long gone by, will cease to be, in such matters, the rule of conduct of the Government of Great Britain.

“Your Lordship will give a copy of this despatch to the British Minister for Foreign Affairs.—I am, &c.

(Signed) “EL MARQUES DE MIRAFLORES.”

O that our gracious Queen, and our Protestant senators, and all in authority throughout the land, more deeply felt the urgent necessity of guarding against the pernicious wiles, and resisting the open machinations of that apostate church, which aims at the utter subversion of our liberties and of our laws! O that they were no longer cajoled by the insidious fascinations of compromise and concession! O that they would listen to the warning voice of my eloquent and enlightened friend, Dr Candlish, with an extract from whose truly Protestant and glowing denunciations of Papal despotism and bigotry, I shall terminate my remarks upon a subject on which I have already dwelt too long:—

“I am not,” says he, “one of those who believe it possible to have war, in present circumstances, banished from the face of the earth. I believe, that, so long as Popery, and tyranny, and infidelity, and the principles of anarchy exist and prevail in the world, war must be inevitable. I believe that peace will come, but peace will not come till Popery goes. Peace, sure and settled peace, will never come till tyrannical thrones are overthrown. Peace, pure and holy peace, will never come till law and order are established upon the face of the earth, and the blessed gospel of the grace of God is proclaimed to all the world. And if we are to be continually asked, when we demand the interposition of our Government to protect our persons and our properties in foreign countries, or when we ask them to interfere in any way to promote the cause of civil and religious liberty abroad, or to maintain the rights and liberties of

its supporters—if we are to be asked, Will you drive the Government to war? we must take leave to tell them, that bad as war is—and it is impossible to paint its horrors in too strong colours—bad as it is, there are things in the world that are worse still than war. I cannot but think, that the statesmen and legislators of this country would do well to act upon the maxim, if not *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum*, yet upon the maxim, ‘Present duty is ours, future contingencies are in higher hands.’ And present duty is to protect the injured, and to redress wrong. I cannot but feel these are times, and these are events, that must stir the hearts of men, not only as Christians, but as Britons, nay, as members of the human family, sympathizing with the groans of humanity wherever these groans are heard. And when we cast our eyes abroad upon the world—when we think of the blood which the present French tyrant has shed within his capital—when we think of the multitudes he has sent into dreary exile—when we think of the numbers that are rotting in his jails—when we think of the silence he has imposed upon public opinion and the public press; and when we go to other lands—when we go to Italy and Austria—when we think of the tortures inflicted there, not always upon the bodies, perhaps, but upon the souls of the wretched victims of Popery—when we think of those who are sent to perish of malaria in foul climates—when we think of those who are liable to be seized in the dead of night, and cast into prison, for no real crime—when we think of these things, it is high time for us to be up and doing, and to feel that we have a duty lying upon us to express our sympathy with the groans of suffering humanity under the heavy iron yoke of Popery and arbitrary power. And if, indeed, such measures as we are this day deploring are intended to act as a screw upon this great country—if the expulsion of these British Protestants and these British subjects is intended to force this country to resign the privilege and the honour she has had so long of being the

asylum of the free, and the refuge of the oppressed—if these haughty potentates think that, by casting out our brethren, and thousands more of our countrymen, they are to make us cast forth the refugees their own tyranny has sent to our shores, I can readily tell what the response will be. Every man among us will rise, and say,—No, you may shut us, and all our people, out of your borders—you may be inhospitable as the cold frosty North Pole—you may be tyrannical and oppressive, but England—England ever shall be free! and this great country, proud of her freedom, shall be proud to welcome the friends of freedom, whom tyranny has driven from their homes. We shall not retaliate—we shall not abridge the privileges of foreign residents in this country at the bidding, and after the example, of these foreign despots. We shall not apply to Popery here the measures they apply to Protestantism abroad; but it will be well if our statesmen, and our whole people, by these transactions, have their eyes opened to the real character of Popery, and their consciences and hearts deeply impressed with the duty of being up and doing against this gigantic evil.”

I conclude, therefore, as I began, by stating my firm conviction, that nothing but a satanic *monomania* can account for any rational being, who assumes the name of a Christian, embracing a system which, in all its bearings, is so diametrically opposed to the true gospel of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

III.—CELIBACY AND CONVENTS.

THE right assumed by the Pope to sit in judgment upon the Scriptures, and to alter or abrogate *ad libitum* all the precepts which they enjoin, and all the rules which are laid down for our guidance, is no where more clearly seen than in the arbitrary law, so arrogantly propounded

ex cathedra, during the prevalence of mediæval darkness and superstition, by which all ecclesiastical functionaries are peremptorily "forbidden to marry," under penalty of forfeiture and degradation, although Paul has expressly declared, in his inspired epistles, that marriage is honourable in all, and that both bishops and deacons not only may, but must, be the husbands of one wife. I may add, that, unless my memory deceives me, it is stated by St Ambrose, who flourished about the end of the fourth century, that all the apostles were married, except two. It would have been equally wise, and equally just, and less repugnant to Scripture, (which contains no special intimation, that such persons ought to marry), to have enacted, that no generals, no judges, no physicians, no senators, should ever enter into wedlock. In any of these cases, it is evident that the community might have "suffered loss," had marriage been an insuperable impediment to the admission of persons, otherwise duly qualified, into any of these useful and respectable professions. And may not the same objection apply to compulsory celibacy in the case of the clergy? May not many conscientious persons, gifted with eloquence, animated by zeal, and pre-eminent in piety, be prevented from undertaking the functions of the ministry, because they cannot consent to forego the comforts and amenities of domestic life, or to be numbered amongst those, for whom

"No busy housewife plies her evening care,
No children run to lisp their sire's return,
Or climb his knee the envied kiss to share;"

whilst many, whose other qualifications for the sacred office are in every respect inferior, but whose minds are more unscrupulous, do not hesitate to take upon themselves vows, which they, perhaps, may, ere long, scarcely deem it criminal to infringe? I am aware, that reasons have been assigned by the Papists for this preposterous, unwise, and unnatural law; first, that unmarried priests are most likely to give their undivided

attention to the discharge of their sacred duties; and next, because they will feel less hesitation in exposing themselves to dangers, when visiting the sick or the dying. A similar argument, however, might apply to the case of a judge or a general—the former would be less apt to court the favour of those in authority, if he had no children to provide for; the latter might face more boldly the perils of the field, if he had neither wife nor offspring, to whom his life is unspeakably precious. Many married Protestant ministers of the gospel are instant in season and out of season, and are able and faithful ministers of the New Testament; whilst not a few unmarried Popish priests are careless, ignorant, and immoral. There may be, and undoubtedly have been, a few instances, in which Protestant clergymen have declined to attend a sickbed, in the case of infectious diseases; but such cases are rare in comparison with the multitude of those, who, not counting their lives so dear unto them as their duty, have not only braved, but endured, death in the discharge of their solemn functions on such occasions. Many, who have done so, have been married, and it is probable that some, who “drew back,” were single; and it ought, moreover, to be borne in mind, that there is one respect, in which the ministrations of a Popish priest are more important to a sick member of his flock, than those of a Protestant, and especially of a Presbyterian minister, can be, in the case of a dying parishioner. Both the Romanist and the Episcopalian desire to receive the Lord’s Supper when their end approaches; and the former places much reliance on the humanly-appointed sacrament of extreme unction—which, because our Lord and one of his apostles have recommended, that the sick should be anointed with oil to promote their recovery, is, by way of contrast rather than of analogy, appointed to be administered, when all hope that the patient shall be saved from death is taken away.

The evils arising from clerical celibacy, and from the

pernicious and demoralizing influence of the system of auricular confession, have, by many distinguished authors, been pointed out with unrivalled force and eloquence. I shall content myself with calling your attention to a few extracts taken from the works of Louis Paul Courier, an eminent French writer, who died, I think, about thirty years ago. "What a life," says he, "and what a condition is that of our priests—love, and especially marriage, are forbidden to them—and you then hand over to them—women! They may not have one, and they live familiarly with all; or rather, in confidence, intimacy, the knowledge of all their hidden actions, and of all their thoughts. . . . What a young woman would not dare to confide to her mother, or avow to her husband, the priest *must* know—he insists upon it—knows it, and shall not become her lover! You may say, forsooth, how can that be, since he is tonsured?—he hears in a whisper from the lips of a young woman, her faults, her passions, her desires—listens to her sighs without experiencing any emotion, and his age is—twenty-five! The village curate feels a regard for all the young women of his vicarage; but he prefers one, who seems to him, if not handsomer than the rest, more modest and more sage, and he would marry her, he would make her a virtuous, pious woman, were it not for the Pope. This scene takes place as I describe it, and, in every part of France, is renewed every day by 40,000 young priests, with as many young girls whom they love, because they are men, confess, converse with *tête-à-tête*, visit, because they are priests, and do not marry, because the Pope prevents them. The Pope will pardon them every thing, except marriage, preferring an adulterous, immodest, debauched assassin, like Mingrat, to one who is married. Mingrat murders his mistresses. He is defended in the pulpit—in one place he is preached for, in another he is canonized. Had he married one of them, what a monster! He would nowhere find an asylum. Can any two things

more incompatible with each other be united in the same person, than the employment of confessor and the vow of chastity? But why, you will say, become a priest if you are susceptible of such impressions? Ah, sir, do they make themselves what they are? Brought up from infancy by the Papal militia, they are seduced and enrolled. They pronounce the abominable, impious vow, never to have a wife, a family, or a home. Scarcely are they aware what they are doing—novices, youths—and therefore excusable; for as to a vow of this sort, the man who would make it with the full knowledge of its responsibilities, should be seized, imprisoned, or banished to some desert island. When this vow is made, they are anointed, and cannot retract. If the engagement were entered into for a term of years, the number of those who would renew it, would be small indeed. . . . If you have a daughter, send her to the soldier, to the hussar, who can marry her, rather than to the man who has come under a vow of chastity. . . . And without even speaking of crimes, what sources of impurities, of disorders, of corruptions, have these two inventions of the Pope proved themselves to be, viz., the celibacy of the priests, and the confession termed auricular! What mischief they do! What good they prevent! If you wish to see a spectacle calculated to excite your admiration, go where the family of the priest is the model of all the others—where the pastor teaches nothing which he cannot show in himself, and, when speaking to fathers and to husbands, gives the example with the precept. There, women have not the effrontery to tell a man their sins,—the clergy is not placed beyond the pale of the temple, of the state, and of the law,—all which abuses were established amongst us during ages of the most stupid barbarism, and of the most credulous ignorance—abuses, which it is difficult to maintain now-a-days, when the world reasons, and every one is able to count his fingers.”

In immediate juxtaposition with the tyranny and tur-

pitude, with which Popery has inundated the world, by opening the floodgates of sacerdotal celibacy and auricular confession, it may be right to make some remarks on another branch of this accursed system, in no small degree analogous to the former, as well in its effects as in its origin. I allude to the establishment of convents and nunneries, which have so often been, during successive generations, the abodes of wretchedness, vice, and oppression. If the Reformation had procured for the nations which embraced it, no other blessing than that of exemption from such unscriptural and unhallowed institutions, this benefit alone ought to elicit the warmest tribute of gratitude towards the intrepid and apostolic men who have made us "free indeed" by their suppression. There are three devices, to which the great adversary has recourse, for beguiling unstable souls, and imposing upon them the yoke of cloistered sloth and sorrow. In the first place, there are many young females who, under the influence of a spurious excitement, which "cometh not from above," or when they have experienced an unlooked-for disappointment, where their heart's best feelings have been misplaced, seek consolation, rest, and indemnity, where God's Word has not instructed them to look for it. Alas! how often have they found, when it was too late, that they have exchanged a temporary gloom, which time, and prayer, and sympathy, and resignation, might have dissipated or removed, for a life of monotony and misery, from which there is no escape! They had,

" Like the Grecian artist, woo'd
An image they themselves had wrought."

They may be compared to certain ill-starred monarchs, who have wedded an unknown bride, in consequence of having seen some flattering portrait, almost as different from the original as beauty is from ugliness, and who, when it is too late, would willingly give "unto the half of their kingdom," or even the whole, to get rid of her. She often finds the Lady Abbess an *injuncta noverca*, whose

capricious imperiousness forms a saddening contrast to the tender and indulgent solicitude of the heartbroken mother, whose remonstrances she has disregarded, and whose embraces she has repulsed. The childish cabals and wearisome routine of heartless ceremonies form a poor and paltry substitute for the endearments and fascinations of domestic tenderness and connubial love. Of such a nun, or of such a monk, it has been said by Cassian, many centuries ago, and it is as true now as it was then, that "*Sæpius ingreditur et egreditur cellam et solem, velut ad occasum tardius properantem, crebrius intuetur.*" O, how worthy of commiseration is every hopeless youth, or helpless damsel, *Mortua cui vita est prope jam vivo atque videnti!*

The second series of unhappy victims are those, who would never spontaneously have immured themselves in these priestly penitentiaries, but over whose minds the wily jesuit, or all-powerful confessor, has employed an ill-gotten and worse-directed influence, in order to persuade them to quit a world, of whose joys they have experienced but little, and enter a cloister, of whose sorrows they know still less. These sacerdotal *anthropophagi* are no respecters of age, rank, or sex, provided that money is to be obtained for the mercenary professors of poverty. Thus it is that, in so many instances, widows' houses are devoured, wealthy orphans inveigled, and afterwards, as in the heart-rending case of the Macarthys, compelled to make sacrifices of duty and feeling on behalf of these insatiable horseleeches, who act as if, in this instance as in many others, they had inverted the positive injunctions of Scripture, and proclaimed, that the love of money is the root of all good! Truly, with them, "money is a defence" against the qualms of conscience—"money answereth all things," which an indignant world can utter in reprobation of such proceedings; and when the heart-broken slave pours out her complaints before her inexorable and imperious rulers, and tells them how loath she is to im-

poorish her relatives, and do despite both to the spirit of grace, and to the dictates of justice and affection, the answer is, "What is that to us? See thou to that." I would ask, however, whether it is possible, that, when a jesuit or a confessor advises a young and artless female to become a nun, or a parent to enjoin or permit his child to immure herself in a convent, he can say, either in the one case or in the other, "I have a message unto thee from God?" This is indeed a sacrifice, with which the God of Popery may be well pleased. The mournful accents in which the disappointed victim bewails her virginity, and weeps over blasted hopes, may be music to his ears; but the God of the Bible would indignantly exclaim, "Bring no more such vain oblations, when ye come to appear before me. Who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts? It is iniquity, even the solemn meeting."

The third mode, however, through the medium of which the vacancies are filled up, which have so often been prematurely created by disappointment and despair, is the most distressing and obnoxious of the three. It has frequently happened, that a *guilty* parent, by way of atoning for an immoral life, has, at the monastic altar, offered the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul; or that an *ambitious* parent, in order to enrich and aggrandise one member of his family, through whom he fondly hopes that his house shall continue for ever, and his dwelling-place to all generations, has compelled one or more of his other children to embrace a mode of life which their souls abhor, so that a hapless daughter is led forth—

. "Non ut solenni more sacrorum
 Perfecto, posset claro comitari hymenæo,
 Sed casta, incestè, nubendi tempore in ipso,
 Hostia concideret mactatu mæsta parentis."

That this is no imaginary picture of the extent to which Popery thus freezes the genial current of paternal affections in the soul, may be proved from various

sources ; and, amongst the rest, from a celebrated tragedy by La Harpe, which is entirely founded on such an occurrence, and in which, notwithstanding the intense grief of the mother, the frantic despair of the daughter, and even the indignant remonstrances of their spiritual guide, the infatuated, and in the end severely punished, father inexorably dooms his child to a life—or rather living death—which his wife, when pleading on behalf of the victim, thus describes :—

“ percez plus avant, penetrez ces cellules,
Ces réduits ignores ou des esprits credules,
Desabusés trop tard, et voués au malheur,
Mandissent de leurs jours la pénible lenteur—
C'est là que l'on gemit—que des larmes amères
Baignent pendant la nuit les couches solitaires,
Que l'on demande au ciel, trop lent à s'attendrir,
Ou la force de oeuvre, ou celle de mourir.”

The same forgetfulness of parental duty and natural affection, on the part of Popish parents, is thus forcibly stigmatised and feelingly deplored by Massillon, in his sermon, “ Sur la Vocation : ” — “ Barbarous and inhuman parents, in order to raise one of their children higher than his ancestors, and make him the idol of their vanity, think nothing of sacrificing all the rest, and precipitating them into the abyss. They tear away from the world children, in whose case their own authority alone is a substitute for desire and disposition in favour of retreat ; they lead to the altar unfortunate victims, who go there to sacrifice themselves to the cupidity of their fathers, rather than to the greatness of the God, who is there adored ; they give to the church ministers, whom the church calls not, and who only accept the holy ministry as an odious yoke, which an unjust law imposes on them. In short, provided that such members of the family as are seen, excite notice, shine, and do them honour in the world, it is to them a matter of indifference, that sacred darkness shrouds the chagrins, the disgusts, the tears, the despair, of those who are only seen by the eye of God.”

In speaking, however, of convents, I wish to avoid either concealment or exaggeration. I am far from presuming to maintain, that every nunnery is to be regarded "as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," or as a dreary and desolate dungeon, in which many a disconsolate child, whose heart fondly yearns after home, is compelled

"To seek her nightly couch, and weep till morn."

I at once admit, that there are, and always have been, not a few "religious houses," endowed by the superstitious terrors of expiring guilt, under the influence of priestly intimidation, with "thousands of rams, and ten thousands of rivers of oil"—where the lordly abbot can "lift up his eyes, and look, from the place where he is, northward and southward, and eastward and westward," and behold all the plain, that it is well watered every where, even as the garden of the Lord; and can say, "I have riches, and wealth, and honour, such as few kings have had; every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle upon a thousand hills; I know all the fowls of the mountains, and the wild beasts of the field are mine." Surrounded by his blithe and burly friars, he commands to bring the golden and silver vessels, not indeed taken out of the temple, but purchased out of funds bequeathed for pious uses;—"the beds are of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red and blue, and white and black marble; and all the officers of the house are appointed to do according to every man's pleasure." If young, he no sooner begins to be a great one in the earth, and receives from the vicar of the meek and lowly One, health, and apostolic benediction, and investiture by staff and ring, than he becomes even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. The cares of the whole fraternity seem to be sanctified by their carousings. They rise up (it may be) early in the morning, and offer burnt-offerings of fragrant incense, and bring peace-offerings of unbloody wafers; and then sit down to eat

and drink, and rise up to play. To-morrow is as to-day, and much more abundant. In general they, even at an advanced age, in one respect resemble Moses: when they can no longer go in and out,

“To chase the deer with hound and horn,”

“their eyes are not dim, nor their natural force abated.” Their countenances, like those of Daniel and his companions, “appear fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children, which eat the portion of the king’s meat.” More fortunate than Barzillai, they can “taste what they eat and what they drink, and hear the voice of singing men and singing women.” Truly, it cannot be said, that they “serve God for nought. Has he not made an hedge about them, and about their houses, and about all that they have, on every side? He blesses the work of their hands, and their substance is increased in the land.” They enjoy an unwonted measure of popularity and veneration; their doings, as well as their sayings, are approved and imitated by posterity; whilst they live, they bless their souls, and men praise them because they do well to themselves; and when the saintly Apicius is about to go the way of all the earth, I can conceive his sending for his youthful coadjutor and successor, and saying, “Take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt me some venison, and make me savoury meat, such as I love; and bring it me, that I may eat, that my soul may bless thee before I die.”

I believe, my dear friends, that it is easier for a camel to pass through a needle’s eye, than for a man endowed with common sense, and enriched with scriptural knowledge, to believe, that such lovers of pleasure are the representatives of Paul and Peter—of Titus and Timothy. What would such a prelate or abbot say, if a friend should gravely advise him to drink no longer water, but use a little wine for his stomach’s sake, and his oft infirmities? or to see that he walked circumspectly, and

let his moderation appear unto all men? The inimitable Popish fabulist seems to have fully known the "doctrine, manner of life, and purpose" of many an apostolic monk or self-denying anchorite, when he speaks of a careworn and contemplative rat, who

*" las des soins d' ici bas,
Dans un fromage de Hollande
Se retira loin du tracas.
Il devint gros et gras, Dieu prodigue ses biens,
A ceux, qui font vœu d' être siens."*

That this is a portrait, and not a caricature, might be verified by extracts from writers of unquestionable authority, from the earliest periods, at which these hotbeds of ignorance and laziness were first introduced into the garden of God, until the present hour. "Commencing his journey (says D'Aubigné), Luther crossed the Alps; but hardly had he descended into the plains of rich and voluptuous Italy, than he found at every step new subjects of astonishment and of scandal. The poor German monk was received by a rich monastery of Benedictines, situate on the Po in Lombardy. The rent-roll of this religious house amounted to 36,000 ducats; whereof 12,000 were spent in eating and drinking, another 12,000 on buildings, and the remaining 12,000 on the other needs of the monks. The richly-furnished rooms, beautiful dresses, and exquisite viands, all confounded Luther. Marble, silks, luxury in all its forms—what a new spectacle to the humble friar of the poor monastery at Wittemberg! He was astonished, but held his peace. However, when Friday came, what was his surprise! for the table of the Benedictines continued to be covered with abundance of animal food! On this, he resolved to speak out:—'The church,' said he to them, 'and the Pope forbid such things.' The Benedictines were indignant at being thus reprimanded by a coarse German. But Luther having insisted, and having threatened them, perhaps, that he would make their disorders known, some thought, that the simplest plan would be

to make away with their troublesome guest. The porter of the monastery warned him, that he ran some risk in staying longer where he was. Accordingly, taking the hint, he escaped from this epicurean monastery, and arrived at Bologna, where he fell dangerously ill."

Of such hypocritical mockers at feasts, it may surely be said, that they savour not the things that be of God. It is through their example and influence that the cause of the Son of man suffers many things, and that sinners are hardened in their unbelief and impiety. I shall lay before you one more authentic and striking instance of the conventual mode of life, in order to show you how fully all my assertions and descriptions are borne out by observation and experience.

"The Prince Regent of Portugal (says that entertaining and instructive traveller, Beckford), for reasons with which I was never entirely acquainted, took it into his royal head, one fair morning, to desire I would pay a visit to the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, and to name my intimate and particular friends, the Grand Prior of Aviz, and the Prior of St Vincent, as my companions."

I may here, my friends, interrupt the narrative for the purpose of remarking, that the Prince Regent was the son and representative of "her *most faithful* majesty," and as he had a great regard for our accomplished countryman, I hope I do no injustice to the memory of his Royal Highness, when I venture to suppose, that his object was to remove the prejudice of his (unhappily heretical) friend, against that sacred and immaculate church, without whose pale there is no salvation, by exhibiting, in all its lustre, the humility and holiness of its "chief pastors," and showing how palpably the leaven of apostolic heavenly-mindedness had leavened the whole lump of its recluses. This, I must own, is the very course, which I should myself pursue, if I felt anxious to obviate the conscientious scruples, which any Popish or Tractarian friend might entertain

against the doctrines, discipline, and workings of our "kirk." If any such serious and sober-minded inquirers were to tell me, that our Free Church "lay-teachers" were every where spoken against, that the imposition of hands upon funds, to which they had no moral right, was rank and rife amongst them, and that they were the men by whom offences come, and whose secularity and splendour were a stumblingblock to the world, I should, like the "most faithful" heir of the Lusitanian throne, have sent them to Dr Gordon and Dr Guthrie, and requested, that, besides showing them all possible kindness at home, my reverend friends would make them as widely as possible acquainted both with the lay and clerical office-bearers of our church. If I were so fortunate as to see either of these excellent pastors after such an interview, and were to say to him, "What have they seen at thine house?" I should be astonished with a great astonishment if he were to tell me, that he had "showed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious ointment." It may also be conjectured, that the two reverend prelates, who were to act the part of *ciceronis* on this important occasion, would make a point of demeaning themselves, in regard both to their mode of travelling, and their general style of living, in such a manner as would, in their estimation, be best calculated to remove heretical prejudices, and reflect the greatest honour upon their apostolic church. His Royal Highness, when he sent forth these two saintly men, does not appear to have followed the precedent, which had been established in the case of the "twelve," of whom they were numbered amongst the successors and representatives. His instructions may have been secret and sealed; but they do not seem to have run as follows:—"Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."

"My right reverend companions," says Beckford,

“had arranged not to renounce one atom of their habitual comforts and conveniences. With respect to one of them it was settled, that he should loll in his *dormeuse*, or in my chaise, just as he best pleased, and look at nothing calculated to excite the fatigue of reflection. We were to proceed, or rather creep along, by short and facile stages; stopping to dine, and sup, and repose, as delectably as in the most commodious of houses. Every thing that could be thought of, or even dreamed of, for our convenience or relaxation was to be carried in our train, and nothing left behind but care and sorrow.” The time would fail to enter more fully into the particulars of the journey. At length, however, lights glimmering at the extremity of an avenue of orange trees, directed the travellers to the house, a low, picturesque building, half villa, half hermitage, where “their reception was truly exhilarating, and presenting all in point of comfort and luxury that the heart of man, or even churchman, could desire.” As the entire narrative comprises no fewer than upwards of 200 pages, I shall only further trouble you, or rather cause your mouths perhaps to water (some, indeed, it may be, will heave a sigh), by transcribing the account of an apostolic chief-pastoral entertainment. “We passed through a succession of cloisters and galleries, which the shades of evening rendered dimly visible, till we entered a saloon, superb indeed, covered with pictures, and lighted up by a profusion of wax tapers, in sconces of silver. Right in the centre of this stately room stood a most ample table, covered with fringed embroidered linen, and round it four ponderous *fauteuils* for the guest and the three prelates; so we formed a very comfortable *partie quarree*. The banquet itself consisted of not only the most excellent usual fare, but rarities and delicacies of past seasons, and distant countries, exquisite sausages, potted lampreys, strange messes from the Brazils, and others still stranger from China (edible birds’ nests and sharks’

fins), dressed after the latest mode of Macao, by a Chinese lay-brother. Confectionary and fruits were out of the question here; they awaited us in an adjoining, still more spacious and sumptuous apartment, to which we retired from the effluvia of viands and sauces." We afterwards learn, that "the room was cleared for dancing; a crowd of clarionet and guitar players, dressed in silk dominoes, like serenaders in Italian burlettas, followed by a *posse* of young monks and young gentlemen, in secular dresses as stiff as buckram, began an endless succession of the most decorous and tiresome minuets I ever witnessed."

If the object of the "most faithful" prince was, to save a soul from death, by converting his heretical friend from the error of his way, the wisdom of the means employed, was not (if we may judge from the result) as conspicuous as the benevolence of the end. It does not appear, that the right reverend fathers in God, whilst comfortably lolling in the *dormeuse*, wasted any of their precious time (as the Eunuch did) in reading Esaias the prophet, or in discussing

"Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute."

If, indeed, faring sumptuously every day, had been a fitting pre-requisite, for inducing the Lord to open the sinner's heart, as he did that of Lydia, to attend unto the things which were spoken and revealed by Paul, it is impossible, that Beckford should not have become almost a believer in Popery, after the repast first described, and altogether so after the subsequent entertainment, when (as our traveller tells us) "we sat down, I can truly say, to one of the most delicious banquets ever vouchsafed a mortal on this side Mahommed's paradise. The *malevoisin* was perfection, the ortolans and quails, lumps of celestial fatness, and the *sautés* and *bechamels* beyond praise, and a certain truffle cream so exquisite, that my Lord Abbot forestalled the usual grace at the termination of repasts, most piously to give

thanks for it." Even, however, on this occasion, when the Lord Abbot had made so signal a display of "piety at home," and when there can be little, if any doubt, that his right reverend brother evinced an edifying participation in the same devotional feeling, our obstinate heretic was not so powerfully influenced by their bright example as to exclaim, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" nor is it recorded, that he ever said to either of them, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, that sent thee to meet me this day, and blessed be thine advice, and blessed be thou!" In one instance, indeed, we find the Lord Abbot exclaiming, "Here are receipts (for side dishes), with marginal notes and illustrations I mean to preserve, as carefully as I would a string of pearls, till my last hour;" and this would probably have been the only answer he could have returned to the question (had the heretic been led to propound it), "What is this that the Lord hath said unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me. God do so to thee, and more also, if thou hide any thing from me, of all the things that he said unto thee." Instead of abjuring his errors at the shrine of Popish pomp and pleasure, and seeking admission into the bosom of the pure and immaculate church of Christ, our traveller tells us, that he "tired of such perpetual gormandising, the fumes of banquets and incense, the repetition of pompous rites, the splendour of illuminated altars, and saints, and madonnas, in fusty saloons, under still fustier canopies." And such, my friends, ought to be the effect produced by the grotesque and gorgeous puerilities of Popery, in every well-regulated mind, and above all, in every Bible-taught believer, although it is dangerous even for these, needlessly to expose themselves to its cunningly-devised fascinations.

*"Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus, et cum
Accidit falsis animus, meliora recusat."*

I subjoin a few extracts from various authors, in order to illustrate the superstition and falsehood, which are mixed up with the legends, in reference to the lives of

the founders of monastic orders, the laxity of morals, which generally prevails in convents, and also the hatred and contempt for the entire system, which now predominate throughout even the "Catholic" world.

In speaking of the great patriarch of the Franciscans, Sir James Stephen presents us with the following details:—

"The hour arrived of the 'holy sacrifice,' when, as though to symbolise his disgust for earth, and his aspirations to heaven, the body of the saint slowly ascended heavenward. When it had reached the ordinary height of a man, the feet were embraced and bathed with tears by Leard, who stood beneath. Gradually it mounted beyond the range of human vision, but even then his voice was heard in discourse with the Invisible, and a bright radiance attested the presence of the Redeemer. He was made manifest to the eye of his enraptured worshipper, in the form of a seraph moving on rapid wings, though fastened to a cross, and when the whole scene passed away, it was found that, by radiations from this celestial figure, the body of Francis, like wax beneath the pressure of a seal, had acquired the sacred stigmata—that is, on either hand, and on either foot, marks exactly corresponding with the two opposite extremities of a rude iron nail, and on the side, a wound such as might have been inflicted by a spear.

"This stupendous event happened on the 7th of September, a day still consecrated by the church to the perpetual commemoration of it. No Christian, therefore, may doubt it, for St Thomas, and all other theologians, assure us, that to doubt a 'canonical fact' is rash, scandalous, and open to the just suspicion of heresy. Yet scepticism on the subject appears to have been of very early growth. Within thirteen years from the date of the occurrence, a Dominican preacher at Ophen in Moravia, and the Bishop of Olmutz, had both published their utter disbelief of the story, and had condemned the propagation of it as sinful. For this audacious pre-

sumption, however, Ugolino, who then filled the papal throne, under the title of Gregory IX., addressed to both of them reproachful letters, which sufficiently attest his own faith in the prodigy. In the dense cloud of corroborative witnesses, may be distinguished his successor, Pope Alexander IV., who, in a still extant bull, denounces the severest penalties on all gainsayers. Indeed, if St Bonaventura may be believed, Alexander went further still, and was used to declare, that he had with his own eyes seen and admired the stigmata. And M. Chavin de Malan (a very recent writer), is ready to abandon his reliance on all human testimony, if any one can convince him of the insufficiency of that, on which his faith in this miracle reposes.”—(135.)

At the distance of only thirty years from the death of the founder, we find Bonaventura, the greatest of his successors in the government of the order, thus addressing his provincial ministers: “The indolence of our brethren is laying open the path to every vice. They are immersed in carnal repose. They roam up and down every where, burthening every place to which they come. So importunate are their demands, and such their rapacity, that it has become no less terrible to fall in with them, than with so many robbers. So sumptuous is the structure of their magnificent buildings, as to bring us all into discredit, so frequently are they involved in these culpable intricacies, which our rule prohibits, that suspicion, scandal, and reproach, have been excited against us.”—(*Stephen*, p. 149.)

After the death of Peter, such prodigies of healing were wrought at his tomb as much disturbed the devout retirement of his surviving friends. “Brother Peter, you always obeyed me implicitly when you were alive,” at length exclaimed the much-perplexed Francis; “I expect from you a similar submission now. The visitors to your tomb annoy us sadly. In the name of holy obedience, I command you to work no more miracles.” Peter at once dutifully desisted from his posthumous works

of mercy. So obedient, observes M. Chavin de Malan, writing in the 19th century, were the family of Francis, even after death.—(P. 106.)

Surrounded at Amangachi by a crowd of babblers, Xavier was plied with innumerable questions, about the immortality of the soul, the movement of the planets, eclipses, the rainbow, sin, grace, paradise, and hell. He heard and answered. A single response solved all these problems—astronomers, meteorologists, metaphysicians, and divines, all heard the same sound—but to each it came with a different and an appropriate meaning.—(*Stephen*, p. 229.)

“A party of the Sacred College, (writes Germain, an eminent Benedictine monk, when addressing his brethren at Rome) were astounded after dinner by the appearance of an austere Capuchin, who, as an unexpected addition to their dessert, rebuked their indolence and luxury, and their talkativeness, even during high mass. Then passing onwards to an inner chamber, the preacher addressed his holiness (Innocent XI.) on the sin of an inordinate solicitude about health—no inappropriate theme—for he was lying in the centre of four fires, and beneath the load of seven coverlets, having recently sustained a surgical operation—on which Germain remarks, that, if it had taken place in summer, it would have been all up with the holy man.”—(*Stephen*, p. 424.)

“Eight hundred years,” says the same distinguished author, “have since passed away, amidst the wreck of laws, opinions, and institutions, yet this decree of Hildebrand’s at this day rules the Latin church, in every land where sacrifices are still offered on her altars. Among us, but not of us—valuing their rights as citizens chiefly as instrumental to their powers as churchmen—ministers of love, to whom the heart of a husband and a father is an inscrutable mystery—teachers of duties, the most sacred of which they may not practise—compelled daily to gaze on the most polluted images of man’s fallen heart, but denied the refuge of

nature from a polluted imagination—professors of a virtue, of which, from the death of the righteous Abel down to the birth of the fervent Peter, no solitary example is recorded in holy writ—excluded from that posthumous life in remote descendants, in the devout anticipations of which the patriarchs were enabled to walk meekly, but exultingly, with their God, the sacerdotal caste yet flourishes in every Christian land, the imperishable and gloomy monument both of that far-sighted genius, which thus devised the means of Papal despotism, and of that short-sighted wisdom, which proposed to itself that despotism as a legitimate and a laudable end.”

“There are in —— members of families, known to be the children of friars. The friars no longer exist; but there are still priests, who notoriously have their ‘amas.’ Nothing has given a greater blow to religion than this. It is *true*, that religious parents have hardly dared to let their daughters confess.”—(*Meyrick*, p. 11.)

“The bitter hatred against the monks and friars is quite astonishing. None of them were murdered here, because, when they were turned out, the governor gave them warning, and allowed them ten days to escape in disguises before the people knew it. An Englishwoman saved one by dressing him in her son’s clothes, but I have no doubt, that now, *if one made his appearance in the monastic dress, he would be torn in pieces.* Not even the courtesy of Spaniards can make them behave decently to a priest. The priesthood in general seem to be thoroughly despised.”—(*Meyrick*, pp. 26, 27.)

When any one dies in the hospital, he is buried, as they say, like a dog. The body is put into a cart, and taken off to the Campo Sancto, where it is thrown into a pit, without a word of prayer. The layman asked the padre, Where are the souls of those who die in your hospital? “Those who are not in hell are all in purgatory.” One of them turned round—“These people tell us, that all are equal before God, rich and poor; but it

is false. If a rich man dies, his friends will have one or two hundred masses said for him, and he goes to heaven ; while these poor creatures are tormented in purgatory." I tried to turn it off by saying, " As you feel so much for them, of course you have masses said for them ;" he laughed at the suggestion, and said, " You do not believe all these things, though you believe a great deal more than we do." All that the good padre was able to say was, that *once-a-year* mass is said for all who have died in the hospital.—(*Meyrick*, pp. 29, 30.)

" One of the new convent towers is miserably disfigured by a projecting screen of wood. The man who rings the bell, stands close by it, and the ugly thing is put there, lest he should see the nuns walking in the garden, or lest they should see him, for a nun has nothing but love to think of, and a powder magazine must be guarded warily. A million sterling has been expended upon this convent ; it is magnificent within, wholly of marble, and the colour well disposed. A million sterling ! and the great square is unfinished, and the city without flagstones, without lamps, without drains !" — (*Southey*, ii. 73.)

" You would not like the Roman Catholic religion quite so well, if you saw it here in all its naked deformity, could you but see the mummery, and smell the friars." — (*Southey*, ii. 76.)

" The church is beautiful ; the library the finest book-room I ever saw, and well stored. The friar, who accompanied us, said, ' It would be an excellent room to eat and drink in, and go to play afterwards ; and if we liked better to play in the dark, we might shut the windows.' He heard the sacristan remark to me, that there were books enough for me to read there, and asked if I loved reading ? and ' I,' said he, ' love eating and drinking.' Honest Franciscan ! He told us also, that the dress of their order was a barbarous dress, and that dress did not change the feelings. I suspect this man wishes he had professed in France. A Portuguese

of the same family was a nun in France. After the dissolution of the monasteries, her brother immediately engaged with a Portuguese abbess to receive her, and wrote in all haste for the distressed nun. She wrote, in answer, that she was much obliged to him, but she was married. . . . Such is Magra; a library where books are never used; a palace, with a mud-wall front, and a royal convent, inhabited by monks, who loathe their situation. The monks often desert; in that case, they are hunted like deserters, and punished, if caught, with confinement and flogging. They take the vows young; at fourteen. Those, who are most stupidly devout, may be satisfied with their life; those who are most abandoned in all vice, may do well also; but a man with any feeling, any conscience, any brains, must be miserable," &c.—(*Southey*, ii. 113.)

It was not until some months had elapsed, after these remarks had been concluded, that I had the good fortune to peruse Mr Seymour's admirable work, entitled, "A Pilgrimage to Rome," which I earnestly recommend to every reader, who values truthfulness, talent, piety, and candour. From page 151 to page 216, the subject of the nature and fruits of a monastic life is treated in so masterly and interesting a manner, that I must venture to subjoin an abridged and meagre outline, for the sake of those who may not have an opportunity to consult the original, condensing Mr Seymour's information under a few distinct heads.

1. Convents in Italy are so numerous as to have exceeded all his anticipations.
2. They are now entirely divested of the romantic interest connected with the history of their institution during the dark ages.
3. They may be divided into two classes, the first intended as convenient asylums for younger brothers of good families, who find it difficult to marry, and for whom a comfortable provision is thus secured without duties or responsibilities. They dine together, gossip together, attend chapel at stated hours; but religious

feeling has as little to do in the matter as "with a college life in England;" it is an affair, "not of religion, but of convenience." These establishments are richly endowed; their highly-favoured inmates are "like unmarried men living in a barrack." A few, indeed, are scholars or theologians, but most of them are frequenters of billiard and gambling tables, drawing-rooms, or other places of entertainment. The second class belong to Franciscans and Capuchins, easily known by their wooden-sandaled feet, and the filth and odour which indicate their presence. 70 were crowded into one convent; the dirt and stench were almost insupportable. They were almost all laymen "of the baser sort," from twenty to forty-five years of age, who ought to have been working with the spade or pitchfork; many cannot even read or write. 4. The inmates of convents are often the most vicious and depraved of mankind. The mendicants eke out their livelihood by an execrable traffic in masses, and the sale of passports for obtaining egress from purgatory, often at the moderate price of two shillings *per* soul. There are such gradations in these establishments, in point of comfort, as are found in ordinary hotels or boarding-houses, or, I may add, in gin-palaces and betting-rooms. 5. Not one in a hundred of the monks takes any charge of education. 6. Convents do not alleviate poverty, which prevails always in a direct ratio to the number of such institutions. This holds good, especially of Rome itself, where subscriptions are most rife for the relief of indigence. They check and impede benevolence by their own importunate requirements; and no Italian ever views them in the light of charitable institutions. The monks, and friars, and nuns, says Kirwan (p. 66), collected from the common people, and sympathizing with them, are abroad among them, as the curates or assistants of the priests and bishops, for the purpose of filling their minds with fables, and keeping them in bondage. They are priestly spies among the people, save

those that go into seclusion; and hence you find them begging from the people, sitting with the people in the streets, mingling with them in the market places, lounging with the lazzaroni, and laughing with them, and all for the purpose of doing the dirty work of the priests, and filling their minds with superstitious legends.

IV.—POLICY OF BRITISH STATESMEN IN REFERENCE TO POPERY.

If we consider the policy, which has been pursued by the rulers of the British nation, in reference to Popery, during the last quarter of a century, we shall find, that, whilst the sovereigns, who have filled the throne, and a great majority of their advisers, were Protestants, the whole tenor of our legislative proceedings, and the entire course of all public men in authority, have been precisely such as they would have been, if our monarchs and their ministers had been Romanists, and had harboured an anxious wish to effect by stealth the gradual triumph of their religion, without exciting the suspicions, or incurring the displeasure, of a population devoted to the interests of Protestant truth. Such governors, in obtaining secular privileges for their co-religionists, would have said (and this is just what our Protestant statesmen have done),—"Whilst conceding to you perfect equality in civil matters, we must endeavour to hoodwink and disarm Protestant jealousy, by introducing certain guards and securities. But never mind that; don't be alarmed; they shall all remain a dead letter—not one of them shall ever be enforced; and you shall have *carte blanche* in the colonies to do what you please—ask, and you shall receive what grants you require. We shall afterwards introduce a system of national education into Ireland, but you shall carve and mould it as you please.

'We're all submission—what you'd have it, make it.'

The arrangement shall be such, that three-fourths of the Protestant clergy shall feel in conscience bound to abstain from participating in its benefits. The Bible shall be as carefully excluded as any work, however seditious or obscene; and we shall only appoint such bishops to Protestant sees, as shall defend the plan of which you approve, and which an overwhelming majority of their clergy concur in condemning. Whilst Protestant bigots are calling for the suppression of Maynooth, the prime-minister of a Protestant sovereign shall introduce a measure for perpetuating and enlarging the grant; and instead of complying with the demands of the loyal and zealous patriots, who deem it grossly inconsistent in public men to pronounce Popery to be false, and yet pay for the education of those who teach it, shall stand, cap in hand, before the Principal of the Popish college, and say, 'I pray thee, take a blessing of thy servant.' If his holiness establishes a Popish hierarchy in Britain, never mind all our boisterous blustering—*verbosa et grandis epistola* must be fulminated *ad captandum* from Downing Street; but be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us. *Fumum ex fulgore* is our motto; the blaze of our resentment shall vanish, like the crackling of thorns under a pot. We must *pro forma* pass an act, ostensibly to meet what the Protestants regard as an aggression and an insult, and we advise you to oppose it as loudly and as pertinaciously as possible, for fear of any *bonâ fide* enactment being introduced; and if we cannot prevent those, who are in earnest, from rendering it more stringent, remember, that the power of giving effect to its provisions remains in our hands; and be assured, that you may beard and brave us with impunity." Such, my dear friends, has been the system pursued by the Protestant champions of concession and expediency, in reference to that apostate power, which has no object so much at heart as the overthrow of our religion, and the extinction of our liberties—a church, whose ambition

is as high as heaven ; whose craftiness is deeper than hell ; the measure of whose errors is larger than the earth ; the catalogue of whose usurpations is broader than the sea. If God had not in mercy restrained the remainder of its wrath, and had allowed full scope to the tyranny exercised by Popes, and the tortures inflicted by inquisitors, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written, to record her cruelties, and recount her crimes.

The entire history of the grant to Maynooth exhibits an unhallowed and disreputable alliance between Popish craft and Protestant credulity. All that was at first asked, was permission to erect a college at the expense of the Romanists themselves, for the training of Popish priests. The argument *ad misericordiam* was resorted to, founded on the alleged difficulty of continuing the plan hitherto pursued, of having young men educated for that office on the continent. The scale, on which the professed building was to be erected, was small and unpretending. It was as if the subtle *advocatus diaboli* had said to Mr Pitt, "Behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast showed unto me. Behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one. Oh ! let me escape thither (is it not a little one?), and my soul shall live." The fruit of thus doing evil, in order that good might come—or, in other words, the folly of dallying or paltering with the apostate church—was soon perceived. The legislature gave bread, and received in return a stone ; their egg was requited by a scorpion ; the original grant in 1785 was followed by the rebellion of 1798 ; the subsequent endowment in 1845 preceded by precisely the same number of intervening years the commotions of 1848. The minister, with whom the system originated, died in 1806, in the prime of life, disappointed, broken-hearted, and insolvent ; nor was the career of the premier, who augmented the grant, and rendered it permanent, as prosperous thereafter as it had

been before. In the act of 1795, no promise of any endowment was included. Trustees were "enabled to receive subscriptions and donations to endow an academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and £8000 granted, for that year only, towards establishing the said academy." A proposition was assented to in 1789, by the Irish House of Commons, for the permanent endowment of Maynooth; but was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of twenty-five to one. The Duke of Wellington, at that time Sir Arthur Wellesley, expressly stated, "that when the Maynooth institution was first established, it was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse." The annual renewal of the grant was frequently opposed in the House of Commons, and the recollection of the instances, in which I myself resisted its continuance, though I was invariably assailed by the ridicule and ribaldry of scoffers and latitudinarians, affords to me no small consolation in these evil days of blasphemy and rebuke. It would be scarcely more absurd, and certainly less wicked, to allocate a large sum of money for training up artillerymen at Sandhurst, in the use of Shrapnell's shells and Congreve's rockets, with a mutual understanding on both sides, that the deadly weapons, with which the country furnished them, shall be employed in endeavouring to destroy the Tower of London, and levelling Windsor Castle with the dust. The assassins, whom the French usurper has bribed with champagne and sausages, are not intended to establish a red republic, or hurl him from his ill-gotten pre-eminence. So far as the interests of Protestant truth are concerned, I hold Romanism to be more alarming than Socialism, Dens more pernicious than Tom Paine, and godless cabinets more fatal than godless colleges. No sooner shall Popery have achieved that triumph, which is preparing for her, under the auspices of lowering despotism abroad and ministerial apathy at home, than the canon law will

supersede the common law; the decrees of Boniface and Innocent be substituted for Coke and Blackstone; the Inquisition take the place of the Court of Queen's Bench; and Smithfield again become lurid with the flames, around which Popish demons chaunt their *Te Deums*, whilst martyred Christians are reduced to ashes.

It has of late years become more and more clear to me, that Popery and Protestantism are not the same religion. The Papist makes no secret, that that is his conviction—and, to do him justice, he acts in a manner perfectly consistent with this principle, excepting where the interests of his church require that he should dissemble and do otherwise. When the Popish bishops in Ireland had an object to gain, and a purpose to answer, they could address their Protestant neighbours as beloved fellow-Christians; but the mask is now thrown off, and Protestantism is every where denounced, misrepresented, and maligned. The endowment of Maynooth affords to them a strong and standing argument against our sincerity in reference to the fundamental doctrines of our faith; and must prove a great stumblingblock to every Romanist, who begins to feel any misgivings, as to the falsehoods, which have been instilled by Popery into his mind. By paying for the education of young men, whose duty and occupation it must be to teach the doctrines, which we profess to reject as impious or unscriptural, we not only prepare them for spreading the knowledge of these errors far and wide, but incur a fearful responsibility, in respect of these very priests themselves, inasmuch as we do what in us lies to confirm and encourage them in the belief of soul-destroying delusions, which they cannot suppose that we are serious in condemning, when we devote so large a sum of public money for their promulgation. If we were as cordial in our attachment to Protestant truth as the consistent Romanist is in his adherence to Popish error, we should employ these sums for their conversion,

which are now lavished in preparing and enabling them to make many follow their pernicious ways. We ought frankly to express to them our firm persuasion, that Popery is not Christianity, and that a belief in those vain figments, which Protestants concur in rejecting, is, if Protestantism be true, incompatible with salvation. Lampridius tells us, that the Emperor Alexander Servius thought fit to build a temple in honour of Christ, and to receive him amongst the gods. He states, that a similar report prevailed with respect to Hadrian. Tertulian, and several other fathers, ascribe the same intention to Tiberius. Now, this is precisely the course, which has been pursued by the Pope and his church. Christ's name is one of those which they reverence and worship, but it is no more. The state of the Romish Church during many centuries has resembled that of the Jews in the days of Hoshea the son of Elah. They "hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers, that did not believe in the Lord their God. And they rejected his statutes, and his covenant that he made with their fathers, and his testimonies, which he testified against them; and they followed vanity, and became vain, and went after the heathen that were round about them, concerning whom the Lord had charged them, that they should not do like them. And they left all the commandments of the Lord their God, and made them molten images [of the saints], and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal [Mary]. And they caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire [to be immured in convents], and used divination and enchantments [pretended prophecies and miracles], and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger. . . . So these nations *feared the Lord, and served their graven images*, both their children and their children's children : as did their fathers, so do they unto this day."—(2 Kings xvii. 14–41).

I can see no palliation for the guilt, which the endow-

ment of antichristian impiety has fastened upon us as a nation. It may possibly form an element in the exercise of our civil liberties, that unprincipled speculators should be allowed to erect, at their own cost, many splendid ginpalaces, where they may realize an ill-gotten fortune by ruining the health, destroying the morals, and ensuring the damnation of their victims; but no statesman would, I think, have the hardihood to propose, that £30,000 per annum should be voted for building or maintaining such fatal and flagitious institutions. If Popery be what all true Protestants profess to contend that it really is, the endowment of colleges, in which it is taught and fostered, must be just as offensive in the sight of God. Our Protestant universities may be compared to so many national mints, from whence coins are issued according to the national standard, bearing the image and superscription of our beloved Queen on the one side, and the national arms on the other. It is much to be regretted, that the old-established mint at Oxford has of late so fearfully adulterated the current money of the realm. But the Popish office established at Maynooth, where the officials are paid out of the public purse, issues reprobate silver and gold, so alloyed by the lead of patristic traditions, and the tin of œcumenical innovation, that the pure metal is scarcely discernible. The bust of the Pope is substituted for that of our gracious sovereign, and the triple crown assumes on the reverse the place of the British blazonry. While Popish *agiateurs* and exchangers are exerting themselves to the utmost to call in the genuine coin, and melt it in their fiery furnace, our Protestant masters of the mint look on with perfect unconcern, and seem to perceive no difference between the British and the Popish die. I remember once observing, many years ago, in the House of Commons, that there is a wide difference, indeed, between a political view of religion, and a religious view of politics. The legislators, who act on the latter principle, and weigh every public measure in the balance of the sanc-

tuary, are sure to meet with hatred and contempt; whilst those statesmen, who only regard religion as a secondary object, which ought to have little or no influence in the determination of great national questions, are sure to command the applause of listening senates, and are cried up as models of wisdom and discretion, for the guidance of future generations.

I have elsewhere endeavoured to delineate the contrast between the ancient and orthodox system, in respect to doctrine, principle, and practice, as adopted by our church in conformity with the scriptural and apostolic pattern, and the modern and monstrous innovations, by which, wherever Rome predominates, it has been sullied or superseded. I merely, therefore, reiterate my conviction that, unless we speedily retrace our steps—unless our rulers cease to foster and patronise error—and lift up a standard in behalf of the truth as it is in Jesus, we shall, ere long, reap what we have sown, and gather what we have strawed. Our statesmen carry out, even beyond their most liberal construction, all enactments in favour of Popery; whilst every provision, intended for the defence of Protestantism, is either openly violated, or virtually set at nought. Instead of enforcing that clause in the act of 1829, which contemplates the “gradual suppression and final prohibition of Jesuits within these realms,” many run to and fro in all quarters, and the knowledge of Popery is increased with impunity. We pass an act of Parliament for regulating the sale of arsenic, but we establish at the public expense wholesale manufactories of that moral arsenic, by which the minds of our unwise and unwary countrymen are every where poisoned and debased. My friends, God is visiting us for these things, and shows us wherefore he is contending with us. Our statesmen in 1814 concurred in again imposing the yoke of Popish superstition and despotism upon astonished and disappointed Italy, and have ever since submitted to the extension of concessions, which the prudence and piety of our ances-

tors would have steadfastly resisted, and which remain as so many monuments of our credulous and infatuated pusillanimity. The lamentable divisions in the Church of England, and the numerous secessions from her pale, are an element in England's punishment for having fostered that apostate power, which is equally opposed to the law and authority of God, and to the freedom and happiness of man. Already is Rome triumphantly exclaiming (Ezek. xxvi. 2), "Aha, she is broken, that was the gates of the people: she is turned unto me: I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste." But, my friends, I still indulge in a humble, but hearty hope, not only that her triumph, if accomplished at all, will be short, but that it may yet be averted by fervent prayer, by national humiliation, and by persevering and united exertions. Whilst, on the one hand, her temporary success is problematical, her ultimate downfall is as certain as the unerring word and testimony of God; and although the youngest amongst us may not live to witness it, the day must at length arrive, when the vengeance of the Saviour, whose name she has blasphemed, and whose saints she has massacred, shall be accomplished in her destruction (Ezek. xxviii. 6-8), "Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness. They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas."

But what chiefly excites my alarm, in reference to the result of the present conflict, is the want of unanimity, zeal, and co-operation on the part of the Protestant "defenders of the faith." It is as true of an army as of a house, that, when divided against itself, it cannot stand; and not only do strong feelings of mutual jealousy and estrangement pervade the various divisions of the army towards each other, but even

amongst the members of each separate brigade, there exists a lamentable amount of discord and distrust. The Anglo-Hibernian phalanx is, undoubtedly, one of the most powerful and prominent contingents. If in the multitude of commanders, as well as in that of counselors, there is safety, they have in this respect nothing to desire. They may, I think, boast of four field-m Marshals, about forty full generals, besides a goodly assortment of brigadiers, adjutants, aides-de-camp, colonels, and officers of inferior grades; and if the value of their services be at all commensurate with the magnitude of their salaries, they must, doubtless, be quite invincible. But is there not observable amongst them a most alarming want both of cordiality and of subordination? Those highest in rank are chiefly known to the public by occasionally issuing "general orders," which are not only often completely at variance with each other, when they emanate from different quarters, but each separate document is often so confused and so vague, that the middle is not coherent with the commencement, and the conclusion is inconsistent with both. If a general rule be laid down, it is often nullified by the number of exceptions—if a great principle be asserted, it is guarded by such a variety of qualifications, as to be almost frittered away. A general, like another Cato, gives laws to his little senate, and roundly taxes with treason the very field-marshal, to whom he owes obedience—the field-marshal pockets the affront—the inferior officers can take either side with equal impunity, for every one does that which is right in his own eyes. No small proportion of the latter have openly deserted to the enemy; and although others, who remain in the camp, are notoriously disaffected, they are still allowed to retain high posts of trust and emolument, and the articles of war are dubiously interpreted for the express purpose of keeping them in. They (the Puseyites) are as "willing to wound" their Protestant confederates, as they are "afraid to strike" their Popish opponents;

they make no scruple to insult the former, by taunting them with being no true soldiers—contend, that they have no right to bear arms—that they were never regularly enlisted—that their ablest and most experienced officers are mere civilians, because the commissions which they hold are spurious and invalid. Though they dare not openly side with the army, against which they profess to be arrayed, they play on every possible occasion into their hands—make no secret of the longing desire, which they cherish, to join their ranks, and wear their uniform—avowing their conviction, that the Popish generalissimo is *de jure divino*, entitled not only to their own allegiance, but to the unconditional submission of all the troops of all the nations—that the power of the keys belongs to him in every garrison—and that it would be wise and salutary, on almost any conditions, to place themselves under his command. Instead of rejoicing when any of these concealed traitors throws off the mask, and quits the service, his loss is as much deplored as when a faithful standard-bearer fainteth. It would, I humbly think, have been far safer, as well as more dignified, on the part of the Anglican church to have addressed the leader of the plusquam-semi-popish party, which lurks and conspires within her bosom :—“ *Perge quo cœpisti; egredere aliquando ex urbe—patent portæ; proficiscere. Educ etiam tecum omnes tuos—si minus, quam plurimos—purga urbem—magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit—nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes—non feram, non patiar, non sinam.* ”—(Cic. in Catil. 1). The Popish troops are acknowledged to constitute a regular army; the rank of their officers is recognised; whilst, on the part of many of the most exalted and influential persons, who figure away in the Anglo-Irish army-list, the other Protestant auxiliaries, who tender their hearty co-operation, and are ranged under the evangelical banner, are either frowned upon with contemptuous aversion, or altogether repudiated and rejected. Yes, my dear friends, our Presby-

terian troops are lightly esteemed, because of their homely garb, low pay, and because none of our officers have any higher rank than that of captains, and possess the respect and confidence of the attached and hardy troops, by whose unbought and unbiassed suffrages they have been raised to the respectable and responsible stations of which they, with faithfulness and diligence, discharge the important duties. Far be it from us to arraign the wisdom, or to question the justice, of that time-honoured (although not, I think, apostolic) tariff, according to which the arduous and important services of a field-marshal are (perhaps inadequately) remunerated by an income of £10,000 per annum, whilst the less laborious duties of a subaltern are requited (perhaps overpaid) by an annual salary of £100. We only venture to solicit, that indulgence may be vouchsafed to that Presbyterian obtuseness and obstinacy, which we have unhappily inherited from our Presbyterian progenitors, and which precludes us from adopting the principle, that £10,000 per annum is better employed in being awarded to one of these high functionaries, than in enabling us to command the services of one hundred gallant and well-trained captains, who endure hardness as good soldiers of their great Leader and Commander, whose banner over them is love.

Whilst adverting to the time-serving pusillanimity evinced by the defenders of our Protestant faith, both in the senate and in the cabinet, there is one point in connection with this subject, on which I think it necessary to dilate, namely, the origin and progress of Jesuitism. I may premise, that at first it was like to a grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds; but, fostered by Papal encouragement, and favoured by popular superstition, it was the greatest among herbs, and became a tree. The birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof. *There* was found every unclean and hateful bird—the eagle and the ossifrage, and the ospray, and the vulture, and the kite after his kind, the

raven after his kind, and the owl and nighthawk, and the cuckoo.

This most subtle and formidable confederacy against Divine truth and human freedom, was established in 1540, by a bull of Pope Paul III., who, next to his anxiety for founding, on behalf of his spurious offspring, a dynasty amongst the great ones of the earth, had no object more at heart than to recover, for his apostate church, the power and jurisdiction, which the Reformation had so materially abridged. By their ordination vow, all Jesuits solemnly bind themselves to the sovereign Pontiff and his successors, to go whithersoever they might choose to command them. "The primary object," says Robertson (Charles V.), "of almost all the monastic orders, is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the solitude and silence of the cloister, the monk is called to work out his own salvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its transactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind but by his example and his prayers. On the contrary, the Jesuits are taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They are chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to instruct the ignorant ; whatever can be used to reclaim or oppose the enemies of the holy see, is their proper object. That they may have full leisure for this active service, they are totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks. They appear in no processions ; they practise no religious austerities ; they do not consume one-half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices ; but they are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which they may have upon religion. They are directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship ; and by

the very constitution, as well as genius of their order, a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into all its members.

"They are thus," (says my eloquent and highly-gifted friend, the Rev. Joseph Sortaine of Brighton), "the missionaries of the Roman see; the authorized instruments of its aggressions upon Protestantism and heathenism; the points of contact between us and the Papal power."

For copious and most interesting details as to the base and bewildering fanaticism, which marked the future conduct of the canonized founder of this atrocious sect, against whose inroads on the peace and safety of our country, none if our statesmen have ever adopted the slightest precaution, I refer to the admirable work of Sir James Stephen, from which I subjoin a few extracts. You will there discern the incoherent and incredible tales, or rather "lying wonders," which Papal infallibility has had the effrontery to palm upon obsequious credulity:—

"Environed in light, and clasping her infant in her bosom, the virgin revealed herself to the adoring gaze of her champion. At that heavenly vision, all fantasies of worldly and sensual delight, like exorcised demons, fled from his soul into an eternal exile."—(P. 158.)
 "Standing on the steps of a Dominican church, he was reciting the office of our Lady, when (as ALL his biographers assure us) heaven itself was laid open to the eye of the worshipper. That ineffable mystery, which the author of the Athanasian creed has laboured to enunciate in words, was laid bare to him as an object, not of faith, but of actual sight. The past ages of the world were rolled back in his presence, and he beheld the material fabric of things rising into being, and discerned the motives, which had prompted this exercise of the creative energy. *To his spiritualised sense was disclosed the mysterious process, by which the host is transubstantiated; and those other Christian verities, which*

is permitted to common men to receive only as exercises of belief, now became known to him by immediate inspection and direct consciousness. During eight successive days, his body reposed in an unbroken trance, while his spirit thus imbibed disclosures, for which the tongues of men have no appropriate language. He attempted, indeed, to impart them in a volume of four-score leaves ; but, dark with excess of light, his words held the learned and the ignorant alike in speechless wonder.”—(P. 161.)

“Seven hours were daily given to prayer, during which he remained silent and motionless as a statue ; the week-day diet was bread and water, to which on Sundays he added a condiment of herbs and ground ashes boiled together. Next to his skin, he wore alternately an iron chain, a horse-hair cloth, and a sash of prickly briars. Three times each day he laid the scourge resolutely on his naked back. The bare earth was his bed. He became one of the fraternity of beggars who frequented the hospital of Manreza, exaggerated in his own person whatever was most revolting in their habits and appearance, revelled in filth, and rendered to the sick, and especially to such as were afflicted with ulcers, services of which it is impossible to read the account without a strong disposition to sickness.”—(P. 159.)

“It has long been known, how fluently ‘the devil can quote Scripture to his purpose ;’ but to Ignatius belongs the discovery, that Satan can present his temptations to mankind in the form of excellent sense and sound reasoning. The evil spirit was, we are told, afflicted by his excessive humility and consequent happiness ; and therefore assailed him with the following catechetical seductions :—‘ Is it not possible to be holy, without being filthy ? Is it essential to the purity of your soul, that vermin should crawl over your person ? Does it become a knight of a lineage so noble as yours, to appear among men as a beggar ? Would not your virtues

yield a brighter and more effective example in the court or in the camp, than in this mean hospital ?'

"To escape these diabolical suggestions, Ignatius quitted Manreza for a neighbouring cavern. It was in the centre of a wilderness, and could not be approached except by forcing the body through thorns and briars. At the extremity, it was dark as the grave. . . . In this dismal cell, he delivered over his mind and body to pains, which entirely eclipsed those of his hospital at Manreza. Five times each day he bruised and tore his flesh with a blunt iron scourge, beating his bosom at intervals with sharp flint stones, and with diseased ingenuity perverting every act of adoration into a penance and a torture. At one time, he would commune with the Virgin Mother ; at another, he would wrestle with the Spirit of Evil, and so abrupt were his vicissitudes of rapture and despair, that, in the storm of turbid passions, his reason had nearly given way. Friendly hands dragged him from his hiding-place, and other hands, in intention at least not less friendly, recorded his feverish ravings. At one time, he conversed with voices audible to no ear but his ; at another, he sought to propitiate them, before whom he trembled, by expiations that would have been more fitly offered to Moloch."—*(Stephen, p. 160.)*

I omit at present to dwell any further upon the personal characters or subsequent proceedings of Loyola and his coadjutors or successors. You will be enabled to arrive at a just conclusion on these subjects, when you read the extracts, which I intend to lay before you, of the bull, by which the "vicar of Christ" himself, was afterwards induced to decree the entire suppression of the order. But it is important to lay before you some account of the doctrines inculcated by the society, and which you will at once perceive, to be altogether repugnant to the law of God, and inconsistent with the well-being or happiness of civil society. First, however, I shall show, by the declarations of some of their own

most approved authorities, that the opinions of particular theologians are, in the case of the Jesuits, not to be regarded as the mere *dicta* of the individual writers, but that the whole body must be held to concur in the doctrines broached by each of its members. For these and most of the subsequent quotations, I am indebted to an admirable compendium, printed some years ago, by the late excellent Mr Norris, of Hackney, who took care to verify each extract by a personal reference to the original work.

“The members of the society are dispersed through every corner of the world, distinguished by as many nations and kingdoms as the earth has intersections; but this is a division arising from diversity of place, not of opinion; a difference of language, not of affection; a dissimilarity of countenance, not of morals. In this association, the Latin thinks with the Greek, the Portuguese with the Brazilian, the Irishman with the Sumatran, the Englishman with the Belgian, and among so many different dispositions, there is no strife, no contentions,—*nothing which affords opportunity of discovering, that they are more than one.* The place of their nativity affords them no personal advantage. The same designs, the same manner of life, the same uniting vow combines them. . . . *The pleasure of a single individual can cause the whole society to turn and return,* and determine the revolution of this immense body, which is easily moved, but with difficulty shaken.”—(*Imago primi sæc. Soc. Jesu. Antro.* 1640.)

“Thanks to the divine goodness, the spirit, which animated the earlier Jesuits, still survives amongst us, and by the same mercy, we hope that it will never be lost. It is not a slight testimony in our favour, that, in these troublous times, not one among us has changed or wavered. *Uniformity on this point will always remain the same.*”—(*Le Moyne*, 1726.)

“It is not from obscure descriptions that an opinion of the doctrine of the Jesuits can be formed, but from

their books, which (by the blessing of God) are already very numerous.”—(*Gretser*, 1738.)

“It is from the books of our theologians that the reader will easily judge, whether our doctrine is conformed to the doctrines of Jesus Christ.”—(*Gretser*, 1738.)

“There are many theological works written by the doctors of the society. We profess the same doctrine in a vast number of places, both privately and publicly in the schools. . . . If at any time the milder opinion be preferred, it is with such excellent reason and authority, that it may be safely followed as well in theory as in practice.”—(*Gretser*, 1738.)

“The constitutions ordain three things:—the first, that our members do not introduce new opinions; the second, that if, at any time they should hold an opinion contrary to that which is commonly received, they shall adhere to the decision of the society; the third, that, in controverted questions, in which either opinion is far from being common, they restrict themselves to conformity, *that thus we may all hold the same doctrines and the same language*, as the apostle speaks.”—(*Congreg. v., Decret.* 50, n. 2.)

I observe, that a very general feeling of indignation has been excited by the sudden and arbitrary expulsion from Austria of the faithful Free Church missionaries, who were labouring with so much earnestness in word and doctrine amongst the Jews. We should, however, have been compelled to admit the justice and wisdom of the sentence, if it had been pronounced in consequence of the Pope having previously appointed a committee of cardinals and eminent theologians, to investigate the nature of the doctrines taught, and the principles promulgated and acted on by the most eminent Presbyterian authorities, both in past and present times, whose labours had developed such an unheard-of tissue of immorality, fraud, and baseness, as to render it wholly impossible for any government, anxious for the peace and prosperity of its subjects, and the stability of its in-

stitutions, to allow the disseminators of such monstrous impiety and delusion to reside within its precincts. Let us suppose, that their eminences had classed under their respective names, the errors and blasphemies, which they had extracted from the writings of our most eminent divines :—

1. JOHN KNOX.

“ We are never more free from the violation of the law, than when we persuade ourselves, that we are *not bound* by the law. For he who says that he is bound by the law, rather exposes himself to the danger of committing sin. Perhaps he, who has thus persuaded himself, will fall into sin ; but he who says, that the law is not binding, cannot sin. He, therefore, who follows the less rigid and less probable opinion, cannot sin.”*

“ It is certain, and in my opinion, matter of faith, that the humanity of Christ was remotely peccable, or possessed a remote power of sinning ; because it is matter of faith, that the humanity of Christ was of the same kind as our own.”†

“ The more true opinion is, that all inanimate and irrational things may be legitimately worshipped. If the doctrine, which we have established, be rightly understood, not only may a painted image, and every holy thing set forth by public authority for the worship of God, be properly adored with God as the image of himself, but also any other thing of this world, whether it be inanimate or irrational, or in its nature rational, and devoid of danger.”‡

2. SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

“ If there is a lawful cause for using equivocations or artifice in swearing, even although he, to whom the oath is sworn, should understand it in a sense different from that in which it is understood by him who swears it,

* Casnedi, *Crisis Theologica*, tom. ii.

† John Maius, *Theolog. Specul. and Moralis*, 1720.

‡ Gabriel Vasquez, 1614.

and would thus be deceived, a mortal sin is not committed, and sometimes it does not amount to one which is venial."*

"He does not steal, who takes in just compensation, if he cannot obtain what is due to him by any other means. For instance, if a servant cannot obtain his lawful wages, or is unjustly compelled to serve for an unjust remuneration."†

"That a number of small thefts may constitute a mortal sin, it is necessary, that they should be committed continuously, and that they should not be separated by any considerable intervals of time. . . . If four years elapses between the commission of one theft and another, it is accounted by Rebel to be a considerable interval, one year by Sanchez, six months by some, and fifteen days by others."‡

"If you endeavour to ruin my reputation by false impeachment before a prince, a judge, or man of distinguished rank, and I cannot by any means avert this injury of character, unless I kill you secretly, may I lawfully do it?

"Bannez asserts that I may. The right of defence extends itself to every thing, which is necessary for insuring protection from every injury. Still the calumniator should first be warned, that he desist from his slander, and if he will not, he should be killed, not openly, on account of the scandal, but secretly."§

3. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

"It is lawful for a son to rejoice at the murder of his parent, committed by him in a state of drunkenness, on account of the great riches thence acquired by inheritance."|| "He deduces this doctrine from a principle, which is true, and of which many are persuaded, namely, that when any benefit results to us from an action, which is in itself forbidden, but rendered blameless through a

* Val. Reginald, tom. ii., lib. 18.

† Tamborin, lib. 8, tr. 2.

‡ Fagundes in Decal., lib. 9.

† Busenbaum, ii., lib. 3.

§ Airault. 1643.

deficiency of deliberation, we may lawfully rejoice at it, not only for the benefit which is in itself clear, but also for the forbidden action, not indeed *because* it is forbidden, but inasmuch as it is the cause or occasion of a happy event."*

"What the apostle says of the payment of tribute, relates to those who are subject to the secular power, not to those who are not subject to it. Thus the clergy ought not to pay it, because they are not subject to the civil magistrate. Let him, therefore, pay tribute from whom tribute is due; if nothing is due, he is not obliged to pay."†

"There is no compulsion to swear according to the meaning of the judge, but equivocation and mental reservation may be used."‡

"The first difficulty is, whether consummation is unlawful before the nuptial benediction. Sancius and Navarrus teach, that it is not unlawful, and they are right, for although the Council of Trent (sess. 24, de Menstrum, cap. 1), persuades and exhorts, that it should not take place before the said benediction, it is no where forbidden."§

4. THOMAS BOSTON.

"So far from being false, I hold it to be most true, that a man sins not, when he does that which he considers to be right, without any remorse or scruple of conscience."||

"He does not sin, who follows probable opinions, rejecting the most probable, whether the latter be the opinion of others, or of the agent himself, and whether the less probable opinion, which he follows, be the safer, or the less safe."¶

"Doctors may lawfully give advice in opposition to their own opinion, by following the opinion of another."**

* Gobat Omer. Mor. ii.

† Gretsar, vii.

‡ Lessius, de Justitia et Jure; Hurtado de Sacr.

§ Hurtado de Sacr., lib. 1.

|| Casnedi, *Crisis Theol.*

¶ Nic. Baldel. lib. 4, 2.

** Simon de Lassau.

“Palmistry may be considered lawful, if from the lines and divisions of the hands, it can ascertain the dispositions of the body, and conjecture with probability the propensities and affections of the soul.”*

“Theft may be venial, through want of deliberation. For although, as Lessius says, it may seem difficult, that theft should become venial, by reason of imperfect deliberation, yet it may sometimes happen. For some persons are addicted to it through habit, and, as it were, so determined to thieve, that they bear away the things stolen, before they fully reflect upon what they are doing. The same thing may happen through the violence of temptation, especially when it is committed with so much precipitancy, that there remains not time for deliberation.”†

5. RALPH ERSKINE.

“Although he who, through inveterate habit, inadvertently swears a falsehood, may seem bound to confess the propensity, yet he is commonly excused. The reason is, that no one commonly reflects upon the obligation, by which he is bound to extirpate the habit, and, therefore, since he is excused from the sin, he will also be excused from confession.”‡

“It is certain, that a full knowledge of wickedness is required to constitute a mortal sin. For it would be unworthy the goodness of God to exclude a man from glory, and to reject him for ever, for a sin on which he has not fully deliberated; but if reflecting on the wickedness of it has only been partial, deliberation has not been complete, and, therefore, the sin is not a mortal sin.”§

“After a king has been lawfully deposed, he is no longer king, or lawful prince, and if such a king should persevere in his obstinacy after legitimate deposition, and retain his kingdom by violence, he begins to bear

* Busenbaum and Lacroix.

‡ Tamborin, lib. 2.

† John de Dicastelle, lib. 2.

§ G. de Rhodes, Disp. 1.

the title of a tyrant. After sentence has been pronounced, he is entirely deprived of his kingdom, so that he cannot hold it by any just title. He may, therefore, from that time be treated in all respects as a tyrant, and he may consequently be killed by any individual.*

6. THOMAS CHALMERS.

“A sin, however grossly repugnant it may be to reason, committed by a man who is invincibly ignorant, or who does not reflect, that there is a God, or that God is offended by his sins, is not a mortal sin. For, since this sin does not comprehend any virtual or implied contempt of God, it may subsist together with perfect charity, and with the friendship of God—whereas it follows, that the heinousness of the sin would be a *philosophical* heinousness.”†

“Actions done during ebriety, even if foreseen before ebriety, sometimes are, and sometimes are not, sins.”‡

“Women do not sin mortally, who show themselves to young men, to whom they think they will become objects of culpable desire, if they do this from some necessity, or for some useful purpose, or lest they should deprive themselves of their liberty, or of the right of going out of the house, or of standing at the door or window of a house.”§

“1. When upon any moral questions two different opinions (*Sortaine*, p. 199, &c.) are entertained by any celebrated casuists, of which opinions the one is more probable, and in conformity with the law,—the other less probable, but more agreeable to our desires; we may lawfully put the latter in practice.

“2. I think it *probable* that the cloak which I possess is my own, yet I think it more probable that it belongs to you—I am not bound to give it up to you, but I may safely retain it.”

* Suarez, lib. 6.

† Escobar.

‡ James Platell, tom. ii.

§ Simon de Lessius.

7. ANDREW THOMSON.

Father Fagundez (*in Decal.*, lib. ix.) thus expresses himself:—"It is lawful for a son to rejoice at the death of his parent, *committed by himself* in a state of drunkenness, on account of the great riches thence acquired by inheritance. This doctrine of Father F., which may seem a paradox, is true in theory, although it may be dangerous in practice."—(*Tobat Operum Moralium*, ii. 2.)

"The spiritual power does not blend itself with temporal affairs, but it suffers all things to proceed as they did before they were united, provided they are not opposed to any spiritual object, or are not necessary to obtain it. But if any such thing should occur, the spiritual power may and must restrain the temporal power by every means and expedient, which may be considered necessary. *It may change kingdoms, and take them from one, and transfer them to another, as a spiritual prince, if it should be necessary for the salvation of souls.* Christians may not tolerate an infidel or heretic king, if he endeavours to draw his subjects to his heresy or infidelity. But it is the province of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom the care of religion has been intrusted, to decide whether the king draws them to heresy or not. *It is therefore for the Pontiff to determine whether the king must be deposed or not.*"—(*Bellarmino*.)

"6. *A man who has been banished by the Pope, may be killed any where*, as Filiucius, Escobar, and Diana teach, because the Pope has at least an indirect jurisdiction over the whole world, even in temporal things, as far as may be necessary for the administration of spiritual affairs, as all the Catholics maintain, and as Suarez proves, against the King of England."—(*Busenbaum*.)

Had such doctrines been really propounded by the venerable fathers of our church, the expulsion of their disci-

ples and representatives from every kingdom and corner of the world, could not have excited even a momentary feeling either of sympathy or of surprise. They are precisely the tenets inculcated on all occasions, and practised wherever possible, by the Jesuits. Well might the illustrious D'Alembert propound as a principle, in accordance with the decision of the authority, to whom their statutes had been submitted, that "their institute is contrary to the laws of the realm, to the obedience due to the sovereign, to the security of his person, and to the tranquillity of the realm."—(*D'Alembert, Essai sur la Destruction des Jesuites.*)

The following are the terms of the decree of the Parliament at Paris, March 5, 1762:—"The court has ordained, that the passages extracted from the books of 147 Jesuit authors having been verified, a collated copy shall be presented to his Majesty, that he may be made acquainted with the wickedness of the doctrines constantly held by the Jesuits, from the institution of their society to the present moment, together with the approbation of their theologians, the permission of superiors and generals, and the praise of other members of the said society;—*a doctrine authorising robbery, lying, perjury, impurity; all passions and all crimes; inculcating homicides, parricides, and regicides; overturning religion, in order to substitute, in her stead, superstition, and thereby sanctioning magic, blasphemy, irreligion, and idolatry; and his Majesty shall be humbly entreated to consider, what results from instruction so pernicious.*"

So deeply has this order been detested ("Sortaine's Lectures," p. 192) by even Roman Catholics themselves, that, within little more than two centuries (from 1555 to 1773), they had suffered thirty-seven expulsions from various states; that thus, for instance, even by states the most devoted to the Roman faith—such as Savoy, in 1729; Portugal, in 1759; Spain and the Two Sicilies, in 1767—they have been repudiated.

We cannot be surprised, that, in such states as really value Protestant truth and civil liberty, the most stringent precautions should have been adopted against the admission or influence of incendiaries, who are not less bound by duty, than prompted by inclination, to rivet the chains of Popery upon the necks and consciences of all men, irrespective altogether of the wickedness of the machinations, by which this object may be achieved.

“It is not necessary,” (writes Beaumont, ambassador from Henry IV. to Queen Elizabeth, July 14, 1608), “to be a bad subject, in order to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have brought the Jesuits in England to destruction. *They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the Queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall.* Thus, instead of craving from her indulgence, protection, and support, they have provoked the Queen in such fashion, that she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty.”—(*Raumer*, ii. 183.)

In the reign of Christian IV., of Denmark, during the first quarter of the 17th century, a plot, conducted with much art, was discovered for the re-establishment of Popery in the North. Several ecclesiastics, who outwardly professed the Protestant religion, but who had been brought up in the Roman Catholic faith by the Jesuits, were actively and secretly employed in spreading Roman Catholicism in their parishes—in consequence of which, by the code of Christian V., every monk, Jesuit, or member of the Catholic clergy is forbidden, under pain of death, to inhabit or make any stay in the Danish dominions. In Sweden, convents are forbidden to be established, and no monks are suffered or admitted of what religion or sect soever they may be; and persons of foreign religions, accustomed to have public performances and ceremonies, are forbidden to have them.

I had written thus far, my dear friends, before it occurred to me, that, in depicting the morality inculcated by the Jesuits, I did not sufficiently advert to the lascivious abominations so minutely and so frequently dwelt on by the grave authorities, whom this society delights to honour. It is true, that these obscenities are veiled beneath the thin and transparent drapery of a dead language—but I own, that I can discern little more difference between a Latin and an English dissertation upon the mysteries of the nuptial bed, than between a wanton picture executed in modern London, and a similar representation displayed on the ancient ceilings, amid the resuscitated dwellings of Herculaneum. I dare not, and will not, dwell long on so disgusting a theme; but every reader of Mr Norris's book will there find that these holy, harmless, and undefiled abstainers from matrimony discuss such points as these:—whether a courtesan may receive a moderate remuneration, (*Gordon*)—what amount she may, under different circumstances, exact; and whether a handsome woman is not entitled to a higher price (*Tambourin*), on the same principle as money is asked for a hound or a falcon? It is maintained, that Susanna might have, without sin, submitted to the old men, if she did not consent internally—because life is a greater good than modesty—and that her crying out was an act of heroic chastity—(*Corn. a Lapide*.) The question is also debated, whether certain effects must concur in both parents to ensure the procreation of children (*Sanchez*); and what unhallowed and unnatural expedients may be resorted to, without sin, for provoking lust, or preventing fecundity? But I forbear—it is impossible to pursue such a theme any further in all the disgraceful and disgusting minuteness of its details. What must be the state of every Jesuit's imagination, since all must be polluted and debased by constantly dwelling on such impurities, or rather on “greater abominations than these?” (*Ezek.*) The mind of every practised *connoisseur* in turpitude

can only be compared to a metropolitan common-sewer, after a heavy shower, which is thus described by Swift—

“ Sweepings of butchers’ stalls, dung, guts, and blood,
Drown’d puppies, stinking sprats, all drench’d in mud,
Dead cats and turnip tops come tumbling down the flood.”

To those, who are desirous of obtaining at a small cost, and within a moderate compass, a full and perspicuous development of the constitution and government of Jesuitism, the “ great mystery of iniquity,” I strongly recommend a pamphlet, entitled “ The Jesuits,” from the pen of that very able and devoted minister of God, the Rev. Edward Hoare, incumbent of Christ Church, Ramsgate, from which the following details are, in a great measure, extracted.

The avowed object of their order is the support of the see of Rome. The oath taken by each member is as follows:—“ I, N., make profession, and promise Almighty God, before his virgin mother, and before the heavenly hosts, and before all bystanders, and you, rev. father, general of the Society of Jesus, *holding the place of God*,” &c. There is thus a transfer of allegiance from the Creator to the creature, who is represented as “ holding his place”—and “ it is laid down (*Const. vi. ch. 1*) that all Jesuits must permit themselves to be moved and directed, under Divine Providence, by their superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way, or as the staff of an old man, which serves him whenever and in whatever thing he who holds it in his hand pleases to use it.” “ I would,” (says Loyola, the founder, in his letter on obedience, written in 1533, three years before his death,) “ that every true and genuine son of the society should be known by this very mark, that he looks not to the person, to whom he yields obedience, but that he sees in him the Lord Christ, for whose sake that obedience is rendered.” The superior, therefore, so far as all his subordinates are concerned, “ sits in the

temple, and shows himself as God." "Obedience," they also continue, "is to be rendered to the superior, not on account of his wisdom, goodness, or any other such-like qualities, with which he may be endowed, but solely because he is in God's place, and wields the authority of Him, who says, 'they that hear you,' &c. —(*Hoare.*)

It seems, I think, necessarily to follow from these premises, that if obedience is not to be rendered on account of the good qualities appertaining to the superior, neither is it to be withheld if he should be foolish, cruel, or unjust. If allegiance was due to Titus or Trajan, not because of their excellences, but in virtue of their office,—not because their commands were consonant with reason, duty, and patriotism, but because they emanated from the supreme authority, it was due, and equally due, on the same ground, to Nero or Domitian, even when their orders were impious, sanguinary, or absurd. The Jesuit must neither listen to conscience, nor appeal to Scripture, nor seek direction immediately from that Wisdom, which is enthroned above. Mr Seymour (whose labours in the cause of truth cannot be too highly eulogised) asked his Jesuit friend at Rome, whether the law of God, or the command of the superior, must be obeyed, and the conscience sacrificed? The answer was, that "the more the matter commanded was opposed to his private judgment, revolting to his personal feelings, or wounding to his individual conscience, the more in proportion would be the meritoriousness of obedience under such trying circumstances." It is true, that, "as if for the relief of enslaved conscience," (*Hoare*), an exceptional clause is introduced, so that the statute runs thus:—"Conforming their will to what the superior wills and thinks in all things, where it cannot be defined that any kind of sin interferes;" and it is subsequently declared, "that no constitutions, declarations, or rule of life, can lead to an obligation to sin, mortal or venial;" but mark the next

passage—"unless the superior may command them in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of the vow of obedience; and this he may do whenever, and to whomsoever, he may judge it conducive either to individual good, or to the universal wellbeing of the society," &c. The meaning of this clause has been the subject of casuistical controversy, though I think it only admits of one interpretation, namely, that every command of the superior must be obeyed, whether it can or cannot be reconciled to the dictates of divine and human laws, by the subordinate on whom it is imposed. How, in fact, can it be otherwise, since, as we have already stated, the founder of the institution enjoins each of his followers to "see the Lord Christ" in the person to whom he yields obedience, and takes an oath to the general of the society, as "holding the place of God?" From the *fiat* of the superior, there is no appeal allowed to God himself—an appeal utterly inconsistent with that passive, blind, and *uninquiring* submission, which constitutes the sum and substance of Jesuitism, and which would be sacrilegious, as well as unnecessary, in the case of every disciple, who is taught to believe, that the Pope for the time being is "God's viceroy, the Holy Roman Father, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, in which alone is salvation." This description applies equally to any and every Pope, however cruel, impious, profligate, or profane. He is *ex officio* infallible and omnipotent—equally infallible, I have no doubt, when signing the death-warrant of a heretic, or when choosing baby-linen for the Infanta of Spain, or when sealing with the fisherman's ring a bull for decreeing the immaculate conception. No distinction is made in the case of any of the mediæval murderers or debauchees, or of the Roveres and Borgias of more modern times. The Jesuit has eyes, but must not see; ears, but must not hear; a conscience, but must not listen to its suggestions.

With the Protestant, the case is widely different.

We hold, that *the exercise of private judgment is not only an inviolable right, but a positive duty, arising from the fact of private responsibility*; that the sentence of each, on the great day, will not be regulated according to the church or community, with which he stood connected in this world; that then "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is;" that by *his own* words he shall be justified, or by *his own* words he shall be condemned;" and that as Adam did not escape punishment by endeavouring to transfer the blame to his wife, so no murderer or liar will be acquitted, on the ground of his having committed a crime under the sanction, or by the authority, of ecclesiastical superiors. We contend, that we must obey God rather than man, and therefore we try the validity of every human injunction, by referring it to the law and to the testimony. But the Jesuit believes, that, in obeying man, in the person of his superior, he obeys God, in whose place the superior stands; and therefore, if he presumed to bring any command, derived from such a source, before the tribunal of his conscience, and sought direction from the Scriptures, it would be as daring and as impious as if he ventured to sit in judgment upon an injunction directly proceeding from God himself. Now, we are all aware, that the Almighty has, in certain instances, issued commands, which, if emanating from any other authority, it would have been criminal to have obeyed. Abraham was ordered to slay his son; the Israelites were enjoined to smite all the souls belonging to divers nations with the edge of the sword. Isaac would have certainly been put to death, had not the angel interfered at the critical moment; and as no countermanding order was given in the other case, the inhabitants of many districts were exterminated, until "there was not left any to breathe." Now, if the superior, standing in the place of God, should desire one Jesuit to kill his apostate father, another to assassinate his heretical queen, and a third to lead a band of murderous mercenaries against

a nation steeped in Protestantism, it would, on their principle, be as indispensable for them to yield obedience to all or any of these mandates as if they had issued from God himself. There may be said to exist a sort of moral mesmerism, which places each subordinate class entirely under the influence of its superior. The Pope thus controls the general, the general each of the inferior officers, &c. They are all "turned about with a very small helm, whithersoever the governor listeth."—(James iii. 4). His Holiness, from the perfect command, which he exercises over his "obedient children" in every part of the world, is gifted with a kind of ubiquitarian *clairvoyance*; for every Jesuit, wherever he is located, "may be to him instead of eyes."—(Num. x. 31.)

"Their object is to insinuate themselves amongst their opponents, like the fluid soaking into the flax, and then, when the time is come, to blow up the whole, and split into a thousand shreds the strong and well-compacted fibres. In the pursuit of such ends, they appear to be bound by no oaths, and to be regardless of all legislation but their own. They can fight on both sides in the same engagement; some in the army of the cavaliers, and some under Cromwell amongst the roundheads. They may sign the articles, though they do not believe them; and even bear the sacred office of the ministry, although their only object is to betray the church. One man may empty the parish church by disgusting the people with Romish ceremonial; while his brother breaks up the Dissenting congregation, by the artful revival of some forgotten grudge. They can mix with the Anti-State-Church League, in a crusade against establishments; and then give their right hand to the exclusive Churchman, and join with him in railing against Dissent. They can stir up the Voluntaries, by exciting their horror against the iniquity of state-patronage and the evil of endowments; while at the same moment they are sneaking down to Downing Street, and there

whispering into the ear of the minister, that it is essential to Ireland's prosperity that an endowment be voted for Maynooth. In short, wherever there is truth to be assailed, or friends to be separated—wherever there is the slightest hope of strengthening the company, by weakening existing forces, or breaking up existing ties—wherever there is a prospect of turning aside an honest man by the insinuating suggestions of a subtle friend, there is the sphere for the unhallowed agency of Loyola's disciples.”—(*Hoara*, p. 11.)

The causes, which led to the suppression of this formidable and unprincipled confederacy, may be learnt by the perusal of the subjoined extracts from the bull issued for that purpose by the virtuous Ganganelli:—“Almost at the moment of its institution, there arose in the bosom of this society divers seeds of discord and dissension, not only among the companions themselves, but in the other regular orders, the secular clergy, the academies, the universities, the public schools, and lastly, even with the princes of the states, in which the society was received. . . . In short, accusations of the gravest nature, and very detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of a Christian republic, have been continually received against this society, which so many sovereigns have laid at the foot of the throne of our predecessors, Paul IV., Pius V., and Sixtus V.” The last-mentioned pontiff, at the instigation of Philip II., king of Spain, was about to have instituted a scrutinizing inquiry in reference to the heads of accusation laid against the society; but “this pontiff having been carried off by a premature death, this wise undertaking remained without effect.” Gregory XIV., in 1591, “renewed in its utmost extent the institutions of the society;” but “very violent disputes arose on all sides concerning the doctrine of the society, which many represented as contrary to the orthodox faith and to sound morals. The discussions among themselves, and with others, grew every day more animated; the accusations against the society were multi-

plied without number, and especially with regard to the insatiable avidity of temporal possessions, with which it was reproached."

"Instead of obtaining from Paul V., of blessed memory, a fresh confirmation of its institutes and privileges, the society was reduced to ask (1606) the confirmation of certain decrees," enacted by themselves, in which "it is severely and strictly forbidden to all the members of the society to interfere in any manner with public affairs," &c. All these measures, however, proved wholly fruitless; and no fewer than twelve popes are enumerated, who "employed without effect all their efforts" "to silence the accusations and complaints against the said society." "In vain did they endeavour, by salutary constitutions, to restore peace to the church, as well with respect to secular affairs, with which the company ought not to have interfered, as with regard to the missions, as likewise concerning the meaning and practice of certain idolatrous ceremonies adopted in certain places, in contempt of those justly approved by the Catholic Church; and further, concerning the use and explication of certain maxims, which the holy see has, with reason, proscribed as scandalous, and manifestly contrary to good morals; and lastly, concerning other matters of great importance and prime necessity towards preserving the integrity and purity of the doctrines of the gospel, from which maxims have resulted very great inconveniences and great detriment, both in our days and in past ages—such as revolts and intestine troubles in some of the Catholic states, persecutions against the church in some countries of Asia and Europe, not to mention the vexatious and grating solicitude, which these melancholy affairs brought on our predecessors, principally upon Innocent XI., of blessed memory, who found himself reduced to the necessity of forbidding the company to receive any more novices; and afterwards upon Innocent XIII., who was obliged to threaten the company with the same punishment;

and lastly, upon Benedict XIV., who took the resolution of ordaining a general visitation of all the houses and colleges of the company in the kingdom of our dearly beloved son in Christ, the most faithful King of Portugal.

“The late apostolic letter of Clement XIII. of blessed memory, our immediate predecessor, by which the institute of the company of Jesus was again approved and recommended, *was far from bringing any comfort to the holy see, or any advantage to the Christian republic.* Indeed, this letter was rather *extorted* than *granted*, to use the expression of Gregory X., in the above-named general council of Lyons.

“After so many storms, troubles, and divisions, every good man looked forward with impatience to the happy day, which was to restore peace and tranquillity; but under the reign of this same Clement XIII. the times became more difficult and tempestuous. *Complaints and quarrels were multiplied on every side; in some places dangerous seditions arose, tumults, discords, dissensions, scandals, which, weakening or entirely breaking the bonds of Christian charity, excited the faithful to all the rage of party hatreds and enmities.* Desolation and danger grew to such a height, that the very sovereigns, whose piety and liberality towards the company were so well known as to be looked upon as hereditary in their families—we mean our dearly beloved sons in Christ, THE KINGS OF FRANCE, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND SICILY—FOUND THEMSELVES REDUCED TO THE NECESSITY OF EXPELLING AND DRIVING FROM THEIR STATES, KINGDOMS, AND PROVINCES, THESE VERY COMPANIONS OF JESUS, persuaded that there remained *no other remedy* to so great evils; and that this step was necessary in order to prevent the Christians from rising one against another, *and from massacring each other in the very bosom of our common mother, the Holy Church.* The said our dear sons in Jesus Christ, having since considered that *even this remedy would not be sufficient* towards reconciling

the whole Christian world, **UNLESS THE SOCIETY WAS ABSOLUTELY ABOLISHED AND SUPPRESSED**, made known their demands and wills in this matter to our said predecessor, Clement XIII. They united their common prayers and authority to obtain, that this last method might be put in practice, as *the only one capable of assuring the constant repose of their subjects, and the good of the Catholic Church in general*. But the unexpected death of the aforesaid pontiff rendered this project abortive.

“As soon as, by the divine mercy and providence, we were raised to the chair of St Peter, the same prayers, demands, and wishes, were laid before us, and strengthened by the pressing solicitations of many bishops, and other persons of distinguished rank, learning, and piety. But that we might choose the wisest course in an affair of so much importance, we determined *not to be precipitate*, but to take due time not only to examine attentively, weigh carefully, and wisely debate, but also, by increasing prayers, *to ask of the Father of lights his particular assistance under these circumstances*; exhorting, at the same time, the faithful to co-operate with us by their prayers and good wishes in obtaining this needful succour.

“Actuated by so many and important considerations, and, as we hope, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, compelled besides by the necessity of our ministry which strictly obliges us to conciliate, maintain, and confirm the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic, and remove every obstacle, which may tend to humble it; having further considered, that the said company of Jesus can no longer produce those abundant fruits and those great advantages, with a view to which it was instituted, approved by so many of our predecessors, and endowed with so many and extensive privileges; that, on the contrary, it was difficult, not to say **IMPOSSIBLE**, **THAT THE CHURCH COULD RESERVE A FIRM AND DURABLE PEACE, SO LONG AS THE SAID SOCIETY**

SUBSISTED; . . . : . after a mature deliberation, we do, *out of our certain knowledge, and the fulness of our apostolic power*, SUPPRESS AND ABOLISH THE SAID COMPANY; we deprive it of all activity whatever, of its houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands, and, in short, every other place whatever, belonging to the said company in any manner whatsoever, in whatever kingdom or province they may be situated; we abrogate and annul its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even though confirmed by oath, and approved by the holy see or otherwise. We declare all, and all kinds of authority, the general, the provincials, the visitors, and other superiors of the said society, to be FOR EVER ANNULLED AND EXTINGUISHED, of what nature soever the said authority may be, as well in things spiritual as temporal, &c., &c.—21st July 1773, in fifth year of our pontificate.”

It must, I think, be obvious, my dear friends, to every unsophisticated and unprejudiced understanding, that the existence of a society, constituted on such a basis, animated by such a spirit, professing such principles, and carrying them every day into practical operation, was utterly incompatible with the welfare of the human race, the stability of civil government, and (so far as their influence extended) with the promulgation or progress of pure and undefiled religion. When they were expelled from the coasts of so many kingdoms, and put down by the solemn decree of the very pontiff, of whose power and pre-eminence they declared themselves the champions, they only received the due reward of their deeds. But supposing that a malefactor, laden with iniquity, and who had been guilty of burglaries, assassinations, treasons, and cruelties, unnumbered and unexampled, had at length paid the forfeit of his crimes by being hung in chains on a gibbet, and that, forty years thereafter, a holy anchorite, after having fasted three days and three nights at the tomb of St Alfonso de Liguori, had approached the weather-

beaten skeleton, and, touching it with a double-tooth of St Gregory VII., had caused the dry bones to live, so that "the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above," and had turned the resuscitated murderer and incendiary loose upon the world, not only without exacting from him a promise, that he should cease to do evil, and learn to do well, but for the very purpose of enabling him again to perpetrate similar and, if possible, more flagrant atrocities than before,—what language could adequately describe the turpitude of an act so foul and so pernicious? And this is precisely what was done by Pius VII. in 1814, when, immediately after the restoration of his antichristian authority, he "reversed the decree of his predecessor, legalised the vows of that so often prohibited society, and placed it in a condition to exercise, in all countries of the world, its discipline;" and this, too, for the very purpose of destroying the religion, subverting the thrones, and endangering the lives of every Protestant sovereign, to whose generosity, or I should rather say, infatuation, he was (according to his own acknowledgment) mainly indebted for the recovery of his throne. And here I may point out a very marked distinction between the noble-minded refugees, who seek an asylum in Great Britain against the tyranny and torture of foreign despots, and the Jesuits, whom the Pope deposes to this country, in order to subjugate these realms. The former, if they engage in any plot, are at least intent upon furthering the cause of liberty, and engage in no machinations against the institutions of the people, by which they are sheltered from death or slavery. But the myrmidons of Loyola are employed by a foreign despot to rivet on our own necks the yoke of thralldom and superstition. Their allegiance to the foreign priest supersedes every tie, which should bind them to the civil government of their native land, and although Pius IX. informs us, that he "sought the assistance of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, whose virtues had made

England illustrious, that they would deign to obtain by their intercession with God the happy success of his enterprise," it is mainly to the sublunary wiles and intrigues of his Jesuitical brigade, that he looks for a sure and speedy triumph.

It has been well remarked by Bishop Broughton, in reference to this bull (*Sortain*, p. 193), that "the head of the church restored this society in all its plenitude, neither accompanying his rescript with any refutation or denial of the odious doctrines and practices, which had been imputed to it, nor expressing his own disapprobation of them, nor so much as giving a public caution against their reintroduction." No sooner were the talismanic words uttered by the supreme magician, over the remains of the defunct society, than the breath came into them, and they "lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army"—an army, every officer and soldier of which is as obedient to his behest, as the genius of the lamp was to that of Aladdin; and the whole multitude of them are of "one heart and of one soul," and exclaim, with reverential enthusiasm—Thou art Christ's vicar, infallible in matters of faith, supreme in concerns of civil government—"thine authority extends over all the world." *Nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.* I was well acquainted formerly, my dear friends, with a canny veteran, who had represented a Scottish county in many successive parliaments, and who, on a very important question, was asked by a friend what *he* thought respecting it? "Think?" replied he, "I never think at all,—Pitt thinks for me." Now, this is the golden rule of every Jesuit—the Pope thinks for him. As soon as any youth has fallen into the condemnation of the devil by becoming a novice in that order, the general points to Christ's vicar, as Mary did to Christ himself, and exclaims, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." "The Pope is the light that is come into the world," and "if he should err by commanding the perpetration of crimes, or by inhibiting the observance of virtue, the

church is bound to believe these vices to be holy, and these virtues to be sinful, unless it is willing to sin against conscience.”—(*Bellarmino.*)

The bull of Pius VII. for the re-establishment of the order of Jesuits, is dated 7th August 1814, “in the fifteen year of our pontificate.” It sets forth, that the Pope had received a dispatch from the reigning emperor, Paul I., in 1800, declaring, that it would be agreeable to him to see the company of Jesus established in his empire under “our authority,” that he (the Pope) “granted to Francis Karen, and his colleagues residing in Russia, or who should repair thither from other countries, power to form themselves into a body or congregation of the company of Jesus,” &c. That not long thereafter (1804), “the same favour was granted to the kingdom of Sicily, on the warm request of ‘the king;’” and finally, that “the Catholic world demands with *unanimous* (?) voice the re-establishment of the company of Jesus, we daily receive to this effect the most pressing petitions from our venerable brethren the archbishops and bishops, and the most distinguished persons, especially since the abundant fruits, which this company has produced in the above countries, have been generally known.

“We should deem ourselves guilty of a great crime towards God, if, amidst these dangers of the Christian republic, we neglected the means, which the special providence of God has put at our disposal, and if *placed in the bark of Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers, who volunteer their services, in order to break the waves of a sea, which threatens every moment shipwreck and death.* Decided by motives so numerous and powerful, we have resolved to do now what we could have wished to have done at the commencement of our pontificate, after having by fervent prayers implored the Divine assistance, after having taken the advice and counsel of a great number of our venerable brothers, the cardinals

of the holy Roman Church, we have decreed, with full knowledge, in virtue of the plenitude of apostolic power, and with perpetual validity, that all the concessions and powers granted by us solely to the Russian empire, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, shall henceforth extend to all our ecclesiastical states, and to all other states," &c.

The bull concludes by enacting, "That no one be permitted to infringe, or by an audacious temerity to oppose any part of this ordinance, and that should any one take upon him to attempt it, let him know, that he will therein incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul."

Far be it from me, however, to question the infallibility of either of these pontiffs, "of holy memory." I believe, that Clement XIV. laid down an undeniable proposition, when he proclaimed, that the doctrines of the "Society of Jesus" were blasphemous and immoral, and its very existence incompatible with the freedom and wellbeing of mankind; but Pius VII. exhibited a not less striking proof of unerring wisdom, when, by reviving the institution, he manifested his conviction, that its tenets form an essential element in the dogmas of Popery, and that the stability of his own power, both temporal and spiritual, rests mainly on their support and exertions. I trust, however, that we shall not live to see the day, when our gracious Queen, in order to maintain her lawful authority, will require to import from Botany Bay and Norfolk Island, a cargo of "faithful and experienced rowers," who have been expelled from civil society for their multiform and aggravated crimes.

How utterly incapable the Jesuits are, as a body, of harbouring any sentiment of honour, gratitude, or integrity, may be gathered from the perusal of the ukase, issued in 1815, by the Emperor Alexander, the son of the monarch who had granted them a refuge, and loaded them with benefits, during the season of their disgrace and discomfiture.

“The religious order of the Jesuits had been abolished by a bull of the Pope. In consequence of this measure, the Jesuits were expelled not only from the states of the church, but from all other countries—they *were not permitted to remain any where*. Russia alone, constantly guided by sentiments of humanity and toleration, retained them in her territory, gave them an asylum, and insured their tranquillity under her powerful protection. She did not oppose any obstacle to the free exercise of their worship. She did not deter them from it, either by force, by persuasion, or by seduction—but in return, she thought she might expect from them fidelity, attachment, and unity. In this hope they were permitted to devote themselves to the education and instruction of youth. Fathers and mothers intrusted to them their children, without fear, to teach them the sciences, and to form their manners. It is now proved, that they have not fulfilled the duties which gratitude imposed on them; that they have not kept themselves in that humility, which the Christian religion recommends; and that, instead of remaining peaceable inhabitants in a foreign country, they have endeavoured to trouble the Greek religion, *which, from the remotest times, has been the predominant religion of our empire*, and on which, as on an immovable rock, repose the tranquillity and the happiness of the nations subject to our sceptre; *they have begun by abusing the confidence, which they had gained. They have turned aside from our worship young people who had been intrusted to them, and some women of weak and inconsiderate minds, and have drawn them to their church.* AFTER SUCH AN ACTION, WE ARE NO LONGER SURPRISED, THAT THE ORDER OF THESE MONKS HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM ALL COUNTRIES, AND NO WHERE TOLERATED. IN FACT, WHAT STATE CAN SUFFER IN ITS BOSOM THOSE WHO SPREAD IN IT HATE AND DISORDER? Constantly occupied in watching over the welfare of our faithful subjects, and *considering it as a wise and sacred duty to stop the evil in*

its origin, that it may not grow to maturity and bitter fruits, we have, in consequence, resolved to ordain— (1.) That the Catholic Church, which is here, be again re-established, on the footing in which it was during the reign of our grandmother of glorious memory, the Empress Catharine, and till the year 1800. (2.) To MAKE ALL THE MONKS OF THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS IMMEDIATELY QUIT ST PETERSBURGH. (3.) To FORBID THEM TO ENTER OUR TWO CAPITALS."

How humiliating is it, my dear friends, to contrast the intense feeling of Christian solicitude, exhibited by the Czar, for the spiritual interests of his countrymen, with the apathy and indifference displayed, under precisely similar circumstances, by British politicians, of every rank, and of every party! The former sorrowed after a godly sort, as soon as the machinations of Jesuitism had "developed" themselves in full maturity; and, therefore, you see, "what carefulness it wrought in him, yea, what clearing of himself, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge!"—(2 Cor. vii.) But each of our Whig and Tory Gallios seems to regard the differences between Protestant faith and Popish figment as a mere "questions of words and names" (Acts xviii. 15), and "will be no judge of such matters." The Autocrat acts as if the Jesuitical burglars were robbing their victims of "jewels of silver and jewels of gold," and "pearls of great price;" whilst British legislators virtually say, to the wretched Protestant parents, whose children have been deluded and ensnared by Popish craft and casuistry, "Who steals your *faith* steals trash—'tis something—nothing. The loss is hardly worth the speaking of. Your pearls are stucco, and your diamonds paste!"

Since 1814, the Jesuit confederacy has been flourishing like a green-bay tree; their principles have been more and more openly avowed, and daringly acted on; and whilst our rulers have slept, this arch-enemy has

been sowing far and wide the tares of heresy, superstition, disaffection, and intolerance. The leaven of Jesuitism may be said to have leavened the whole lump of the Romanists throughout both hemispheres; and the British Government, if it does not connive at their crimes, at least takes no measures either to control or to prevent their predominance. We have certainly no reason to complain, that their designs or their principles are shrouded in mystery; the *Rambler*, a well-known organ of Popery in this country, has lately promulgated a manifesto, of which I have already given an elegant extract.—(See p. 352.)

The sentiments, which the annals of the past are employed to inculcate in the minds of the rising generation, may be gathered from the following passage in a History of England, intended for Popish children, in which the crimes perpetrated by Bloody Mary, in the case of the martyred Reformers of England, are thus held up as good deeds, which every member of “holy church” is bound to imitate and adhere to:—

“It is very difficult now to say what should or should not be done. The whole country was unsettled and diseased with heresy, and it was clearly impossible to stop it by gentle means. In this case you know, when men are determined to destroy, not only their own souls, but the souls of many others, they are to be treated as malefactors, and are given over by the church to the law to be punished.”

The Pope himself, in an allocution dated 5th September 1850, in reference to a concordat between the “holy see” and Spain, has declared, that all ecclesiastical possessions unjustly confiscated were to be resumed, that all property, which had been or should be given to the Romish Church, was to remain immutable and inalienable, and that all colleges and schools, public and private, were to be placed under the entire and absolute control of the bishops. It goes on:—

“But it has also been decreed, that all the magistrates

of the kingdom shall do their endeavour to secure, that due honour, observance, and obedience shall be shown by all to the ecclesiastical authority and dignity."

To this is added,—

"That the most illustrious Queen and her government promise to give all assistance by their powerful patronage and protection to the aforesaid bishops, when, in the exercise of their pastoral office, they shall have occasion to restrain the wickedness and audacity of those men principally, who impiously seek to pervert the minds of the faithful, and to corrupt their morals, and when they shall have to scatter and drive away from their flocks the detestable and dire plague and ruinous evil of perverse books."

In reference to a work, published lately by a professor at Turin, who has written two works on ecclesiastical law, in which he lays it down, that the church should employ moral and religious influence, but not the power of the sword and of the magistrate, to carry out her views, there appears a rescript from the chair of St Peter, "in the sixth year of our pontificate," forbidding the work to be read, under pain of the greater excommunication. The Pope declares,—

"By such a doctrine and by such maxims, the author tends to destroy the constitution and government of the church, and utterly to ruin the Catholic faith, since he deprives the church of its exterior jurisdiction and coercive power, which has been given to it to bring back into the ways of justice those who stray out of them."

After such facts and statements as these, we cannot be surprised, that such opposition is made on the part of his holiness to the erection of a Protestant church, not only at Rome itself, but at Turin, or in any part of "Catholic" Europe; and that bullets and bludgeons are the weapons chiefly in vogue, for checking the progress of Protestantism both at home and abroad. Whilst the pseudo-primate of Ireland complains of unrighteous oppression, because he is not allowed to usurp a title,

which it is a crime against the first principles of civil society for his antichristian master to bestow, or for him, as a British subject to assume, and unblushingly asserts, that Rome has ever been the asserter of civil and religious freedom, he sees at Drogheda, without one word of indignant remonstrance, nay rather, probably with feelings of secret, or perhaps avowed, approval, two Protestant missionaries beaten and maltreated, until the one is, I believe, at death's door, and the other escaped with difficulty for his life ; and yet our public men of all parties care for none of these things : for the infuriated Papist there is no punishment—for the injured Protestant no protection !

The British nation (with the exception of their leaders and representatives in Parliament) have long been aware of the skill and astuteness, with which priests, and especially Jesuits, by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple ; and in order to overcome their opposition, and lull their suspicions, it was by sections 28 and 29 of the Emancipation Act of 1829, expressly provided, that not only every Jesuit, but “every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, residing in the United Kingdom, shall deliver a notice or statement to the clerk of the peace in the county where he resides, and that any, who enter the kingdom, after the commencement of the Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and banished for life.” Need I tell you, my dear friends, how completely these provisions have been trampled on by Popish priests, and ignored by Protestant politicians ? Soon, too soon was the grain of mustard seed planted ; soon, too soon, had certain men crept in unawares ; soon, too soon, were the kites, and vultures, and ravens represented by Jesuits, Capuchins, and Carthusians. Instead of attempting to prevent the intrusion of a single monk or mendicant, every premier in succession appears to have been saying on every such occasion, “Come in, thou blessed

of the Lord ; wherefore standest thou without ?” And “ Behold now, my lords, turn in, I pray you unto your servant’s house,” has been the salutation, with which the crafty emissaries of Antichrist have been welcomed by our “ presidents of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the counsellors and the captains,” both at home and abroad. It is under the auspices, therefore, and with the connivance, of our Protestant statesmen and legislators, and through the instrumentality of his mitred minions and hooded missionaries, that the Pope has been enabled gradually and stealthily to “ build a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, from whom he expects to receive of the fruit of the vineyard.” It was “ built of stone, made ready before it was brought thither ; so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was a building.” But now, his able and accomplished architect, clothed in purple and fine linen, is environed by a band of apostate devotees, who have left their first love, and, in their judicial blindness, are unable to remember from whence they are fallen—devotees, far more zealous for the Baal of mariolatry, than priests, who from their earliest years have been initiated in its unhallowed mysteries—who place more confidence in the practices and penances of their own ceremonial will-worship, than in the righteousness of a crucified Redeemer, and who would willingly “ cry aloud and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushes out upon them,” or endure any other infliction, which priestly caprice or ingenuity might impose. To them his eminence may say, with just pride and exultation, “ Behold the impregnable city, which the hands of the faithful have reared, and which is increasing every day both in strength and in population—mark ye well her bulwarks—consider her palaces, her convents, her cathedrals ; and contemplate the divisions and discouragements, which prevail in the ranks of our foes—their final discomfiture is certain, and our complete victory at

hand!" Such, my dear friends, I doubt not, are the prognostics, aye, and such, I may add, are the prospects, of Popery within these realms, if our statesmen continue to be supine and vacillating, and our people afraid to cope with their daring and inveterate antagonists, satisfied with only "looking one upon another." But if, instead of being chilled by the meagre and timid hints, which have hitherto been whispered from the throne, the ardour of our Protestant countrymen were reanimated and rekindled by such thrilling denunciations of Antichristian insolence as our Cecils and our Walsinghams would have suggested to the heroic Elizabeth, or as she, perhaps, herself would have dictated to them; and if our orators in the senate, instead of shrinking from any avowal of their allegiance to our Lord and to his gospel, were to unfurl the Protestant banner, and express that indignant abhorrence of Jesuitical casuistry and Popish encroachment, to which millions would so cordially respond out of doors, I then should cherish a more confident hope, that our religious and civil immunities would cease to be in jeopardy every hour—that our Lord's anger would be turned away, and his hand not stretched out to destroy—but that, overlooking our own guilt and cowardice, for the sake of our intrepid, uncompromising, and martyred progenitors, He might still exclaim in the ears of our implacable adversary and evil occurrent, "Because thou hast said (Ezek. xxxv. 10), These two nations, and these two countries, shall be mine, and we will possess it; whereas the Lord was there: therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will even do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them; and I will make myself known amongst them, when I have judged thee; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies."

It is no less melancholy, than alarming, to reflect, that our nobles and courtiers constitute the only class in the community, which seems feebly, if at all impressed, with the paramount necessity of guarding

against the secret machinations, or open inroads of Popery. In this respect, many philosophers and men of learning are far in advance of them. "The ambition of Popery" (says Wordsworth, *Memoirs*, ii. p. 138), "is upon record. It is essentially at enmity with light and knowledge; its power to exclude these blessings is not so great as formerly, though its desire to do so is equally strong, and its determination to exert its power for its own exaltation by means of that exclusion, is not in the least abated."

For the purpose of demonstrating how hateful and humiliating the yoke is, which Popery is preparing for us, and which our public men appear so little solicitous to avert, let us solemnly ponder the evidence of those best acquainted with its weight. After the restoration of the Pope in 1814, Farini (i. 17) informs us, that "there was no care for the cultivation of the people, no anxiety for public prosperity. Rome was a cess-pool of corruptions, of exemptions and of privileges—a clergy, made up of fools and knaves, in power—the laity, slaves—the treasury plundered by gangs of tax-farmers and spies; all the business of the government consisted in prying into and punishing the notions, the expectations, and the imprudences of the Liberals. When the devout pontiff, Pius VII., gave up his soul to God, on the 20th August 1823, the spirit of party was corroding the bonds of society, especially in the legations, and the pontifical government had little either of love at home, or of respect abroad." In a manifesto of the inhabitants of the Roman States, addressed to the princes and nations of Europe, in 1845, we are told, in reference to Leo XII. († 1829), the successor of Pius VII., that "being of a nature prone to extremes, he proclaimed a crusade against those who longed for a free and civilized mode of life, and sent to govern Romagna such a man as Rivarola, who was both their accuser and their judge; and who caused many to be apprehended"

and condemned many to prison, and many to exile, without regard to age, condition, or praiseworthiness of conduct. And while the new pontiff was thus persecuting the opinions and consciences of his subjects, he laid the axe to the roots of civilization, extending the privileges of religious corporations and their wealth, abolishing the collegiate courts, conferring new power on that of the holy office, empowering ecclesiastics to examine and try the causes of laymen, enforcing the use of the Latin tongue in the courts, colleges, and universities, and placing in subjection to the priests both public instruction and all charitable establishments. Then, as if Rivarola had not sufficiently oppressed and saddened the provinces of Romagna, a so-called commission was dispatched thither, composed of priests and soldiers, which for years upon years remained stationary there, and so deluged them with blood and trod them down, that the recollection and the loathing of it continue lively and intense to the present day."

The same *non-Protestant* document informs us, that Pius VIII. (+ 1830), "succeeded on the death of Leo. He walked in the steps of his predecessor; and, far from studying methods of healing the severe wounds he found, he opened new ones, and filled to the brim the measure of afflictions." Farini informs us concerning him, "that he destroyed a certain portion of good that even Leo had done, and that the policy of the court of Rome now sank into entire subserviency to Austria. Cesena, once his episcopal see, still preserves a painful recollection of political inquisitions and sentences undergone during his pontificate."

"We are content with noticing the principal heads of the accusations that the people bring against the government of Gregory now reigning—accusations each one of which more than suffices to give the right of loudly protesting against his breach of faith, his trampling upon justice, his torturing human nature, and all the excesses of his tyranny. . . . Bishops and priests were seen

and heard publicly preaching the new crusade, alluring the incautious by the bait of immunities and privileges, poisoning the minds of men, and exasperating the spirit of party. For many long years these centuries and volunteers struck, wounded, robbed, and treacherously slew peaceful citizens with impunity, assassinations were committed by the hundred, wounds and blows by thousand upon thousand, not to mention contumely and outrage of every kind; and as if impunity were not enough, the perpetrators got from the government praise, promotion, and decoration with knightly honours. We respect the sovereignty of the pontiff as head of the universal church, without any restriction or condition.*

“ We wish, that the sovereigns and nations of Europe may in their wisdom consider, and in their consciences, as men baptized in Christ, whether this condition of ours be endurable, and whether, in so great a diffusion of light, amidst so much movement of capital, and progress of industry, and in contact with other states more or less advancing in the career of civilized existence, a people planted in the centre of Italy can suffer itself to be led like a dumb flock to prison, or the gallows; can acquiesce in a censorship stupidly fettering genius, and in education administered by Jesuits; can patiently see men of science forbidden not only to hold meetings, but to frequent those that are held in other Italian states; and the press, the circulation of books, railways, nay, even infant asylums smitten with anathema. Even making a prayer or a complaint is construed into an act of treason, so that there remains for us no other way to put an end to the evils, by which we are borne down.”

The late pontiff, who excommunicated the Roman Catholic Poles for endeavouring to shake off the tyranny of the heretical Czar, is eulogised, even by Farini, for the boldness, with which, at a celebrated interview, he

* The public debt during Gregory's reign was augmented by twenty-seven millions of crowns.

addressed the Emperor Nicolas, and he might have been entitled to some credit for having "beheld the mote that was in his brother's eye," and said, "Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye," if he had only begun by "considering the beam that was in his own eye," and been at great pains first to "cast it out," by emancipating from noisome dungeons the thousands of patriotic citizens, who were the victims of his remorseless cruelty, and criminal ambition.

The Emperor Nicolas, in replying to the objuratory expostulation of the Popish despot, might have overwhelmed him with confusion by exclaiming, "The day will indeed come, in which we must both present ourselves before God, to render Him an account of our deeds. You, as being far more advanced in years, may probably be the first, and I see not how you can dare to meet your Judge, if you do not, as I now earnestly admonish you, cease to torture the subjects entrusted to your charge, whom you are oppressing. Holy Father, think well upon it, God has created sovereigns, that they may be the fathers, not the tyrants, of the subjects who obey them."

"Until the death of Gregory XVI. (says Gladstone, one of the most accomplished and eloquent of our public men), the question was, whether the temporal power of the popes could be perpetuated upon the basis of its old and very defective traditional system, further deteriorated by some of the worst characteristics of that system of government, which owes its paternity to the first French Revolution. From the accession of Pius IX. in June 1840, a second era commenced, and the question now became this, whether it was possible to remove the crying oppressions and abuses of the old system, and to establish constitutional freedom, retaining at the same time any effective agency in the Papal chair." I would here propound two questions for the serious consideration of every British Protestant:—(1.) If the Popes, even of the latest period, have been guilty of

such atrocious cruelty, oppression, and injustice towards their own subjects, who acknowledge their spiritual supremacy, how much more dark, daring, and malignant would the whole procedure of "Christ's vicar" be, if he were invested with ascendancy in these realms, where so many of the natives are infected with the unpardonable crime of heresy? (2.) If the expulsion of the Jesuits was essential for the peace and good order of society in so many countries, where, although Romanism alone was tolerated, the Popish sovereigns deemed the presence of a single *Loyolist* incompatible with their personal safety, can it be consistent with the security of our gracious Queen's person and government, that they should here be allowed to increase, and multiply, and replenish the land, when (in addition to the motives, which may have led them to endanger the welfare of Popish communities by their plots and machinations) her Majesty, and so many of her attached and dutiful subjects, are still more obnoxious to their wrath and rancour, as wilful and excommunicated rebels, and outcasts from the true church's pale?

No attempt can, in my judgment, be more futile than that of preserving, under any form, or to any extent, the temporal or spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope. The maintenance of either, in the most modified shape, is wholly inconsistent with the rights and happiness of mankind. It was from a close inspection of the practical workings of the Papacy (p. 15) that Connolly was led to abandon it. Conscience is no where recognised as an authority (p. 15). Papal holiness is purely histrionic (p. 16). Rome cherishes a burning desire for violence. Such things were poured into his ears as could not be uttered (p. 21). The system is irremediable, and the *annihilation* of the Papacy necessary (p. 22), and the toleration of Romanism dangerous. Domination is a condition of its existence (p. 25). It is a fixed maxim of this accursed system that "the Pope's *temporal* supremacy is *jure divino* (p. 27), and

involves a power of disposing of all the goods of all Christians, including the deposition of sovereigns" (p. 29). The code of Rome is antagonistic to that of England; the Romanist is not bound to speak the truth in England; and the toleration of Romanists is incompatible with the civil supremacy of the Queen, they being subjects of the Pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ (p. 31).

Such, my friends, are the sentiments of a learned, intelligent, and pious priest, whom nothing but an involuntary recognition of the abominations inseparable from Popery could have induced to abandon its precincts. Every Protestant (as I once expressed myself in Parliament many years ago) is a rebel in the estimation of every priest. Whatever may be the outward profession of some, I entertain not a doubt, that these are the real sentiments of all. All are only waiting, or rather "looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of" brutal vengeance and sacrilegious triumph, when dungeons and daggers shall again become the weapons of their warfare; when axes, stakes, and gibbets shall be the portion and lot of every believer, who is steadfast in faith, and immovable in courage. No Papist is allowed (at least in principle, whatever he may be in profession) to be only almost, and not altogether, a believer in Popish supremacy over kingdoms and consciences, as well as in his infallibility in matters of faith. The Popish system is "one and indivisible,"—"he that offendeth in one point is guilty of all." To allow a cardinal, who has sworn allegiance to the Pope, and is bound at all hazards to maintain or augment his supremacy, to strut about the metropolis in his red stockings, is just as irrational and dangerous as it would have been in William III., or the kings of the Brunswick dynasty, to have permitted Bolingbroke and Ormond, or chancellors, generals, and secretaries of state, bearing commissions from James II., or his son, to have openly published their credentials in London, and proclaimed the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance.

Let me also express to you, my dear friends, the deliberate conviction, which I entertain, that many of the oppressed believers in Italy, and in other countries, ground to the dust by Popish tyranny, look with far more hope and expectation to the Christians of Scotland, than to churchmen on the other side of the Tweed. I have been told, that very many of them regard Episcopacy as too nearly approaching, in its ritual, discipline, and government, that hated and pernicious system, from which they long for an entire as well as speedy emancipation. The Church of England, I am persuaded, prefers Popery itself to Presbyterianism. As long as they close their pulpits against our Chalmerses and Candlishes, I never can suppose, that they have opened to them their hearts. The admission of the "three orders" seems to be considered, not only by Puseyites, not only by High Churchmen, but by many Episcopal clergymen, who would repudiate either of these appellations, to be as indispensable, as belief in the three persons of the Trinity. Our most strenuous efforts in the cause of Protestant truth and freedom are either "ignored," or "damned with faint praise;" and, I fear, the day is not far distant, when we shall be compelled, in self-defence, to examine the claims of Prelacy upon the undivided allegiance of the Christian world. Mr Meyrick (who, in his enumeration of the millions of Christians, whom the Pope anathematizes, but whom he recognises, omits all mention of Presbyterians or Dissenters,) says, "We freely acknowledge the Roman obedience to be a part of Christ's holy church, and, therefore, we see good (?) working among them with pleasure, and without surprise. We also maintain, that they have corrupted themselves, and *added poison to the waters of life*, and, therefore, we expect to see, and do see, evils" (p. 35)—(these evils amounting, by the author's own acknowledgment, to idolatry, hilotry, and superstition)—just as if an apothecary, who had been licensed by a privileged board in London or at Rome, but who is known to be in the

avowed habit of mingling deadly poison with salutary drugs, should be patronised in preference to an honest and respectable competitor, who never practises the fatal admixture, or even tolerates the admission into his shop of such destructive ingredients, but who is not enrolled as a member of any corporation, which assigns to them a prominent place in its elaborate pharmacopeia.

To save you the trouble of reading many valuable works, which I have lately had occasion to consult, I shall subjoin a few miscellaneous extracts, taken almost at random, and without any reference to chronological order, which will demonstrate the merciless, unrelenting, unscrupulous, and insatiable bigotry of the Papacy, especially from the era of the Reformation until now:—

“It is incredible,” says Luther, “what sins and atrocities are committed here; they must be seen and heard to be believed; it is usual to say here, if there be a hell, Rome is built above it,—it is an abyss, from which all sins proceed.” “Rome, in its priests and people,” said a gentleman to me in Rome, who has resided there for years, and who has had every opportunity to know it well, “has not been, for a thousand years, such a sink of corruption as it is at this hour.”—(*Kirwan*, p. 204.)

Who has not read, with mingled feelings of horror, and, at the same time, admiration and thankfulness, the thrilling details of the persecutions endured at Madeira, when one Cawart was actually sentenced to death! (though not actually executed); those eminent servants of God, Kalley and Hewitson, expelled from the coast; many hundreds of the *Calvinistas* driven to the West Indies; a circulated Bible declared by all the Popish authorities to be so faulty, that “there was scarcely a verse of any chapter which was not notably adulterated,” although, on a careful scrutiny, the mistakes in the Gospels and Acts amounted at the most to seven, and these wholly unimportant! So much for “speaking lies in hypocrisy.”

“When I compare the Church of Rome, as I now see it, with what I painted her to myself, with the imaginary realization of our blessed Saviour’s scheme for fallen man’s sanctification, no words can convey my horror at the contrast. I should often doubt the conclusions of my reason, mistrust my moral sense, and reject my certain knowledge as a dream; if God’s written Word and man’s universal conscience, if the experience of both hemispheres and of ten centuries did not confirm me.”—(*Connelly*, p. 35.)

“On landing at Naples,” says Kirwan, p. 62, “I was struck with the large number of ecclesiastics, in different garbs, that were to be seen in all the streets. They all looked extremely fantastical and self-satisfied. Some wore a three-cocked hat, and some no hat; some wore shorts and stockings, and shoes with large buckles, and some wore sandals without stockings; but, whether they wore shorts or not, I could not tell from their flowing dress. Some wore an elegant priestly coat of black cloth, girt with a sash across the waist, lifted up a little on one side in order to facilitate their walking; while others wore a coarse garb, flowing from their shoulders to their feet, with a cord around their loins. I soon learned that the fat, well-fed, and well-dressed persons, with large shovel hats, were priests; and that the persons without hats, wearing sandals and no stockings, and a kind of shoe with no hind part to it, and which flapped against the sole of the foot as they walked, were monks and friars of various and varying orders. The walk, the look, the whole appearance of the priests seemed to testify that they belonged to the better class of society; and, as I was subsequently informed, they were persons *whose parents had purchased for them admission to the priesthood as the cheapest way of securing to them a competent support for life.* But the monks and friars, that were swarming every where bore the strongest evidence of a mean origin. Their low foreheads—their shaven pates—t^h

unwashed faces and uncombed hair—their coarse and filthy garments, and their unwashed feet, bore evidence against them. Of these monks and friars there are many orders in Naples. Some you see with bags on their backs, and others with baskets in their hands, begging from door to door ; while others are confined to their rooms in their houses, the voluntary subjects of rules and customs the most superstitious and degrading.” If such a portrait could with truth be drawn, my friends, of the ministers, elders, deacons, and probationers of a Presbyterian church, how soon would its day be numbered ! how soon would it sink into universal and everlasting contempt !

“From the sole of the foot, even unto the head,” from the meanest monk to the highest pontiff, my friends, “there is no soundness” in the Papacy. We have seen what credible and observant witnesses attest, in reference to the morals of the inferior clergy. When masses were ordered for the repose of the soul of the late Pope Gregory all over the Papal world, the announcement excited in the mind of Kirwan no ordinary degree of surprise. “What did he do (p. 133) to disquiet his spirit after it shot the gulf which divides time from eternity ? ‘If you will take five minutes’ walk,’ said a friend of mine, long a resident of Rome, to me one day, ‘I will introduce you to two fine young girls, the daughters of the late Pope !’ I then fully understood why masses were ordered for the repose of his soul.” “Like master, like man—like pope, like cardinal.”

“I went one day,” says Kirwan, p. 133, “to the Sistine Chapel to vespers, when the Pope and nearly twenty cardinals were present. He, who has once seen there the entrance of the cardinals, each with his servant untwisting his robe—their kneeling before the altar, and their servants adjusting their robes while kneeling—their bowing to the altar and to one another—their taking their seats with their servants at their feet, and assuming a most devotional look—their leaving

their seats to salute the Pope, with their scarlet robes trailing behind them, can never forget the sight! . . . 'It is to me amazing,' said a friend, who knows them well, 'that some of these men can keep up even the form of devotion in the presence of one another, when each knows, that the other keeps three, four, or five mistresses. Some of them are the greatest debauchees in Rome; they go, sir, from the bed to the altar, and from the altar to the bed. I know what I say. I have mixed and mingled with these persons. I have heard wicked and loose young men talk in my day; but the most loose and lewd conversation I ever heard in my life was from these men.' Like sin and death, confession and seduction follow each other in Rome. The crimes are there rife that brought from heaven a rain of fire on Sodom."—(P. 135.) No wonder, that Bellarmine prefers concubinage to marriage; no wonder, that where Popery reigns, incest is made lawful by a dispensation, whilst a wedded priest is unceremoniously consigned to hell.

"I have been forced to let pass, without even ecclesiastical rebuke, a priest's attempt upon the chastity of my own wife, the mother of my children, and to find instead, only sure means taken to prevent the communication to me of any similar attempt in future."—(*Connelly*, p. 22.)

When treating the subject of nunneries, Mr Seymour begins by observing, p. 167, (1.) That "the social state of Italy is as sad and melancholy as the skies are bright and joyous." He every where found, "a strong conviction, that, however objectionable the life of a cloister, it yet was the safest life for a female." The tone of feeling is "loose," moral principle lightly valued, the whole framework of the social system so crippled and disjointed, that there is neither a due respect for female character, nor sufficient protection for female purity. The laws are framed to screen the authorities: mothers think their daughters must succumb; marr

with professional men are considered disreputable; admission into a convent affords a permanent provision for the unmarried. (2.) Every possible impediment seems to have been devised, for preventing an unhappy and dissatisfied nun from throwing off her intolerable yoke. If, after having assumed the white veil of a novice, she declines to take the black veil at the close of the year, she would be "scouted from society," kept from all intercourse with her sisters, her parents and relatives would refuse to receive her, "her name would never be breathed, save in those low and whispering tones, in which we speak of those that have fallen." Under the influence of these two powerful motives, parental authority and public opinion, there is, in reality, no *locus penitentiae* for the unhappy victim. (3.) When once invested with the black veil, she becomes a prisoner for life, is regarded, if she escapes, as an outcast, is pursued as a felon, and it is at all events admitted on all hands that such a crime *deserves* death. The windows are all barred, the gates chained, the walls lofty; the captives remain, because they cannot help it, and because there is no possibility of escape. They are, my friends, like the starling in Sterne, which fluttered within the narrow precincts of its cage, crying continually, "I can't get out," or they exclaim from morning to night, and from night to morning, "O wretched being that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!"—(Rom. vii. 24.) (4.) The greatest imaginable pains are taken to propagate the notion, that the home of the nuns is a happy one, and that they "would not exchange their nunneries for the noblest palace." These averments, however, are justly stigmatised (p. 179) as "rank hypocrisy." A highly respectable gentleman, officially cognisant of the interior of nunneries, communicated (together with his wife) many not less sad than strange particulars on this subject to Mr and Mrs Seymour, who, from a variety of striking, though trifling incidents, had been already led to form

similar conclusions. He said that, although novices at eighteen or twenty seemed to be sufficiently happy for two or three years, they soon gave way to sorrow and despair, became broken-hearted, and manifested the shades of indelible sorrow. The spectacle of their irremediable wo, amid the languor of an inanimate existence, saddened all his best feelings, and troubled his very dreams.—(P. 182.) They pined away like flowers plucked from their native garden; no earthly consideration could induce him to let one of his own daughters take the veil. The majority of nuns at Rome die of madness, before they attain the age of twenty-five. There is no occupation there for mind or body, little religion is to be met with amongst them, unseemly altercations (in one convent there were three irreconcilable factions) keep the worst passions in exercise. The arch-tempter is always represented as assailing both monks and nuns, by appearing in a comely form appertaining to the opposite sex. The most debauched and profligate characters in Italy, and especially at Rome, are among the inmates of the cloister. Even the least immoral amongst the priests are, in heart and spirit, little influenced by serious considerations.

Speaking of a voluminous correspondence, carried on by certain learned Benedictines, Sir James Stephen observes, that “the writers and the receivers of these letters were all men devoted by the most sacred vows to the duties of the Christian priesthood, yet in a confidential epistolary intercourse, extending through eighteen successive months, *no one of them utters a sentiment, or discusses a question, from which it could be gathered that he sustained any religious office, or seriously entertained any religious belief whatever.* It may be, that our Protestant divines occasionally transgress the limits, within which modesty should confine the disclosure, even to the most intimate friends, of the interior movements of a devout spirit. But all reverence to the memory of our Doddridges and Haweises, our Venns and Newtons, whose familiar let-

ters, if sometimes chargeable with a failure in that graceful reserve, yet always glow with a holy unction, and can at least never be charged with the frigid indifference, which these learned Benedictines exhibit on the subject, to which they had all most solemnly devoted their talents and their lives."—(P. 427.)

Of what passes within the walls of nunneries, we can have little if any cognisance; we cannot know what deeds of darkness and debauchery, of murder and cruelty, are perpetrated there. Some of them, indeed, are little better than genteel boarding-houses for the comfortable accommodation of "unprotected females;" but from a single convent of another description, Mr Seymour's respectable informant told him, that no less than four nuns were with child; and history has recorded the fact, that sixty-two young women were found by the French soldiery, who had been corrupted and ruined by the Spanish inquisitors. Such, too, are the barbarous outrages inflicted by sacerdotal caprice and tyranny on those wretched victims, who are well denominated *sepulte vive*, that they are never again allowed to see their nearest relatives. Once annually their parents may attend at the nunnery, and they hear their loved and familiar voices. But if a parent has died during the year, the incarnate fiend, who presides over this hell upon earth, coolly informs the entire sisterhood, that the parent of one of them is dead, and desires all to pray for the soul of the departed! but she never reveals the name, and all remain in a state of agonizing suspense, till the one day comes round, and the absence of the longed-for voice divulges the awful secret, so long, so needlessly, and so inhumanly concealed!

And these are the abodes, which Romish libellers of humanity represent as the chosen asylums of piety and of peace! Is it the happiness enjoyed by females so circumstanced, that is so much more enviable than the enjoyments to be met with in the social circle or around the domestic hearth? Ah, my friends, if this felicity is so intense and so universal, why is it so stu-

diously concealed from public view? Why these bolts and bars,—the sombre wall,—the ceaseless vigilance? Why such ingenious and complicated restraints, to prevent these “happy families” from seeing or being seen? Why should the daughter never be allowed to say to her mother, “Rejoice with me?” “Come and see what the Lord hath done for my soul?” And why are the manifestations of their joy, when seen on certain occasions at a distance, so forced and so unnatural? Why is another sister posted as a spy, when a heartbroken inmate of these abodes of wretchedness converses with her nearest relative through the grating? A felon or malefactor, when about to suffer on the scaffold, enjoys at least as ample a latitude as is vouchsafed to these victims of superstition. A convent a happier residence than a palace! Why, my friends, if any of us were privileged to see our gracious Queen and her devoted consort, surrounded by their interesting offspring, and by a chosen circle of the highest matrons and nobles of the land, should we esteem them unhappy, unless they assured us, how much they were otherwise, and were to “frisk about even at the age of fifty, like hoydening girls of fifteen, and then stand with their mouth stretched, as if in a merry smile, to assure the spectator their feelings are pleasurable?”—(P. 181.) Should we not regard the royal circle with far more intense satisfaction, and cherish a far deeper conviction, that they were as happy as the universal nation prays that they may long continue to be, if we saw them in a state of cheerful but moderate excitement, enjoying the rational pleasures and innocent amenities of social intercourse? We might as well conclude, that a party of intimate friends, assembled at a convivial entertainment, with a moderate share of the comforts of life before them, were worse fed, and less contented, than some disappointed “waiter on Providence,” who, having passed a day of involuntary abstinence, reeled into the room in a state of counterfeited drunkenness, in order to make the world

believe, that he had been quaffing champagne and tokay, and had "more than heart could wish;" although, in reality he had been "quarrelling with his bread and butter," and "drinking the water of his own cistern," in the obscure *incognito* of a half-furnished second floor. It is probable, that many Romish devotees consider the Pope to be more happy and more holy, than even the saintly sisterhood, the extent of whose felicity is, I presume, to be estimated, in proportion to the magnitude of the bars, and the massiveness of the walls, by which it is so carefully shrouded from public view. Is it for the same reason that foreign sentinels are, day and night, seen perambulating the precincts of the Vatican? Is this arrangement adopted, lest his holiness's attached and contented subjects should crowd from hour to hour for the purpose of witnessing the felicity of their blessed and beneficent ruler? Ah, no! There is as much imposition in the one case, as in the other. Unbar the bolts, and level the walls of these consecrated bastiles with the ground, and thousands of emancipated female captives would bathe the feet of their deliverers with tears of gratitude and joy. Withdraw the hired bayonets of the Gallic miscreant from Rome, and unless a band of generous heretics should connive in attempting a rescue, the Pope and all his cardinals, and all his mitred satellites, would, by the unanimous indignation of an oppressed and infuriated multitude, be immolated at the shrine of retribution and revenge. The day may not be distant when these sacerdotal assassins, with their tyrannical Pontiff at their head, may seek refuge from the rage of emancipated patriots, in the palace occupied by some accomplished and respected British nobleman in the eternal city, and casting themselves at his feet, may exclaim, in the consciousness of their guilt, and the agony of their terror, "*Illustrissime Dux Hamilton ora pro nobis!*"

The preceding details develop to us, with sad and full accuracy, a few of the worst features of the vice,

grossness, and slavery, which unhappily predominate throughout fair but ill-fated Italy. Female purity is so little regarded by either sex, that the contagion of the moral malaria can only be avoided by seeking refuge in celibatarian establishments, where, if what is spoken or done in secret were proclaimed on the housetops, the ears of the most careless would tingle, and the minds of the most hardened be appalled. "There is not," says Kirwan, p. 122, "a worse-governed, less religious, or more immoral people in Christendom, than in the Holy City." "The Pope's infallibility places her beyond the reach of improvement, and stereotypes equally her truth and her falsehood—her divinity and her demonism."—(P. 175.)

It is an interesting problem to consider, whence this state of degradation and iniquity has arisen? (1.) One source of evil has, at all events, been most carefully avoided, which the infallible vicars of Christ have so vehemently denounced, and carefully interdicted;—I mean the free circulation of the Scriptures. Mr Seymour could only find two copies in Rome, after inquiring at all the booksellers' shops; and these were in twenty-four volumes,—just as if only one Bible had been, after the accomplishment of a diligent search, been expiscated at Edinburgh, and that, perhaps, a many-tomed polyglott, valued at five or ten sovereigns. At every other establishment, Mr Seymour was informed, that it was "*prohibito*," or "*non permesso*."

(2.) Neither can the deplorable and unhappy state of Italy be ascribed to that strict and puritanical observance of the Lord's-day, which Popes and Romanists so loudly deprecate and condemn. "There is," says Kirwan, p. 126, "no Sabbath in Rome. The only apparent difference there between the Sabbath and other days of the week is, that the shops are more gaily dressed, the markets are more full, and more people are engaged in buying and selling. On my way to St Peter's from the Hotel d'Angleterre, I saw monks and

priests in all the shops and markets, buying as on other days, and chattering like magpies. In Naples, the shops are closed and all business suspended on feast-days ; but on the Sabbath, all business is brisker than usual."

(3.) The preaching of evangelical or heretical doctrine, or a too frequent attendance on religious ordinances, have not led to this almost universal reign of immorality and superstition. "The sacrifice of the mass," says Mr Seymour, "is the grand service of the forenoon. In some churches, which are popular, it is a sort of fashion to attend. In others, there is scarcely one living soul beyond the officiating priest and his assistant. It has been my lot repeatedly to attend from nine to twelve o'clock, and to reckon no more than three or four persons present. And even at St Peter's, on ordinary days, when no high ceremony is expected, and where I have witnessed five or six masses all celebrating at so many different altars at the same time, I have reckoned sometimes not more than three or four persons at each, and on many occasions I have observed the mass wholly neglected, and without one person in attendance beyond the official assistant. The numbers are much larger on the Sunday."—(P. 307.) "The attendance at the service in the afternoon is generally as small as can well be imagined. We have frequently witnessed the vespers celebrated, sometimes by two, sometimes by three, sometimes by ten priests, and not a single individual to form or represent a congregation. Sermons are seldom preached at Rome except during the season of Advent to the Epiphany, and during the season of Lent. For fully two-thirds of the year—for eight months of the twelve, there are few or no sermons unless on special occasions."—(P. 310.) "There is no preaching to the Italians" (*Kirwan*, p. 127) ; "and when there is an occasional exception to the rule, it is not the gospel that is preached ; it is either a eulogy upon some Popish saint, or a vehement harangue against the Reformation and Protestantism." In order to judge of what our venerated

Chalmers would have called the "staple" of these sermons, I shall transcribe the account of a discourse delivered by a celebrated Spanish preacher, as presented to us by Meyrick, (pp. 14, 15.) It will appear, at one glance, how remote it is, in all its bearings and tendencies, from the mischievous and soul-deluding fanaticism of our Candlerishes or our Guthries.

"The sacrament of penance," he said, "takes away the punishment of deadly sin, which is hell, but it does not free us unconditionally; the eternal punishment is commuted for a temporal penalty, which must be paid, either on earth by penance, or in purgatory by torments, equal in all but duration to those of hell. Some people thought that forty days' indulgence only diminishes forty days of our time in purgatory, but this was a mistake; it took away the debt for forty days of neglected earthly penance, the payment of which in purgatory may be many thousands of years. Three plenary indulgences, by means of one of which all arrears of penance are wiped off, so that a person dying immediately, being in a state of grace, would go straight to glory, without purgatory, were attached to this mission. One was obtained by confessing and communicating, another by attending the services, and the third was to be reserved till the hour of death, so that, on the deathbed, the priest would impart it in the regular form, and then they would be safe from purgatory. But no indulgences would be of avail unless they were in possession of the 'bulla crusada,' which not only allowed them to eat meat on Friday, but gave them the means, by the bull of the holy see, of getting no less than ninety plenary indulgences in the course of the year—every day in Lent, for instance, by only going to a church, and saying so many aves or salves as one can."—(Pp. 14, 15.)

(4.) The profane worship and pernicious practices of tolerated heretics, and the circulation of their blasphemous tracts, in which men are taught to trust

in the Divine Redeemer as all their salvation and all their desire, have not contributed to create or aggravate these manifold and multiform evils. Captain Pakenham, a most respectable gentleman and devout Christian, is now in banishment for circulating the Scriptures at Rome during the short existence of the republic."—(*Kirwan*, p. 127.) The erection of a Protestant chapel at Rome would be regarded as an act of sacrilegious impiety. Rome persecutes on principle, and swears all her bishops to persecute all heretics to the utmost of her power; and when she renounces the principles of persecution, she ceases to be an infallible church. A million of the Waldenses, under the sabre and tread of the minions of Popery, were made to bite the dust (p. 179). 100,000 were massacred on St. Bartholomew's eve (p. 181). 200,000 Protestants were massacred in Ireland in 1641 (p. 183). The same principles constitute at this moment an essential element in the Popish creed. As I once observed in the House of Commons (April 1835), the Pope regards all heretics as rebels, and hates them as intensely as the Spanish bigot, Ferdinand VII., detested the South American colonists, who had liberated themselves from his galling and ignominious yoke. The Pope's authority (it is contended) extends over all nominal Christians, and none of us, by any dissent, can place ourselves beyond his jurisdiction, or beyond the reach of this law (*Kirwan*, p. 176).

(5.) An undue share of personal liberty in civil matters, the undisturbed enjoyment of free institutions, or the uncontrolled predominance of licentious anarchy, cannot be regarded as the channels, through which these calamities have overwhelmed the eternal city. What are, in Italy, the fruits of the Papacy at this hour? Swarms of priests, monks, nuns, and beggars; poverty, ignorance, and superstition; the press shackled; no liberty, civil or religious; no security of property; no Bible; no Sabbath; splendid churches, converted into opera houses,

with no congregations; and lying wonders without number and without end (*Kirwan*, p. 188). The city is divided into small sections, of about twenty families each, and a priest is placed over each of these sections, nominally to look after their religious wants, but really to act as the spies of the government. A man, who was recorded as having been in the employment of an enemy of the old government, instead of getting the passport he applied for, was ordered to prison, and where imprisoned none knew but God and the priests (p. 123). Peter Ercolo, for advising a friend to leave off smoking cigars, was torn from his family and sentenced for twenty years to the galleys!

(6.) The intervention of foreign powers to check the benign and liberal spirit of the Pope and his red-stockinged satellites is not the cause of Rome's present abject and wretched state. Every European despot places his troops and treasures at his holiness's command, and says, "I am as thou art, my people as thy people, (alas, how true in every instance!) my horses as thy horses."

I must leave it, my friends, to some more sagacious politician to detail the true sources of Rome's moral, social, and political degradation. The single word "Popery" comprises, in my estimation, the sum and substance of the "millstone" which encumbers unhappy and much-injured Italy, nor can she ever be free or happy until it be removed from her neck, and cast into the depths of the sea. Her era of slavery and suffering dates from the earliest dawn of Papal domination, and has now reached its climax, in the season of Papal decrepitude; it began in the green tree, and is now perfected in the dry. Popery, my friends, may impose upon the unwary and unstable by the meretricious glare and fascinating excitement of its pompous and pantomimic ritual; but it resembles the nun, whose profession is so powerfully and graphically portrayed by Seymour (p. 197). His description of her

flowing ringlets, her splendid attire, her diadem of diamonds, her profusion of valuable lace, her attendant, "a little girl, with regular feather wings projecting from the shoulders, and very airily trimmed with swan's down," was calculated to excite the most tender and hallowed associations. I thought of Schiller's inimitable ballad, "Ritter Toggenburg," in which that gallant knight is represented as quitting his hereditary mansion, in order to dwell in a solitary hermitage, contiguous to the convent, in which the lady whom he loved, not wisely but too well, had sought a sequestered and tranquil asylum from the cares and vicissitudes of life. There, during many days, months, and years, he sat musing in weariness and watchings often, till the opening window exhibited her calm and lovely countenance to his view.

" Bis die liebliche sich zeigte,
 Bis das theure Bild,
 Sich ins Thal herunter neigte,
 Ruhig, engelmild."

But my feelings of disappointment and surprise can only have been surpassed by those of Mr Seymour, the eyewitness, when I learnt, that the Princess Borghese, and her maid, were seen "watching every stone till they were all carefully removed by their own hands, and deposited safely from any light-fingers that might possibly be present, even in a monastery of nuns!" (p. 203). When the moment arrived for cutting off "the beautiful hair, with its luxuriant tresses," it proved to be "a wig!" "The young, the gentle, the loving, the interesting object of our romance was—a *servant maid of above forty years of age!*"

"Qui vult decipi, decipiatur."

I must here once more reiterate my deliberate conviction, that, whilst our court, our nobles, and our politicians profess an ardent attachment to Protestant principles, they are far indeed from being impressed with a due sense of the insidious designs and ensnaring delu-

sions of Romanism. They not only turn a deaf ear to the language of Protestant warning and remonstrance, but contemplate the arrogant policy and alarming aspirations of Popery, both at home and abroad, with the most infatuated apathy and unconcern. They forget (though British statesmen once "knew this, and were established in the present truth," 2 Pet. i. 12) that the Popes not only have ever aimed at "having dominion over our faith" (2 Cor. i. 24), but claim a right to bear "a two-edged sword in their hand, to execute vengeance upon the heathen [heretic], and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written."—(Ps. cxlviii. 6.)

It is important to bear in mind, that, from the first until the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign, "the Papists made no scruple of coming to the Protestant churches" (*Jeremy Taylor*), until St (?) Pius V. issued his bull of excommunication and deposition; "then first they forebore to pray with us, or to have any religious communion." "We will and command," said that saintly regicide and incendiary, "that her subjects take up arms against Elizabeth Queen of England." His Popish biographers, Catena and Gabutius, inform us, that he "published a bull against Queen Elizabeth, declared her a heretic, and deprived her of her kingdom, absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, excommunicated her, and gave power to any one to rebel against her;" and "because no legate could come into England, nor any public messenger from the see apostolic, he employed a Florentine merchant to stir her subjects to rebellion for her *perdition*." "The Pope was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the see apostolic, all the chalices and crosses of the church, and even his very clothes, to promote so pious a business as was the destruction of Queen Elizabeth." I entertain not the slightest doubt, my friends, that these are precisely the feelings and inten-

tions which Pius IX. entertains in reference to Queen Victoria, and that he is only waiting (and that most impatiently) until his growing power shall be sufficiently consolidated to warrant him in throwing off the mask, and plunging this country into all the horrors of civil war, and all the degradation of priestly despotism.

This canonized miscreant "went to his own place" in 1572. Bulls of excommunication and deposition were fulminated by Gregory XIII. (+1585), and Sixtus V. (+1590); and Clement VIII. (+1604) commanded the Papists in England to see, that, "however the right of succession did entitle any man to the crown of England, yet, if he were not a Catholic, they should have none of him; but, with all their power, they should hinder his coming in. This bull, Bellarmine doth extremely magnify; and, indeed, it was for his purpose; for it was, if not the author, at least the main encourager of Catesby to the powder treason. For, when Garnet would willingly have known the Pope's mind in the business, Catesby eased him of the trouble of sending to Rome, since the Pope's mind was clear. I doubt not, said Catesby, at all of the Pope's mind; but that he who commanded our endeavours to hinder his coming in, is willing enough we should throw him out."—(*J. Taylor.*) Well might that eminent prelate exclaim, "I found amongst them of the Roman party *such prevailing opinions as could not consist with loyalty to their prince, in case he were not the Pope's subject.*" And again, "At best he depends upon the Pope's pleasure for his loyalty." Bellarmine is at great pains to demonstrate, that the Pope's temporal power of disposing of princes' kingdoms, *is a catholic doctrine*; for he reckons up of this opinion, twenty-one Italians, fourteen French, nine Germans, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spaniards; and these not vulgar and obscure, but all very famous and leading authors.

The measures, therefore, adopted by Queen Elizabeth and her Parliament, instead of being ultraneous

and aggressive, were defensive and indispensable. The whole country was at peace, until the bull of deposition was issued by the antichristian usurper, who undoubtedly "cast the first stone," and made an ostentatious and iniquitous display of that wisdom which is "earthly, sensual, and devilish." It is to be noted, that the statute against priests was not made till sixteen years after this bull; and after much evidence, both by the confession of some priests themselves, and divers lay persons, that at least many of them came into England with this errand, that they might instigate the Queen's liege people to the execution of it. The Queen, then, providing for her safety, banished these priests from her dominions. Forty days were allowed them to prepare for their journey. No penalty was imposed for their longer stay in the case of ill health or cross winds, if they gave security for their good behaviour; but if without just cause they refused to obey the law, then it was adjudged that their errand was not right, and therefore not their religion, but their disobedience, was pronounced to be treasonable. Not one of them was put to death for being a Roman Catholic, nor any of them punished for their religion.—(*Jeremy Taylor*.) The law then passed against the bringing and publishing Popish bulls in England was no new enactment, as this practice was, by the Lords of the Parliament in the 16th of Richard, declared to be "clearly in derogation of the king's crown and of his regalty, as is well known, and hath been of a long time known." It may be added, that the statute in regard to priests extended only to such as were made priests since Elizabeth, and were born in England. It was not treasonable for a French priest to be in England, which it must have been if religion had been the thing aimed at.—(*Jeremy Taylor*.) I may sum up these remarks (which I might extend almost indefinitely if I were to quote all the Popish authorities by whom the same doctrine is propounded and maintained) in the emphatic words of Bellarmine :

—"It is a certain and decided point, that the Pope can, on just grounds, decide in temporal causes, and sometimes depose even temporal princes." And again, "That power in temporals belongs to the Pope is not an opinion, but a certainty, amongst Catholics."

In the concoction of all their present cabals and conspiracies, and in the perpetration of all their future crimes and cruelties, the Jesuits, I have no doubt, rely on finding in the priesthood of Ireland a band of faithful and unflinching auxiliaries. Their speeches and letters breathe nothing but threatenings and slaughter—they gloat over the prospect of foreign war—they exult in the prevalence of domestic distress. It is no more than a legitimate inference from all the sentiments, to which they give utterance, that they mourn over every British victory; would account a national bankruptcy as great spoil, although it would involve in ruin thousands of unoffending and respectable families, and would gladly sing the *Te Deum*, if our armies in Ava and Caffraria were conquered and cut to pieces, or the Tower of London surrendered to the ruthless bands of the Corsican perjurer, whose usurpation seems to constitute their *beau idéal* of civil and religious liberty. "The wild patriots of Dublin," says the *Times*, in one of its ablest and most eloquent articles, "look forward with a satisfaction, which they find it impossible to restrain, to the coming European convulsion, which is, according to them, to rend Belgium from the protection of the allied sovereigns and to restore her to the empire of France. At what expense of treaties, or of bloodshed, the end which they desire—a general European war—may be effected, they do not care. All they know is, that, on such occasions, the opportunities of mischief are infinite, and they exult in the possibility of availing themselves of them. They are once more painting themselves for war, and indulging in those whoops and howls, which we are now well accustomed to, as the invariable heralds of some bloodless and cowardly attempt to renew the game of

rebellion. It has pleased the demon of bigotry to give way again to the demon of swagger and gasconade. Whatever be the conjunctures, which from time to time threaten the fabric of an empire, consolidated as much by Irish blood as by English treasure, there is always a voice beyond St George's Channel ready to prophesy the worst. We were told, that our wars with the Sikhs would end by interposing two hundred thousand flaming scimitars between our army and Calcutta, and still unwearied with the falsification of their prophecies, the seers of Young Ireland still welcome the storm, from whatever point of the compass it may blow. But the very best subjects will weary by constant repetition; and we have been threatened so often and so vainly with destruction to be wrought by a combination between Ireland and some one or other of our natural enemies, that we have learnt to despise these threats as the vapouring of cowards, who dare not act the thing they would, and conceal, under a menacing exterior, dispositions harmless and peaceable in every thing except the unbridled license of insolence and denunciation." "The hour is come," says Dr Cahill, "when the world will no longer permit your ruthless advance. All nations seem to be confederating and combining against the universal enemy of order and religion; and the voice of indignant mankind demands at this moment, in smothered revenge, the dissolution of your antagonist empire." His reverence, indeed, assigns a reason for this universal detestation of Great Britain, which would excite no small surprise, if his pastoral manifesto could find its way into the dungeons of Rome, and Naples, and Tuscany, or be perused by the thousands of exiled patriots, whom Popish tyranny has scattered throughout the length and breadth of the world. "It is a melancholy reflection to think, that the hitherto most powerful nation in the world, so distinguished by the supremacy of the arts and the sciences, *should be branded by common consent at this moment, as the most fanatical and*

*the most intolerant country in the entire civilized world;** and it is quite true to state, that the hatred which Europe openly bears towards England does not arise so much from the superiority of your commerce, or the unrivalled advance of your triumphant arms, as from the detestation and the abhorrence, which all men must feel towards a state professing religious rancour and enacting an exploded persecution. England stands alone in the world at present as the sole advocate of a legal intolerance; and, whatever may be the result of the present indignation of Europe against her, the future historian must admit, that her hatred of Catholicity has been the basis of her international policy; and, moreover, that it may happen very soon to turn out, perhaps, the immediate cause of her national ruin." The Doctor, however, avails himself of this opportunity to renew his often-reiterated claim to the title of a loyal subject,—just as a female of very questionable character is always most assiduous in maintaining, that she is to be regarded as an honest woman. "But you must not mistake me. I am no rebel or revolutionist; I inherit the dutiful loyalty which belongs to my profession, with an unstained pre-eminence through all the countries. No, sir, I am a pilot on board your state-ship; I am clinging to the helm to 'steer clear of the rocks,' where your recklessness has placed her; and surely the captain

* The Doctor, in penning this denunciation of British cruelty and intolerance, may, *inter alia*, have had before his eyes the following sad and humiliating statement, from the eloquent and truthful pen of the converted (?) son of my late illustrious friend, William Wilberforce:—

"*Rugby, Sept.*—Ah! the tidings which I have to send you are truly sad. The dear people, hunted like wild beasts on the mountains by their savage foes, and forced on the resource of emigration, as the only means of escape from the dreadful alternative of relapse into Protestantism, or suffering, it might be, in many cases to death! One man brutally murdered! several women beaten almost to death! Protestantism would exterminate grace itself from the earth if it could."—(*See Letter in Life of Hewitson, p. 195, as to the persecutions inflicted by the Popish authorities at Madeira, Sept. 17, 1846.*)

must be mad not to thank me for saving the crew and the passengers. No, sir, I am no revolutionist; and if on to-morrow the state were threatened, I would be found in the front of the battle where my duty and the principles of my profession would place me." What would the Doctor think, however, if any very bigoted Orangeman were to say, "I think my friend, Dr Wiseman, is a very accomplished, humane, and liberal man, for whom I entertain the most profound veneration. I believe, indeed, that he transcends in bigotry and dissimulation the Loyolas and Liguoris of former ages. I am convinced, that he would eagerly claim the honour of applying a torch to the faggots, to which Dr Duff and Dr Gordon were attached, in order to undergo the same martyrdom as Hamilton and Wishart endured, in a less dark and superstitious age. I am happy to hear, that his eminence has only not got the gout in both his great toes, and that colchicum has given him no relief, but that he is labouring under a chronic sciatica, which (thank heaven!) has not yielded to the *douche* or to the dripping sheet; nay, I have even been assured by Dr Watson, that he thinks there is some prospect of the cardinal being attacked by the jaundice, and that there are (I rejoice to add) very promising indications of a preternatural enlargement of the spleen. Mistake me not, however, reverend sir, I yield not even to yourself in anxiety for the cardinal's health and safety. I promise you, that, as soon as I am sure that his case is desperate, he shall certainly have an interest in my prayers, and you shall find me at my post (of course, I mean his eminence's sickbed) armed with a bottle of Velno's Vegetable Syrup in the one hand, and ten globules of belladonna in the other!"

"Defend his eminence from such a friend as this!" would his reverence indignantly exclaim, and I would say with equal fervour and vehemence, "We dread not the lances or the legions of Austria or of Gaul; but may God protect Britain from being encumbered by the help,

or endangered by the loyalty, of Rome's sacerdotal minions and myrmidons!"

I am firmly persuaded, that the present anti-Popish* and anti-Maynooth movement, which is gradually "leavening the whole lump" of the religious classes throughout the empire, emanates from above, and is dictated by an ardent desire to maintain our Protestant liberties against the aggressive insolence of an Italian priest, and to emancipate his slaves, both at home and abroad, from his galling and ignominious yoke. I draw this inference, my dear friends, from two considerations — (1.) The characters of the opponents by whom it is thwarted and derided. (2.) The position and principles of the supporters who honour it with their countenance and co-operation. 1st, It is repudiated and reprobated by the liberal and infidel press, both in Scotland and England; by all latitudinarians; by all the public men, who revel at Epsom, and rail at Exeter Hall; and especially by a majority of the British House of Commons, which is, and long has been, of all public assemblies throughout the world, the most godless and the most profane; the only place, perhaps, in which the bare possibility of being supposed, in any instance, to be actuated, in giving any vote, by the religious bearings of the question, would be disclaimed and deprecated as a personal indignity. Nothing, I am sure, would be more easy than to carry through Parliament an act for endowing the Popish priesthood and hierarchy, and for extinguishing the efforts now made to spread the Gospel in Ireland, and rendering it felony, without benefit of clergy, for any Protestant to bestow a tract or a Bible upon any Popish inquirer. But, 2nd, My confidence in the high and hallowed nature of the cause in which we are embarked, arises from the certainty that it is espoused by an overwhelming majority of the most holy and enlightened Christian ministers of every denomination, who are every where uniting to aid it by their exhortations, their example, and their prayers. Of the Chris-

tian worthies who, in defiance of obloquy and exasperation, have stood forth pre-eminently as champions at this memorable crisis, I shall only quote two, who have lately entered into their rest, but whose names will be held in universal veneration, when their revilers and slanderers have been entombed in oblivion.

The Rev. E. Beckersteth, in the very last public address which he delivered in London (*anno* 1849), expressed himself as follows:—"I denounce all grants to Maynooth, as miserable bribery and transparent selfishness. It is an attempt to bribe Popery with a sop; but Papists have too much sense, earnestness, and zeal, to be bribed in that way. They will rightly feel only encouraged to seek for more; but let us tell them, that their souls are endangered while under Popery, then their consciences are awakened. Nothing but God's truth will enable us to achieve the victory. We plant our standard here, that Popery is an apostasy from true Christianity."—(*Life*, ii. 442.) The Maynooth Bill (ii. 296) awoke in Mr Bickersteth a mingled feeling of grief and indignation. "Accustomed to look on Popery as a fearful apostasy, clearly predicted in the Word of God, *believing it as plainly idolatrous in principle and practice as heathenism itself*, and to be so pronounced by the very church which the state continued to recognise, HE FELT THE MEASURE TO BE AN ENORMOUS NATIONAL SIN, and a direct provocation to the God of truth and holiness, by whose favour alone Britain had been so highly exalted among the nations. . . . Our only support is the sure Word of God, which clearly describes Rome, and threatens judgment to all who partake of her sins."—(P. 297.)

We may gather from the following extract of a letter, how much his estimate of the amount of genuine piety, and sound patriotism, to be found in the British Parliament, was in unison with mine:—"April 12, 1845.—I venture to write to you again, after reading Peel's, Gladstone's, and Roebuck's speeches. Peel's is worldly

conservatism, Gladstone's is superstitious Romanism, Roebuck's infidel liberalism, the three unclean spirits of this day (Rev. xvi. 13), all perfectly opposed to the Word of God, which abides for ever. Gladstone denies that Protestantism is any thing more than a negative term, as knowing and feeling nothing of its life-giving doctrines, common to all reformers, and so defames that which God accounts in his Word an unspeakable blessing. He insists, that we should look upon it in the way in which the Irish Papists must regard it, that is, we must give up our truth to adopt their error. His speech is more revolting than even Sir Robert Peel's. He professes to look for principles, and has not one scriptural principle to stand upon. Roebuck thinks it requires omniscience to know what truth is. Was there ever such a Pilate-like state of mind? The Lords have just passed the second reading of the Maynooth Endowment Bill by a large majority, *the most painful public measure that the legislature of this country have passed within my recollection. My heart sinks to the dust for my beloved country.* The Lord give us true repentance!"—(P. 299).

"Who can be ignorant," exclaimed the profound and prophetic Chalmers, (Life, iv., p. 386), "of the busy aggressive proselytism and undermining policy that are now in active operation, under the conduct of agents and emissaries from the Church of Rome? Who can be blind to the evidences now springing up in various lands, that the old priestcraft of the middle ages is lifting his head again, and shedding baleful influence over churches that were wont to boast of theirs being the foremost place, and theirs the first-rate services in the cause of the glorious reformation? Whether the Antichrist, that is now reappearing, be in the ancient and unmitigated form of Popery, or in the no less dangerous though milder form of Puseyism, surely there is most urgent cause for vigilance and alarm."

On another occasion, a few weeks before his de-

cease, he expressed himself as follows : " A certificate from Unitarians or Catholics, as to the religious progress of the scholars, from the managers of schools, implies the direct sanction or countenance by government to their respective creeds, and the responsibility, not of *allowing*, but, more than that, of *requiring*, that these should be taught to the children who attend. *A bare allowance is but a general toleration, but a requirement involves in it all the mischief, and, I would add, all the guilt, of an indiscriminate endowment for truth and error.*"—(P. 495). " THE ENDOWMENT OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION BY THE STATE, I SHOULD DEPRECATE AS BEING RUINOUS TO THE COUNTRY IN ALL ITS INTERESTS."—(P. 496.)

I shall conclude by borrowing the emphatic and thrilling language of one of the most venerated and excellent champions of our church, during one of the darkest epochs of her trials :—

" Oppressed 'as I myself am, my dear friends, with the infirmities incident to age and sorrow,—for me, I am now near to eternity, and for ten thousand worlds I dare not adventure to pass from the protestations against the corruptions of the time, nor go alongst with the shameless apostasy of the many silent and dumb watchmen of Scotland ; but I think it my last duty to enter a protestation in heaven, before the righteous Judge, against the practical and legal breach of covenant, and all oaths imposed on the consciences of the Lord's people, and all Popish superstitions and idolatrous mandates of men. Know, that the overthrow of the sworn reformation, the introducing of Popery, and the outcry of iniquity, is now set on foot in the three kingdoms, and whosoever would keep their garments clean, are under that command, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.' "—(*Rutherford*, p 708.)

LETTER IV.

I.—PAUL AND PETER.

It has always appeared to me quite evident, that Paul was wholly unconscious, that his beloved brother Peter was invested with the primacy, or was infallible in matters of faith. In fact, if such had been the case, I do not see, how any room could have been left for controversy or vain jangling in the infant church, or why there should have been "divisions among them," when they need only have gone to the fountainhead, or living oracle, and would have found in the chief pontiff a guide, who "cannot err in decisions concerning the faith, because he is assisted by the Holy Spirit." This is broadly stated in Bellarmine's Catechism—and is asserted of *the* Pope—consequently of *every* Pope—consequently of Gregory VII., Innocent III., Sixtus IV. and V., Julius II. and III., and all the wickedest and most worldly-minded priests, who have ever occupied that antichristian throne. If true of them, it must, of course, have been true of Peter. Since none, who refuse to kiss the toe or slipper of Pius IX., and to acknowledge his supremacy, can enter the kingdom of heaven, surely, if Paul presumed to question the primacy of Peter himself, I should be glad to know, where he is likely to be at the present moment? If Paul was aware of the authority, with which Peter was invested, why is he not so much as named in eleven of his epistles, in which are some things hard to be understood, but nothing, I think, so incredible, or so incomprehensible, as his omitting all reference to so essential an element in the government of the church, (especially in his long and elaborate epistle to the Romans

themselves,) as well as to every other Popish tenet, which the Protestant churches repudiate? He never, but in two instances, alludes to "Christ's infallible vicar"—and on one occasion for the purpose, not of bowing to his authority, but of withstanding him to the face, in terms more adapted to Luther than to Loyola. If our Lord's declaration (Matt. xvi. 18), "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," was equivalent to investing him with a supreme jurisdiction, and also his successors (although no allusion is made to them), why did the very apostles, who heard this announcement proceed from his mouth, come to Jesus a few days thereafter and ask, "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" (Matt. xviii. 1); and why, a very short time before the Lord's crucifixion, did they still regard this point as undecided, so that (Luke xxii. 24) there was a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest? and why did our Lord, in his reply, make no mention of Peter's already decreed supremacy, or rebuke them as being either dull of hearing, or slow of heart to believe? I cannot also refrain from observing, in connection with this subject, that, if Peter was selected by our Lord to enjoy the honours of the primacy in preference to the other eleven apostles, I should have expected that he, and not John, would have been designated as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Men are always apt to bestow the largest share of distinction and of confidence upon the individual, for whom they feel the greatest amount of tenderness and esteem. The fortunate co-heir, to whom a dying man bequeathes a large landed estate, and half-a-million in long annuities, may surely be designated as "the legatee whom the testator loved," rather than eleven other much esteemed, but less favoured, friends, to each of whom he leaves only ten shares in the Caledonian Canal, and fifty pounds each to purchase a mourning ring. Jacob had twelve sons, just as Christ had twelve apostles. The sacred historian tells us, that he loved Joseph more than all his

children; and he does not follow up this statement by declaring, that he made a coat of many colours, and gave it to Naphtali. All Israel's children were, I doubt not, very dear to him, but he gave the special mark of his affection to the one whom he loved best. Our Lord loved all the apostles—his selecting them to hold that high office is a most irrefragable proof of the fact, but he loved John better than the rest; and Peter himself was well aware of this, for on a very solemn occasion (John xiii. 21), when our Lord was troubled in spirit, and testified and said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me," John, and not Peter, was leaning on Jesus' bosom; and instead of asking him a question directly, which, had he been the chief of the college, it would have been his privilege to have done, Peter beckoned to John, that *he* should ask, who it should be of whom he spake. It seems, therefore, strange, that our Lord should have conferred the sacred vicariate upon the one, whom he evidently loved less than the other, and left the latter in a subordinate station. When Israel's other children saw that their father loved Joseph more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. The apostles, during our Lord's personal ministry, were by no means deficient in selfishness or ambition. Would they not have manifested some jealousy of Peter, if they had understood our Lord's declaration as conferring upon him supremacy over them all? I believe that, when Peter emitted the memorable confession (Matt. xvi. 16), as our Lord had addressed the question, not to Peter, but to them all, "Whom say *ye* that I am?" the other apostles regarded Peter only as their spokesman, or, as it were, the foreman returning the unanimous verdict of a jury composed of twelve honest men, and that our Lord's reply was as much addressed to each of them as to Peter, as they had all arrived at the same conclusion, although he only had expressed it in the name and on the behalf of all. Flesh and blood had n

revealed to them, any more than to Peter, the great truth as to which they were all agreed, and they no doubt took it for granted, that each of themselves, as well as Peter, was to be a rock, and a partaker of the same powers and promises,—a view, in which they must have shortly afterwards felt still more confirmed, when our Lord declared, “Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven” (Matt. xviii. 19), which announcement he repeated afterwards (John xx. 23.) It is surely not so far fetched an inference to suppose, as I do, that Peter’s “equals and fellows” were included in the original promise, as to contend, with the Papists, that it was addressed to himself alone, and involved, in behalf of himself and of his successors in all time coming, a grant of universal and unlimited dominion?

Reverting to the sentiments of Paul, I ask, Why does he not refer any of the questions or cases detailed in the fourteen last chapters of the Acts, to Peter, who, being infallible (which Paul was not), must have been just the man he wanted, admirably fitted for “showing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, forasmuch as light, and understanding, and excellent wisdom were found in him?” When, however, Paul arrived at Corinth, he tells us, that there were contentions among the believers—one said, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ;” and it is worthy of remark, that no one is represented to have said, “I am of Mary.” Perhaps, indeed, the infallible vicar, whose sole foundation of hope is vested in Mary’s merits, may draw a favourable inference from this very silence, and assert, that, however divided the church may have been in other matters, they were unanimous in their belief, that Barpanther’s granddaughter was the Queen of Heaven and the Mother of God, and that they therefore said nothing on the subject. How strange that, even at that early period, so soon after the supreme authority had been delegated by our Lord himself to Peter, there should have been various sects and shades of

“jumpers,” who boasted of being the disciples of Paul or Apollos, without any recognition of Peter’s supremacy! If Paul himself acknowledged the superiority of Peter, would he not, on such an occasion, have said to the man, who called himself after Cephas, “You, alone, my friend, are a member of the true church. You alone have hit the right nail on the head—*io anche son’ pittore*. I myself am also of Cephas; in fact, no one can be saved, who is otherwise. Such misguided sectarians as are of Paul, of Apollos, or of Christ, must at once throw away all *their* oil, and fill their lamps with yours. Without Peter, you can do nothing. I myself am every whit, and in every respect, behind the infallible chief of the apostles; our sheaves all bow before his sheaf. His empire is not limited within such narrow bounds as that of Ahasuerus, who reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over 127 provinces; *he* has dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. ‘All kings must fall down before him; all nations shall serve him, and his enemies shall lick the dust.’ It is of no avail to be one of the trees, which I planted, or Apollos watered, unless Cephas sets to his seal, that you are growing in his garden?” It is also remarkable, that this epistle is addressed to the church which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, and called; and Paul thanks God on their behalf, that in every thing they are enriched by him in all utterance, and in all knowledge. He does not confine his eulogium to those who said, “I am of Cephas”—all are equally commended for their piety and faith—all are equally found fault with, because of their divisions and contentions, and reproached for being, so far as regarded the universal tendency to sectarianism, which still dwelt in their renovated hearts, carnal, and babes in Christ; there is no exception in favour of the Cephasites, and the apostle never hints at the easy and obvious expedient—the *route royale*—for arriving at unanimity, by exhorting them to enter upon the more excellent way,

on which the well-instructed scribe, who said, "I am of Cephas," was advancing slowly and steadily towards heaven. It may, therefore, I think, be fairly deduced from this passage, that a man, who was not so much the disciple of Cephas, as of Paul or Apollos, might be "sanctified in Christ Jesus, and called;" for it is to the Corinthian believers in general, without any special reference to those, who were more particularly the professed followers of Peter, that Paul expressly and emphatically declares, "All things are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." If, therefore, Luther held every doctrine, which was promulgated by Paul; if Calvin was, like Apollos, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures, I see not, why one believer who says, I am of Luther, or another who says, I am of Calvin, should be cast out and condemned as guilty of heretical pravity, and why heaven should only be open to the man who exclaims, as the Pope does, I am of Cephas. Luther and his disciples believe all that Paul taught, and nothing more. Calvin and his followers adopt the example of Apollos, searching the Scriptures daily, and comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Nay, I maintain, that all of them are better entitled to say, we are of Cephas, than the church, which claims a monopoly of allegiance to that great and good apostle; for those, who are designated by the distinctive names of Luther and Calvin, hold all that Peter teaches in his discourses and inculcates in his epistles, without adding one jot or abstracting one tittle; whereas the Romanists, who arrogate to themselves a peculiar devotedness to Christ's vicar, promulgate and profess tenets, of which he never says one word, and anathematize all, who "follow not them," for not recognising superfluous sacraments, and observing tedious ceremonies, and practising self-devised austerities, to which Peter was entirely a stranger. The apostle, in expostulating with the church at Corinth on account of their unseemly contentions, says, "Is Christ divided?" and he does not say, that those who were of

Cephas, were less culpable than the rest, or that the others should cry *peccavi*, and at once go over to them. The man who says, I am of Christ, is not excepted from the apostle's censure, because he evidently assumed that appellation in an exclusive sense, as if *he* and *his* "were the people, and wisdom would die with them." I am of Christ—I have apostolic succession—I can regenerate by sprinkling a few drops of water, is the exemplification of a similar spirit in the present day. Was Paul crucified for you? no—but neither was Peter. Were ye baptized in the name of Paul? no—and just as little in that of Cephas; and therefore cease from man—cease from Paul—cease from Cephas—cease from Apollos, assume not the name of Christian in a sense offensive and disparaging to other believers, and let your all and in all be Christ, who *was* crucified for you, Christ who baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Paul declares not long afterwards, "All things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas;" thus again placing Apollos and himself in familiar juxtaposition with the head of the church, and subjoining his name to theirs. In the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians he twice asserts, that he is not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles, one of whom Peter unquestionably was.

When Paul was called by God's grace, instead of hastening to Rome, that he might receive investiture from Peter, and (it may be) become entitled to wear red stockings, he conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went he up to Jerusalem, to them that were apostles before him; and here again he makes no special distinction between Peter and the rest; and it is not until three years afterwards that he passed a fortnight with Peter, whom he mentions with as little ceremony, as if he were neither infallible nor supreme. He tells us, afterwards, that they, who seemed to be *somewhat* (Peter doubtless amongst the rest), in conference added nothing to him; he had nothing to learn from his infallible superior; and even seems to proceed with Peter on the

divide et impera principle, for he claims the same prerogative for himself, in reference to the uncircumcision, which he allows, with respect to the circumcision, to Peter. He next tells us, that James, Cephas, and John *seemed* to be pillars; how singular that he, whom the Lord himself had been pleased to denominate a rock, and on whom the whole fabric of the church was built, should only *seem* to be a pillar, and be named *after* James, instead of being mentioned in the place of honour! What would be thought of any traveller who wrote from Rome: "I have seen Antonelli, Pio IX., and Lambruschini, who *seemed* to be somewhat!" Why, the book of such a raw and recreant ignoramus would be put into the Index, and it would be well if the luckless author himself escaped being immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition. A well-trained lady of the bedchamber would be shocked at the want of tact displayed by a harum-scarum tourist, who jotted down, in his pencillings by the way, that he had seen the Duchess of Richmond, the Queen, and the Duchess of Sutherland, who *seemed* to be beauties, walking on the terrace at Windsor Castle. The expression used by James, "If any man *seem* to be religious," is by no means intended to be eulogistic.

But the most extraordinary element in the story remains to be considered. When Peter was come to Antioch—and, by the by, he seems to have certainly been, in one sense, an universal bishop, and to have evinced his episcopal ubiquity by being met with every where but in his own diocese—he was, perhaps, like his present representative, never less at home than when at home. . . . *Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.* We read of him at Cæsarea, at Jerusalem, at Babylon, at Joppa, in short, any where and every where but at Rome. When, however, he came to Antioch, what course was taken by Paul? During all his preachings and perambulations, if Peter was the supreme head of the church, the utmost that Paul could pretend to be

was a nuncio or legate *a latere*. Does he come out to meet Christ's vicar, at the head of a solemn procession, with candles and crucifixes, or incense and genuflexions? Not he; we are at once informed that, without any ceremony or compunction, he "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed." Peter himself seems to have apprehended, that he was, at the most, only second in command, and to have most properly conceded priority in rank to James, the Lord's brother. At the same time, he appears to have, in this instance, carried to an excess his reverence even for a holy personage, the son of the blessed Virgin herself, for he had been quite orthodox until he surrendered the dictates of his private judgment, and did not fall into a gross and grievous error, which subjected him to severe and merited reprehension, until "certain were come from James." Paul, writing under the influence of the Holy Spirit, tells us, that the vicar of Christ was a coward, he "feared them which were of the circumcision," (almost, perhaps, as much afraid of his countrymen, as his successor is of his subjects); that he was a dissembler, and did what he himself knew to be wrong, and was also, by his example, the cause of dissimulation in others; that he "walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel," and required to be set right, not on any point of minor importance, but with respect to the cardinal point of Christianity, the mode of a sinner's justification in the sight of God. I must admit, my dear friends, that, in each of these particulars (though not in reference to others), many a *soi-disant* successor of Peter might be fully entitled to say, "I am of Cephas!" But so far as regards the question of his primacy and infallibility, I contend, that his claim, or rather the claim of the arrogant and schismatical pretenders, who have invested themselves, in virtue of derivation from him, with prerogatives, which he neither possessed nor assumed, is invalidated, not only by the testimony of Paul, who acted, at all times, and at Antioch especially, in a manner wholly

inconsistent with his belief in the existence of such rights in the person of Peter, but by the general scope and tenor of Peter's own conduct in that instance, and on every occasion, on which the merits of the case could fairly be brought to a decisive issue.

Peter himself never asserts, "I am the rock,"—or exclaims, in reference to the earth, "I bear up the pillars of it,"—or says, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of mine,"—or if, as the Romanists vainly contend, the allusion to "the spirits in prison" has a reference to purgatory, he does not claim any power (although his successors arrogate it to themselves in virtue of its having appertained to him) to emancipate them from their dungeon by celebrating masses in exchange for money; and when he exhorts the readers of his Second Epistle to be mindful of the commandments of "*us*," he does not, like his proud and portly successor, Benedict XIV., apply the plural number to himself, but placing himself on a level with the brethren, over whom the Romanists contend that he possessed such a marked and kingly pre-eminence, he says, "of us (of *all* of us), the apostles of the Lord and Saviour." I believe, that Peter was just as much convinced of his own infallibility and supremacy, as he was persuaded, that Mary the mother of Jesus was also the mother of God. The word "rock" occurs only three times in the canonical epistles—once in the first of Paul to the Corinthians, in which Christ, and not Peter, is spoken of as a rock; and the expression, "a rock of offence," is quoted both by Peter and by Paul, the latter of whom, I have no doubt, would have applied it to his beloved brother Peter, if he had ventured to propound a preposterous and unscriptural claim to universal dominion; and by Peter himself to Cardinal Bellarmine, had his Eminence flourished during the age of primitive antiquity, and caused both the apostle's ears to tingle by falling on his knees at his feet (in despite of the horror with which Peter, "trembling and astonished," would

have exclaimed, "See, thou do it not,") and saying, "Thou art Peter, and by divine right possessest illimitable power over the whole earth, in affairs both civil and ecclesiastical." The good apostle would have doubtless replied, "Get thee behind me, Satan—thou art an offence unto me—thou savourest not the things that be of God—thou art beside thyself—too much learning hath made thee mad."

Let us examine, however, still more minutely, by referring to the sacred narrative, in which the acts of the Apostles are embodied, in what light the apostle was regarded by his believing contemporaries, or by the inspired historian himself, and what position Peter assumes in reference to that church, of which his successors so strenuously arrogate to themselves the headship, in virtue of its supposed delegation by our Head to him. It is, I think, impossible to conceive a more striking contrast, than between the various speeches of Peter, whether addressed to believers or to heathens, and the allocutions pronounced by his successors, either to councils or to cardinals. The apostle speaks little of himself, but much of Christ Jesus the Lord; he says nothing about masses, nothing about Mary, nothing about purgatory, nothing about images; when he alludes to money, it is for the purpose of telling us, that he has neither silver nor gold, that the money of the man, who thinks the gift of God can be purchased with it, shall perish with him. Large sums, indeed, were laid at his feet, and at those of the other apostles, not to be laid out in delectable things and gorgeous apparel for themselves, but that distribution might be made unto every man according as he had need. He does not claim the right of nominating, *proprio motu*, a successor to Judas, but lots are given forth by the men and brethren, and the lot falls on Matthias. He seems to have gone to and fro, as unconscious of possessing supreme power as M. Jourdain was, that he had been for many years talking prose.

His name is often coupled with that of his friend and colleague John, and he ascribes the miracle performed on the impotent man as much to the beloved disciple as to himself. Peter and John went up together to the temple. Peter and John astonished the rulers by their boldness. Peter and John answered them, and went together to their own company. The union between them seems to have resembled that which subsisted between Beaumont and Fletcher, in the joint composition of their plays, as to which it is difficult to determine how much or how little was written by each. The twelve—and not Peter as their head—called the multitude of the disciples unto them ; and it is also remarkable, that when the apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, *they sent* unto them Peter and John. Why, if Peter had been the acknowledged head of the church, he would not have been the sent but the sender. What should we think if, in our day, the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Birmingham were thus placed in a juxtaposition of equality, and ordered by a synod or council to undertake a joint tour of inspection? If Peter, also, was a personage invested with such an important character, we should have thought, that Cornelius would have been ordered to wait upon “Christ’s vicar,” instead of “Christ’s vicar” (when lodging, perhaps, on the second floor at his namesake the tanner’s) being enjoined to pay the first visit to Cornelius, without (in all probability, though the sacred historian neither affirms nor denies the fact) enjoying, as his successor Pius VIII. did, when seen by my friend Mr Thomson, the advantage of riding in a state-coach, drawn by six black horses, and preceded by a priest riding on a white mule, and bearing a large crucifix. Cornelius, however, fell down at his feet and worshipped him ; and I daresay this is alleged as a precedent for “each cardinal in succession rising from his seat, and slowly approaching the pontiff, in order that, when near him, he may prostrate himself on the

ground before him, lying flat on his face, or nearly so." Although, however, the cardinals follow the pattern of Cornelius, it is not equally clear, that the Pope considers the example of the apostle to be equally binding upon himself. Mr T., at least (perhaps from ignorance or inadvertence), does not seem to have been aware, that the Pope exclaimed, "Stand up, for I am a man." Had his Holiness been pleased to utter these words, there would have been less necessity for the ceremony, afterwards performed, of burning three times a small quantity of flax, and saying, *Sancte pater, sic transit gloria mundi*. When Peter opens his mouth to preach his sermon, which he had ample time to premeditate during his journey, the only subject spoken of is Christ. He states what our Lord had done for himself, in common with other "witnesses chosen before God." But he claims no special pre-eminence—does not call upon Cornelius to acknowledge him as the head of the church, and the governor of the nations; and commands "water" to be used for baptism, without giving his converts the benefit either of lighted candles or of sacerdotal saliva. It is also worthy of notice, that, when the angel delivers his divine message to Cornelius, he says, "Call for Simon"—not Simon, the infallible expositor in matters of faith; and to prevent his being mistaken for Simon the magician, or Simon the Canaanite, or Simon the Pharisee, or Simon the tanner, he adds, "whose surname is Peter"—just as we hear of Lebbæus, whose surname was Thaddeus, or John, whose surname was Mark. What would be thought, in modern times, if any of his successors were described as Leo, whose surname is Genga; or Pius, whose surname is Ferretti? When the supreme pontiff came to Jerusalem, there has been no record preserved of any extraordinary marks of veneration, with which he was received by prostrate multitudes, imploring his benediction on their bended knees. Concerning Paul, in whose case, as being a mere ordinary apostle, we should have

been less disposed to have anticipated any special tokens of respect, we learn, that, as soon as his approach was notified, "The brethren came to meet him as far as Appii Forum." But as for Peter, it appears that "no man cried, God save him—no joyful voice gave him his welcome home."

And how was the infallible vicar received by the assembled apostles and brethren? Not with deferential genuflexions, nor did they with breathless anxiety await his authoritative allocution, or diligently observe whether any thing would come from him, and hastily catch at it. *Horresco referens!* they addressed to him the language of objugation, and perhaps laboured under the anathematised hallucination of certain impious zealots in after ages, that a general council is superior to the supreme pontiff himself! "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them!" I should be glad to know what Gregory VII. would have said, if, borne aloft on men's shoulders in a litter, and seated on the throne of infallibility, a few mitred malcontents had ventured to exclaim, "Thou wentest in to Countess Matilda, and didst carouse with her, whilst the emperor, thy sovereign, by whom thine election to the papacy was confirmed, was kept for three days half-naked and shivering at the gate!" Why, the exasperated pontiff would (to use a homely Scotch expression) have been neither to hold nor to bind. The life of the infatuated accuser would not have been worth an hour's purchase. But Peter, whose conduct seems rather to be regarded by his successors as a beacon to shun, than as an example to follow, and who never claimed the power of deposing monarchs, or excommunicating nobles, or granting dispensations, or giving no account of his matters, rehearses the whole transaction from the beginning, and leaves the decision in the assembly's hands. When the disputes arose concerning circumcision, it was determined, that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem, not to lay the matter before the supreme pontiff, whose infallible judg-

ment might have (one would have thought) been sufficient to settle the matter "without controversy," but before the apostles and elders. The apostles and elders came together to consider the subject—no bull is issued by Peter for convening the council—and although he makes the first speech, when there had been much disputing, and claims (what all parties have, in all ages, conceded to him) the honour of having a good while ago been chosen to take the lead in announcing the gospel to the Gentiles, he does not attempt to lay down the law in the capacity of Christ's vicegerent. And James, who appears to have been moderator of this general assembly, is the apostle who sums up the conclusion of the whole debate, and in whose words the most important passage in the decree is drawn up: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and unto us, being assembled with one accord"—not in the name, or through the authority of Peter, although he himself is actually present. On no occasion is Peter afterwards mentioned during the concluding fourteen chapters of the Acts—his infallibility is never referred or appealed to—nor is the subsequent portion of his career deemed of sufficient interest or importance to form an element in scriptural biography.

I hold, therefore, my friends, that the position occupied by Peter in the primitive church is as diametrically opposed to the pretensions of his successors, as are the pomp and pageantry of the Popish ritual to the simplicity and spirituality of primitive worship, and the soul-enlightening doctrines of the New Testament to the soul-destroying dogmas of the Council of Trent. With the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Church of Rome allows herself to take every possible liberty. They have added to it from time to time, since the death of the Testator, as many codicils as they pleased—codicils altogether at variance with the letter and spirit of the will itself, to almost every paragraph of which they have attached the most arbitrary and far-fetched interpretations. Where, in the original deed, is there any warrant

for purgatory? Where is it said (supposing such a prison to exist) that its penalties shall be endured or commuted according to a tariff fixed by the Pope, for seasons, and for days, and for years; and that remission shall be obtained for penitents by kissing tawdry images, or wearing coarse hair shirts, or enduring self-flagellation, or waddling on their knees up a staircase, or paying the priest for saying masses? How incredible, too, that it should be as necessary to pay money for getting out of purgatory, as to pay toll for passing through a turnpike gate! If so simple and easy an expedient as the recital of a mass is sufficient to save poor souls from dreary centuries of unspeakable torment, I am only astonished at the apathy and avarice of the priests, who seem to act upon the principle, "*Point d'argent, point de messe.*" It is as if a man, who was standing on the beach, refused to throw a rope to a drowning mariner, until the poor wretch took a sovereign out of his pocket, and tossed it to the shore; or as if a fireman refused to play his engine, to save the cottage of a widow, because she had nothing to pay. It seems to me, that every Romish ecclesiastic, from the Pope down to the monk, should, like so many starlings, be taught to say nothing but masses—that they should esteem this duty more than their necessary food—that they should grudge and lament the necessity of ever giving sleep to their eyes, or slumber to their eyelids, whilst souls remained to be rescued from the burning fiery furnace—that they should always be up, and be doing—that, like Nehemiah and his indefatigable Jewish warriors, they should labour in the work, and half of them hold the mass-books, from the rising of the morning till the stars appeared; so that, in this unceasing conflict with Satan (especially as the victory is quite certain, and by no means difficult), the Pope might say of the whole college of cardinals, and every bishop of all priests within his diocese, and every abbot of every friar in his monastery, whether Carmelite or Carthusian, "Neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants, nor the men of the

guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing."

It appears to me not unimportant, in considering this question, to bear in mind, that Simon Barjona did not receive the appellation of Peter at the time when he, on his own behalf and that of the other apostles, acknowledged Jesus to be "Christ, the Son of the living God."—(Matt. xvi. 18.) This surname was conferred on him (John i. 42) when he was first introduced to the Lord by Andrew, his brother (whose name is placed before his), and nothing was then said about his being the head of the church. Matthew, as if for the purpose of preventing the church from supposing, that Simon Barjona was intended to be the rock, on which its superstructure was to be erected, changes the gender of the substantive,—“Peter” being masculine, and the “rock” feminine. Our Lord says, “I will give unto *thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven,” by which he could not possibly mean, that he bestowed on him any jurisdiction in heaven itself; but (as Barnes has well observed, *in loc.*) “he means, that he will make him the instrument of opening the door of faith to the world; the first to preach the gospel to both Jews and Gentiles.” The same power of binding and loosing, which is here imparted to Peter, is also bestowed on the other apostles (Matt. xviii. 18), but it is nowhere said, that these powers are to belong to their successors. Mark tells us (iii. 16), without any comment, that Simon was surnamed Peter, and seems to attach no more importance to that fact, than to what he states in the succeeding verse, that James and John were surnamed Boanerges; and, by the way, I may also ask, whether the Pope, who condemns us all to eternal damnation for not understanding in its literal acceptation the phrase, “This is my body,” is not himself in equal jeopardy for not believing that, when our Lord said to Simon Barjona, “Thou art a rock,” the apostle was instantly converted into

a mass of granite or red sandstone, although he retained the accidents of flesh and blood, and the powers of speech and locomotion as before? Why should the one occurrence be more incredible than the other? It only requires, to believe either or both, "a continual exercise of heroic faith, subjecting our senses and words to that which faith teaches."—(*Romish Catechism.*)

I may add, that, whilst I fully admit, that any fact attested by one evangelist is worthy of all acceptance and credence, it does seem strange, that Mark, Luke, and John should have omitted to mention the declaration of our Lord, which, according to the Papists, was intended to regulate the government of the church in all time coming, and which is the rock on which the Pope founds his claim of supremacy, both spiritual and temporal, over the entire world. It is, I apprehend, more scriptural, and consequently, safer, to be, as all truly regenerated Protestants are (Eph. ii. 19, 20), "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Yes, my dear friends, Christ himself is the rock of ages, on which his true church is erected; and Peter occupies, in the building, as well as in the passage before us, precisely the same place as the other "apostles and prophets," being in common with them, to use his own language (1 Peter ii. 5), one of the "living stones, which are built up a spiritual house," Christ himself being "the chief corner-stone, elect, precious." Had Peter been the rock, on which the church was built, I should be glad to know how so important an element in its structure should not have been alluded to, either by Paul or by himself, on occasions which seem so naturally to lead to such a statement, if it had possessed any real foundation? The apostle would have adopted, in reference to our Lord, the language which Moses (Deut. xxxii. 4) employs with respect to Jehovah, "HE is the rock; his work is perfect," and would have ex-

horted his hearers not to be unmindful of **THE** Rock that begat them (ver. 18).

I contend, my friends, that the silence of Paul as to Peter's supremacy, and the other Popish figments, which I have, in these letters, been discussing, is a point, which cannot be too much enlarged upon. When he asserts (1 Cor. iv. 15), "In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel"—and adds, "Wherefore, I beseech you, be ye followers of me"—he does not mean, that they should form a separate sect, or call him Rabbi. This he expressly condemns, when he denounces every man as being (*pro tanto*) carnal, who said, "I am of Paul." There was One, whom the apostles called, and whom we, after their example, call, Lord and Master, —and we say well, for so He is, but so is no one else. But Paul exhorts the Corinthian church to be "followers" of him, in regard to faith and duty—believing exactly what he had taught, and practising consistently what he had exemplified—and nothing more, and nothing else. He would neither lay, nor allow others to "lay upon them any greater burden" than the "necessary things," which he had himself inculcated. Now, we Presbyterians, my dear friends, doubt not, that the apostle was inspired when he gave this advice; and, as it was originally written for the benefit of his own spiritual children, so it has been since handed down for ours. We feel assured, that we shall be saved as well as they, if we also take Paul to be our spiritual father. Paul,—who, though dead, yet speaketh to us in those imperishable records, which, I will venture to say, (without disparagement to the other not less sacred and authoritative portions of the canonical Scriptures) contain the fullest and most perspicuous statements, in reference to all the fundamental and mysterious doctrines of grace; so that any one of his divine epistles is a safer and more infallible guide, than ten thousand instructors in the fantastic tenets and ceremonies, with which mediæval superstition has obscured, overlaid, and adulterated what the apostle calls

"his ways which be in Christ, as he taught everywhere in every church"—does he not expressly affirm (Acts xx.) that he had "kept back *nothing* that was profitable? that he had not shunned to declare *all* the counsel of God?" and yet he does not say one word as to the adoration of Mary, (in fact, he never mentions her once in all his speeches or writings, and would no more have dreamt of kneeling before her shrine, than of being a votary of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter), nor of saint-worship, nor of bone-worship, for rejecting which the Council of Trent pronounces on each and all of us the *brutum fulmen* of an impious anathema. Verily, my dear friends, if adherence to the puerile and idolatrous mummeries of Popery is as essential to salvation as "repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ," (and it must be so, in the Romanist's estimation, since the heretic, who rejects the one, is as much a child of hell as the infidel, who repudiates the other), Paul was never more mistaken, than when he took the presbyters of Ephesus to record, that he was "pure from the blood of all men." Our blood, my friends, is on the apostle's head, and, I may add, on the heads also of Peter, James, John, and Jude, and so is that of the millions, whom they have perverted and misled—for they wrote as if they had entered (so to speak) into a conspiracy for subverting whole houses, and beguiling unstable souls, by shunning to declare many elements in the counsel of God, which are quite as vital as the truths which they disclosed, and by keeping back many things, which are not only profitable, (though, in many respects, entirely at variance with what they have actually promulgated), but without a belief in which, no sinner can possibly escape the wrath to come.

I have already noticed, that Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, makes no mention whatever of Peter—sends to him no friendly greetings—and neither congratulates them on the privilege which they enjoyed, of being placed under his superintendence, nor exhorts them to

be followers of him, whom all (including Paul himself) were bound to venerate as the chief of the apostles, and the vicar of Christ, and the head of the universal church. But neither does the great apostle make any allusion to Peter in any of the six epistles, which he wrote *from* Rome to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philip-pians, Colossians, to Timothy, and to Philemon. In enumerating to the Colossians his fellow-workers, he speaks of five less noted Christians as having been "alone" a comfort to him—so that, if Peter was there at the time, he certainly does not seem to have been a "friend in need." In his Second Epistle to Timothy, he says, "At my first answer no man stood with me," (not even Peter) "but all men forsook me," and, therefore, Peter among the rest; so that if Peter was Bishop of Rome, he must have kept aloof from his beloved brother, and, perhaps, denied him with cursing and swearing, though Paul, from delicacy, conceals a fact so little redounding to Peter's honour. At the same time, I must say, that "*cum tacet clamat*," and his silence leaves us no alternative but to infer, either that Peter was not exercising the functions of the primacy at Rome, or that, when Paul was haled to prison, he only followed afar off. I should have been better pleased to have learnt, on Paul's authority, that Peter had stood manfully by him on that occasion, than to have been invited to credit the improbable legendary tale, that the apostle's chief object in going to Rome was not to preach Christ crucified, but to oppose Simon Magus, who flew up into the air, in the presence of Nero and the whole city, (so that, at all events, the thing was not done in a corner), but that "the devil," who had thus raised him, struck with dread and terror at the name of Jesus, "whom the apostle invoked, let him fall to the ground, by which fall he broke his legs. Should you question the truth of this tradition at Rome, they would show you the prints of Peter's knees in the stone, on which he knelt on this occasion, and another

stonestill dyed with the blood of the magician.”—(*Bower.*) This story appears to be a very clumsy supplement to the account given of the genuine interview between Simon Magus and the apostle. In fact, all the signs and wonders recorded even by the earliest, and still more by the later, uninspired authors, resemble so many indifferent copies of excellent originals, the beauty of which an awkward dauber has marred by foisting in some tasteless additions of his own. Neither Simon, nor Elymas, are represented in the Scriptures as actually attempting to “show any sign;” and no reason is here alleged for Simon travelling to Rome to perform a miracle, where Jews were both hated and despised, and where he could not easily have obtained access to the imperial presence—nor is it likely, that Peter would have ceased to be instant in season and out of season as a preacher of the gospel, in order to enter into an unseemly and unnecessary contest with a magician. At all events, this occurrence, if it really took place, affords no more proof, that Simon Peter was chief of the apostolic college, than that Simon Magus was president of the fraternity of magicians.

We are next informed, that, when Peter was retiring for a while from the city, and had already reached the gate, he, to his great surprise, met our Lord coming in, who, upon Peter’s asking him where he was going, replied, “I am going to Rome to be crucified anew”—which, as St Peter understood it, was upbraiding him “with his flight—whereupon he turned back, and was soon after seized by the angry Romans, and, by an order from the emperor, crucified.”—(*Bower.*) The feet of our Saviour left an impression on the causeway of the road on which he stood—which is shown unto this day, under a strong metal grating, on the floor of the chapel of *Domine quo vadis*. A similar impression of our Saviour’s feet is shown about a mile further, at St Sebastian’s chapel—and each of the churches declares its own to be the true one—(*Thomson*). I have no doubt,

that both are equally genuine, or rather, equally spurious. This story seems to me still less credible than the other. I do not think that, if our Lord had intended to upbraid Peter with his cowardice, he would have professed an intention to do what was not, in fact, to be done, either then, or at any other time. No instance of his having had recourse to such a device is recorded in the inspired writings. The whole is a very coarse imitation of the exquisitely delineated scene, when our Lord's look, unaccompanied by a single word—and, least of all, by a word implying falsehood or duplicity—caused Peter to weep bitterly. The impression of our Lord's feet on the stones is just the kind of absurd invention, with which a sign-painter would disfigure a Domenichino. On occasions of far graver moment, no such coarse and palpable memorial of any sublime or important transaction was deemed necessary or desirable. Our Lord's way was in the sea; his path in the great waters—he sat and walked in streets, in temples, in mountains, and in mansions—but his footsteps were not known, or any mark left of them, in the various localities which he deigned to frequent, during the continuance of his ministry on earth. Nor can I believe, that, in Rome, where, so far as Scripture informs us, he never was, *manserunt hodieque manent vestigia plantæ*, whilst not a trace of them is to be met with in Jerusalem, where he wrought so many miracles, and closed his sacred career. Of the "many other things which Christ did," I cannot credit that this was one; because it seems to be so little in accordance with those which are recorded for our learning in the volume of inspiration, "that believing we may have life through his name." Blessed, says he, are, not they who have seen the print of the nails in my feet, or the impression of my feet upon stone or marble, but blessed are they, who have not seen, but have believed. I trust that He, whom not having seen, we love, will not exclude us for ever from his presence for believing, that these impressions were graven by art and

man's device, and that it is sinful, as well as puerile, to render to them the calves of our lips.

When Paul sends from Rome to Timothy the salutation of all the brethren, at a time when the hour of his departure was at hand, he says nothing about Peter, and mentions Linus *after* Eubulus and Pudens, from which I think we are justified in supposing, that Peter was not, and had not been installed at Rome as bishop; for otherwise his presence would have been noticed, or his absence regretted. Neither is it probable that Linus was invested with the episcopal dignity, as his name is placed after those of Eubulus and Pudens. If any *tyro* in the mysteries of ecclesiastical etiquette were guilty of such a *ὑπερὸν προσέειπον* as to write, Dr Pusey, Mr Keble, and the Bishop of Exeter, send their compliments, it would be justly said, *inficeto est inficetior rure*. If we examine the brief but beautiful epistle addressed to Philemon from Rome, it will appear, I think, still more extraordinary, that no mention is made of Peter. Had he been bishop of the diocese, and consequently deemed it his duty to reside there at least a few weeks or months in the year, how unlikely it is, that he should have been absent during the whole period of Paul's imprisonment! I should almost have expected to have found Thomas exclaiming, "Let us go, that we may die with him." At all events, Peter was just the man to have said to Paul, "Though all men forsake thee, yet will not I. Paul, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison and to death. Why dost thou weep and break my heart? Like thyself, I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Rome for the name of the Lord Jesus." Would Peter have deserted in his utmost need such an one as Paul the aged, and then also a prisoner of Jesus Christ? Paul, though he might, under such circumstances, have been bold in Christ, to have enjoined him that which was convenient, would, for love's sake, have rather besought him, to have visited him when he was sick, to have come unto him when he was in prison. If

Paul had sent him such a message through (it may be) a compassionate jailor, would Peter have said, "I know not the man?" Was he more indifferent to his beloved brother's sufferings than Epaphras, his fellow-prisoner, or than Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, his fellow-labourers, some of whom, it may be, were Peter's private secretaries, or domestic chaplains? Now, I beg you will understand, my friends, that my remarks in reference to Peter's apparent neglect of Paul, proceed entirely upon the Romish hypothesis, that Peter was Bishop of Rome. I don't complain of Lebbeus or Bartholomew, who were probably labouring in distant regions of the gospel vineyard. If Dr Pusey were sentenced to two years' confinement in the prison at Exeter, I should not feel at all surprised, if he received no attention or sympathy from the Bishops of St Asaph or Sodor and Man; but I could rather believe, that there was no such diocese as Exeter, than suppose it possible, that the Rev. Doctor should have occasion to say, "Philpotts hath forsaken me, or has been ashamed of my chain. My bowels have not been refreshed by him, though Forbes and Trower, Bennett and Eden, have more than once come down by the express train to comfort me." It would seem less incredible, that a camel had passed through the needle's eye, than that, whilst Paul was undergoing the martyrdom of imprisonment in the episcopal city, and writing large letters with his own hand to various churches or private Christians, Peter should either be absent from his diocese during the entire period, or say with respect to Paul, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is out of profound respect for the apostle's memory, that I am so anxious to prove an *alibi*. I appear as Peter's counsel, and am endeavouring to show cause against his being criminally indicted for pusillanimity, or want of affection, in reference to one, whom he venerated and loved. I cannot, indeed, pretend to demonstrate where he was; but I think you will agree with me in contending that, at all events, he was not at

Rome. In fact, it seems very questionable, not only whether his Holiness is the lawful successor of Peter in the see of Rome, but whether Peter himself ever presided as bishop over the Roman diocese? For this hypothesis, it is notorious, that there is but one very slender vestige of Scripture evidence (if, indeed, it can be so called), namely, that Peter dated his second encyclical letter or apostolic bull from Babylon, which was at that time a kind of *soubriquet* for Rome. I may, no doubt, be charged with lying under the blinding influence of Protestant prejudice; but I never have been able to see much force in this argument. If, two thousand years hence, it were contended by some future adept in ecclesiastical lore, that, about the beginning of the twentieth century, a certain right reverend successor of the apostles had been Bishop of Edinburgh, I do not think that he would have done much towards the establishment of his case, by demonstrating, that about the same period that venerable prelate had dated a letter from Athens, and that the Scottish metropolis had been distinguished by the well-merited and honourable title of the "Modern Athens," as well as by the less euphonous, but more time-honoured appellation of "Auld Reekie!"

This view of the question is, I think, also borne out by many considerations deduced from the general narrative and particular details, which are met with in the two concluding chapters of the Acts, in which so special and so interesting an account is presented to us of Paul's journey to Rome, as well as of his reception and residence there. So important is this event deemed by the inspired biographer, that the very log-book (so to speak) of the voyage has been preserved for the edification of future ages. We learn when the wind was S., and when it was (I believe) S.S.E. (*Euroclydon*.) We know when the anchors were cast out of the stern, and when they were taken up. We are informed where Paul was courteously entreated, and where the barbarians showed him no little kindness; so that wherever this gospel is

preached, these acts of hospitality shall be had in remembrance. But if Paul's voyage and adventures on his way to Rome have been chronicled with such surprising minuteness, how is it that so unaccountable a silence is observed as to the voyage or journey of Peter to the same metropolis, so that we know not whether, like Jonah, he paid the fare and went down in a ship, or whether he took up his carriage, as Paul did when he went to Jerusalem? How is it that so much is told us as to the respect shown to Paul by the brethren, whilst the circumstances attendant upon Peter's taking possession of his diocese have been consigned to an unaccountable oblivion? What a pity it is that neither Bellarmine nor Baronius could expiscate any mediæval manuscript or Coptic translation from the treasures of the Vatican library, in which the name of Peter is substituted for that of Paul in the narrative which we are considering! Now, since so much advantage would have accrued to the Popish cause, if nothing had been said about Paul's journey and residence, whilst those of Peter were recorded with such minuteness, I think the silence of the sacred historian, as well as of Paul himself in his epistles from Rome with respect to Peter, afford a strong case against the probability of Peter having ever been at Rome, and still more against his having established himself there as first bishop of the diocese. Had the inspired account related to Peter, how triumphantly would the Romish advocates have dwelt upon the miracles which he wrought, the infallibility with which he predicted the course even of the elements, and the fate both of ship and sailors; and I have no doubt that, when the vessel was in jeopardy, he would have said to the pilots, "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis*—Be not afraid—Christ's vicar is on board." The many honours, with which he was honoured, the eagerness and respect with which "the brethren," as soon as they heard of his approach, came to meet him, and (I suppose) to kiss his feet at Appii Forum, and perhaps to show him a lock

of the Virgin's hair, or a tooth of John the Baptist, would, if recorded in the sacred writings, have been referred to with just exultation. Considering, indeed, that he was some great one, that he was bishop of the imperial city, and vicar of Jesus Christ, it might seem *primâ facie* rather derogatory if he had received candidates for holy orders, or held his weekly or daily levees in his lodging, or at his own hired house (as Paul did); but such arrangements are sometimes submitted to by bishops even in our own day (though not, I admit, within their own sees), when they hire apartments at Fenton's Hotel, or take a house in Belgrave Square.

Pursuing, however, the sacred narrative, in reference to Paul's travels, we learn that, when he "went towards Rome, the brethren came to meet him." How satisfactory it would have been to our feelings, if we had been here informed, that "the disciples and Peter" hastened to welcome him—Peter, *in pontificalibus*, at the head of the chapter and clergy of the diocese! As it was, the apostle thanked God and took courage; but the presence of Christ's vicar, of course, would have been more invigorating still. The incident which is next recorded, seems to militate still more against the assertion, that Peter was Bishop of Rome, for after three days, Paul "called the chief of the Jews together." What! Why, how is this? Was Paul capable of taking too much upon himself? Paul, who abhorred the very notion of "boasting in another man's line," and especially within the "line" of Christ's vicar himself? Would he not have solicited the permission, or entreated the presence, of the bishop on such an important emergency; especially as the auditors, whom he, with so much forwardness and precipitation, ventured *proprio motu* to convene, were Jews, and the gospel of the circumcision was especially committed unto Peter? It might, however, be supposed, that, hurried away for a time by the urgency of the occasion, and his personal position as a prisoner, he had forgotten the allegiance due by him to

Peter, both as primate of the church, and bishop of the diocese—

“Who can be wise, amaz’d, temp’rate and furious,
Loyal and neutral in a moment? No man.”

But we find him still persisting in a system of studied and contumacious neglect. “We desire,” said the Jews, “to hear of thee what thou thinkest.” I wonder he did not reply, “What I think is of comparatively little moment. Go to the fountainhead,—to him who is infallible in matters of faith, which I am not,—to him in whom the Spirit wrought effectually to the apostleship of the circumcision.” Instead of this, alas! the apostle is *qualis ab incepto*, he not only received many afterwards into his lodging, but dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came unto him, without noticing or being noticed by the bishop, in whose vineyard he was labouring (whether that prelate was Peter, Linus, Cletus, or Clement), preaching the kingdom of God,—which, I suppose, means the infallibility of the Papal see, and the supremacy of Christ’s vicar,—and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, including probably the worship of Mary, the invocation of the saints, and the infinite value of unbloody sacrifices; for, I presume, the Church of Rome must have been then what it is now. We are told, that he preached “with all confidence, no man forbidding him.” But if Peter or Anacletus (supposing, as has been maintained by some, that the apostle appointed a kind of sub-bishop, or coadjutor, to occupy his own place) at all resembled in disposition and character the pontiffs, who have ruled and revelled in blood and persecution, since the days of Boniface, who made Rome to sin, Paul, or any other minister, would have been anathema maranatha, who only preached the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, his divine person, his meritorious death, his glorious ascension, and all-prevailing mediation. Instead of no man forbidding such a setter forth of strange doctrines, the apostle, had

he acted now as he did then, would have been sent to the galleys for life, or hurried into the dark and loathsome dungeons of the Inquisition, or martyred and mangled on the scaffold or at the stake. For my own part, if I "rob Peter" of an imaginary pre-eminence, which I am persuaded that he never coveted or enjoyed, it is for the purpose of "paying Paul" and the other holy members of the apostolic college, that homage of co-equal veneration, which is so justly their due. Peter, I am sure, would have been the first to have disclaimed all superiority over the rest, and to have inscribed on his banner, "Liberty, equality, fraternity."

In fact, it appears to me, that, instead of elaborate and far-fetched arguments to prove that Peter was bishop of Rome, or resided there at all, it would be wiser in the Romish advocates to "brazen it out," and ignore the objections of heretical gainsayers, so as to tread in the steps of the shrewd and sagacious town-clerk of Ephesus, in reference to the image of Diana, "What man is there that knoweth not, that Peter was vicar of Jesus Christ, supreme pontiff, bishop of Rome, and infallible in matters of faith? Seeing, then, that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly, at least in these countries where we cannot as yet have every thing our own way, and might be in danger of being called in question for an uproar, if we attempted to convince opponents by slaughter or strangulation. But if any man, in these favoured regions of light and liberty, where the holy father's mild sway predominates, consent not to wholesome words, even the words of Loyola and Liguori, and to the doctrine which is according to the Council of Trent, the law is open, and there are inquisitors. Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live!"

I cannot, however, forbear from more particularly noticing one of the most striking incidents recorded by Paul's inspired biographer (Acts xx. 17-38), on which

occasion the whole procedure of the apostle resembles much more closely that of a moderator addressing a synod or presbytery, than that of a cardinal, or legate *a latere*, haranguing a council of prelates and mitred abbots. He convenes from Ephesus the presbyters of that city, who were evidently neither more nor less than ministers of their respective congregations, and reminds them of the episcopal character, to which they had been called by the Holy Ghost himself. He assures them, that he had kept back NOTHING that was profitable—that by the space of three years he ceased not to warn every one, night and day, with tears—and that what he had testified both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, had been repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. It is obvious, that these doctrines, and these only, had constituted the sum and substance of his preaching; for if he had taught them any other tenets of equal importance or obligation, he would not have omitted to specify them at this solemn moment, when he knew that they should see his face and hear his voice no more. He commends them to God (and says nothing about his vicar), and to the word of his grace (and says nothing about traditions)—he affirms, that he has not shunned to declare unto them *all* the counsel of God. Nothing, therefore, can be considered as forming any part of that counsel, which had not been included in the apostle's declaration. He admonishes them to take heed unto themselves, without exhorting them to seek counsel either from Peter and his successors on earth, or from Mary and the saints in heaven; and when he adverts to the grievous wolves, or the members of their own body, who should speak perverse things to draw disciples after them, he does not refer them either to pope or council, in order that, through his or their authority, these gainsayers might be silenced, excommunicated, or deposed. In fact, it seems evident, from the whole tenor of the apostle's conduct, and the general scope of his writings, that he was Pres-

byterian in regard to church government, and Calvinistic with respect to theology. Whilst announcing his approaching decease, he never hints, when speaking to the presbyters, whom he addresses as bishops, that these synonymous appellations would, subsequently to that event, assume distinct and different meanings; that he would or could have any successor in the apostolic office (for holding which it was indispensable to have seen the Lord Jesus Christ), and that ministerial parity would be supplanted by ecclesiastical subordination. Had Paul appeared, like Huss, before the Council of Constance, and promulgated such principles (and no others) as are recorded in this passage, as also in all his epistles, he would have been denounced as a rebel against the supremacy of his beloved brother, Peter's representative, and burnt at the stake as a pestilent fellow and a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes.

When the apostle, writing as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, addresses his own son in the faith, he does not hint at any future and farther development of gospel doctrine or evangelical practice, but says (2 Tim. iii. 14), "*Continue* thou in the things which thou *hast* learnt and been assured of,"—and we cannot imagine that these "*things*" included an acquaintance with, or a belief in, any other tenets than those, which are propounded in the two letters addressed to Timothy himself, and in Paul's other epistles and discourses. He then subjoins, "From a child thou hast known"—not the holy traditions, or the Holy Scriptures *and* the holy traditions—but solely and exclusively "the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee"—and if *him*, why not every other humble and prayerful believer?—"wise unto salvation," not through the intercession of the Virgin or the saints, but "through faith, which is in Christ Jesus." Whilst thus enlarging upon the all-sufficiency of the "Holy Scriptures," the apostle says nothing whatever about the supremacy of the "holy see;" and it may be added, that, whilst both he and

Peter very frequently and emphatically impress upon their readers or auditors the necessity of keeping in memory what they had actually learnt, no passage can be cited from the inspired records, which warrants the expectation, or authorizes the imposition, of any additional articles of faith as essential for a "man of God being perfect," and "thoroughly furnished unto all good works." It is also worthy of notice, that Paul's beloved brother Jude makes no allusion whatever to the promulgation, at a future period, of any new tenets, which it should be necessary to acknowledge in order to be saved; for he only exhorts believers earnestly to contend for the faith which WAS ONCE (not which shall be hereafter) delivered unto the saints.

On another occasion, Paul testified to the Jews, that Jesus is the Christ, but did not inform them, that Peter was his vicar, or that Mary was the queen of heaven. To gainsayers he exclaimed, "Your blood be on your own heads;" but if he withheld from them the knowledge of these other two tenets (a belief in which, according to the Romanists, is equally essential to salvation), their blood would be on *his* head, and not on *theirs*. What would be said of a priest who, in modern Rome, contented himself with propounding the Messiahship and all-sufficiency of Jesus? When Priscilla and Aquila expounded to Apollos the way of God more perfectly, he showed by *the Scriptures* that Jesus was Christ; but he, too, like Paul, ignored the supremacy of Peter, the omnipotence of Mary, and the other modern figments of Popery,—being, doubtless, convinced, that the plagues written in the book of God are as clearly denounced against such as *add* to the divine record, as against those who take away from it. The saints overcame the devil (Rev. xii. 11) by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony. From Mary they sought no succour,—to Peter they paid no allegiance. If I am challenged to point out when and how the many inventions, which Popery has sought out,

found their way into the church, my answer is, that I can specify a time when not one of them existed. During the whole period embraced in the narrative of the inspired volume, the principal wheat of sound doctrine flourished, with a very partial admixture of the tares of error in the gospel-field. An enemy hath done this,—it is Satan who, through Popish instrumentality, has sown the rank weeds of Mariolatry, wafer-worship, and Papal infallibility. The Protestant, therefore, who has Scripture on his side, as his justification for repudiating these “fond conceits,” to which the inspired volume gives no countenance, has a right to say to the Pope, “By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority? We can plead the divine warrant for all that we teach in our churches, and dare not, at the bidding of fallible and uninspired men, prohibit what God has commanded, or enjoin what he has forbidden. The burden of the proof lies not on us but on you. The sacred writers warn us against damnable heresies, which shall hereafter be brought in; but they give not the slightest intimation, that new doctrines shall at any future period be introduced, which must be received under pain of everlasting destruction.”

It may here be noticed, that if Rome is entitled to claim priority and pre-eminence as a church, on account of its having been the see which was occupied by Simon Peter, it seems somewhat strange and remarkable, that the existence of a chief pastor is altogether “ignored” in the epistle addressed by Paul to the Romans, although the greater part of the 16th chapter is occupied with salutations addressed to individuals of inferior note, some of whom, however, may possibly have been cardinals or minor canons. Nay, the only mention made of a church in the entire epistle, occurs not, as is generally the case, at its commencement, but at its close (Rom. xvi. 5), in which greetings are sent to Aquila and Priscilla, and the church that is in their house. The same expression is used in reference to Nymphas at

Colosse, and also with regard to Philemon; and in each case, there is no mention of any other church in the places where they respectively resided. Now, as no allusion whatever is made to any other church, it seems probable that "all that were in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints," were rather select than numerous, although their faith was so conspicuous as to be spoken of throughout the whole world. The believers, therefore, at Rome, like those at Ephesus and Colosse, though in all the three places distinguished for their zeal and piety, were, apparently, inferior in number and importance to those of Corinth or Thessalonica, which the apostle acknowledges as distinct churches, and also to those of Philippi, where, although there is nothing said as to a church, there is mention of "bishops and deacons." The city of Philippi, therefore, like Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dundee, had a staff of bishops to superintend their respective flocks—an advantage, with respect to the existence of which at Rome, the apostle is wholly silent, just as in mentioning "the churches" in the diocese of Galatia, he most unaccountably "ignores" the existence of a chief pastor. Nay, in addressing the Corinthian Christians, Paul is so uncourteous as to say, "Be ye followers of *me*," instead of saying, "Be ye followers of your bishop." Had there been any such dignitary presiding over the diocese, he would at all events, I think, have coupled his name along with his own. *Ego et episcopus vester*, are the models which he would have exhorted them conjointly to imitate.

The oftener I consider the alleged universal supremacy of Peter, and his infallibility in matters of faith, the stronger is my conviction, that the negative proof is clear and incontrovertible. I may perhaps, my friends, be allowed, in illustration of my meaning, to suppose, that, about two thousand years hence, all the records connected with the history of the present age, had been destroyed, in consequence of a series of moral, political, and physical convulsions—and especially that the Popish

Index had been rigidly enforced during several centuries, so that Milton and Walter Scott, Montesquieu and Eugene Sue, Leibnitz and John Newton, Thiers and Tristram Shandy, Guizot and Gil Blas, had been "burned before all men" ("so mightily grew the word of the Pope, and prevailed")—that no copies were extant either of Alison, or of the Annual Register—and no memorial of present or past events was forthcoming, but here and there a meagre and melancholy fragment, which might say to the inquisitive reader, "I only am escaped alone, to tell thee" what happened in those days. Let us imagine, then, that a prize essay was called for by the Archæological Society of that era, on the important and interesting question, "Who and what was the Duke of Wellington?"—a question, I must admit, which, even if some miniature history for the use of schools were alone to survive the catastrophe, could only be answered by replying, that he was the most illustrious commander of his age, possessed the unlimited confidence of successive sovereigns and rival statesmen, and was not less beloved than revered by all classes of the community. Conflicting opinions, however, are maintained by two rival essayists of great ability and acuteness—the one arguing that the Duke was a field-marshal, and colonel of a regiment; the other admitting that he was invested with these high dignities, but contending that he was also something (or rather not a little) more, for that he had been generalissimo of all the armies throughout the whole world, and that (whilst he might possibly err at other times) he had been infallible in matters of military science, although it was not exactly settled in what mode the infallibility existed—whether he was infallible when he wore his full uniform, and the Austrian order of the golden fleece—or whether he was so when riding in plain clothes through Hyde Park, where "*Il vit voler partout les cœurs à son passage*"—or whether, when he drew up a general order at the Horse Guards—or whether, when he presided over a board of general officers—or

whether the formal, or at least tacit assent of the said board was or was not necessary to clothe his edict with the character of authority and infallibility—or whether that board alone, even when not convoked by his sanction, could issue unerring general orders, which all were bound to obey. The author of the former essay, when called on to furnish his proofs, produces two letters, of which all parties admit the authenticity, both commencing with the introductory phrase, “Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments”—and in the first, a passage occurs, more particularly addressed to the officers entrusted with the command of separate regiments, in which, when about to favour them with some special and salutary suggestions as to the discipline and comfort of their soldiers, he says, “The colonels, who are amongst you, I exhort, who am also a colonel, and a partaker of your glory.” In addition to these authentic contemporaneous epistles, he also produces, by way of corroborative adminicle, a compendious digest of the “Campaigns of the Field-marshal,” comprised in twenty-eight numbers, in more than one-half of which no mention whatever is made of the Duke of Wellington, although in the earlier portions of the narrative, his numerous and brilliant achievements are (as might be expected) delineated and detailed at great length. But nowhere does his Grace assume any authority or pre-eminence over his illustrious companions in arms; and Blucher, whose feats are chiefly registered in the concluding chapters, never so much as names his distinguished compeer, but speaks and acts on all occasions, as if a complete parity of rank, and independence of action subsisted amongst the whole body of the field-marshal, and that none of them had a paramount influence, or a more palpable infallibility, than the rest. This evidence alone would, I am sure, be sufficient to convince the whole assembly, that the propositions laid down by the first author, had been completely established; and for the purpose of negating the somewhat startling additional allegation of his rival, he would lay be-

fore the society several equally genuine epistles, from other eminent contemporary warriors—such as Field-marshal Blucher, Field-marshal Schwarzenberg, Field-marshal Wrede—each assuming that title as a matter of course, without acknowledging that he derived it from the illustrious Duke, or hinting, that any allegiance was due to him from them, or expressing any belief in his military infallibility, or even in most cases, alluding to him at all—nay, it would even appear, that Field-marshal Blucher (whom the Duke mentions with kindness and respect in his second letter, without arrogating to himself any superiority over his Excellency) on one occasion at least (and possibly on others also) withstood the Duke to the face, because he had made a blunder; and records his own marvellous presumption, without expressing any feeling of compunction or self-reproach, and without saying, in the language of Naaman, “The Lord pardon thy servant in this thing.”

The proofs brought forward by the advocate of the Duke's supremacy and infallibility, are of a totally different complexion, and multiplied in proportion to their distance from the fountainhead; demonstrating, without any difficulty, that, five or six hundred years later, one of his Grace's successors in office had assumed the title of universal field-marshal—although the immediate predecessor of that audacious pretender had taken great and just umbrage at a high military authority in a contiguous part of the world, who had been guilty of that daring presumption, and exclaimed, that whoever attempted such an usurpation, should be cashiered and drummed out of the army. He also clearly made out, that there had ever since been an unbroken series of equally bold and bigoted claimants; but he was speechless, so far as regarded the evidence derived from the Duke's own letters, and those of his contemporaries—he was cut to the heart, and gnashed with his teeth at the documents, which stood so much in his way, and was any thing but anxious (as the author of the first

essay was) that they should be "known and read of all men"—instead of which, he put a *veto* upon their circulation, wherever his influence extended, and kept them as much as possible in the background. I need not remind you, that Peter in his two epistles assumes no other titles than those of apostle and presbyter—claims no supremacy over the church, nor, *a fortiori*, over the whole world—that his apostolic contemporaries and friends, whose writings are extant, make no appeal to his authority, and even "ignore" his existence as completely as the Pope in his bull ignores that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the single, and for the Papist's argument, unfortunate exception of Paul, who, instead of speaking of the supreme pontiff and vicar of Christ in terms of reverential submission (as a Popish bishop would speak of Rovere, or of Borgia), withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed, and taxes him with being a dissembler.

I am anxious, my dear friends, that you should quite comprehend the arguments which I have thus been endeavouring to maintain and to elucidate. I hold,—1. That even supposing the Pope to be the successor of Peter (which I altogether deny), he can legitimately possess, in virtue of this quality, only such prerogatives and such pre-eminence as Peter himself claimed and enjoyed. 2. The extent of that pre-eminence, and the nature of these prerogatives, must be defined in conformity with the evidence presented by contemporary authors (in addition to his own acknowledged writings), to whom the whole circumstances of the case must have been best and most fully known. 3. Having already attempted to prove, that Peter never puts forth in his own behalf such extravagant pretensions as wicked popes have asserted in his name, and having shown that no notice whatever is taken of him in the epistles of John, James, and Jude (the two former of whom had been "partners with *Simon*," when they were earning their subsistence at the sea, and continued, as I think, to be

"partners with *Peter*," when the apostolic firm of twelve was constituted on a footing of equality, and they changed their occupation together so as to become fishers of men), we must look to the information furnished in the writings of Peter's beloved brother Paul (than whom no man was more disposed to obey his own precepts, by giving honour to whom honour was due), as to the place which, during his lifetime, Peter occupied in the church. 4. That the view taken by the Protestants in this matter (I mean the matter of Paul's sentiments in regard to Peter's position), is entirely in accordance with the statements of Paul himself; and that the powers for which Papists contend on behalf of the Pope, under the pretence of his being Peter's representative, are utterly irreconcilable with Paul's declarations and example.

I shall conclude this branch of the argument by the following illustration. The newspapers state that my much respected friend, Lord Campbell, was lately at Rome, and had an audience from the Pope. I suppose his lordship thought, that he had no other prospect of ever seeing his Holiness, and despaired of the contingency ever being realized, which he had spoken of at the Guildhall dinner, namely, that his Holiness may become a party to some legal procedure in the Court of Queen's Bench, over which his lordship so worthily presides. Let us suppose that his lordship, after his return, had a meeting with that most learned and accomplished divine, Canon Townsend, to whom the honour of a similar interview had been vouchsafed not long before. I can conceive such a conversation as the following taking place between them. "I understand, my lord, that you are just returned from Rome?" "I only arrived in England a few days ago." "I presume that your lordship saw the Pope?" "O yes, I had an audience from his Holiness, and saw him often on public occasions, when really he in his sumptuous paraphernalia, and his cardinals in their red stockings, 'seemed to be pillars,' but I am too good a Presbyterian to attach any importance to

such gaudy and glaring exhibitions. Whatever they were, it maketh no matter to me." "No, my lord, nor to me either. God accepteth no man's person. I am far from questioning the Pope's episcopal position, but I hold him to be at most *primus inter pares*; and the diocese of Durham is 'committed unto' Bishop Maltby just as freely and as fully as the diocese of Rome is unto Pio Nono." "You are quite right, my dear sir, and I must say, so far as my own experience at Rome goes, that they 'who seemed to be somewhat (including the Pope himself) in conference added nothing to me.'" "Well, my dear lord, I am happy to find, that your sentiments are so completely in accordance with mine. It is, indeed, made a matter of boasting at Rome, that God has wrought effectually in Pio's pontificate for the propagation of Popery; but although I am as far as possible from personal pride on the subject, 'the same has been mighty in me' (in my small way) towards the good people of Durham; for my title to be a canon is just as valid as that of Pio himself to be a bishop. Nay, I may add, that, during my audience, I by no means proceeded on the principle of his infallibility, or 'gave place to him by subjection, no, not for an hour,' but 'withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed;' and he did not seem much to relish my advice about summoning a general council, that abuses may be rectified and unanimity restored." "I am no stranger, my dear sir, to your work and labour of love; and if, when your career of usefulness closes, you should not be beatified by the Bishop of Rome, at all events, during your lifetime, you have been *canonized* by the Bishop of Durham. When I had the honour of an audience. I no doubt had 'every reason to believe, that the Pope is a most excellent and most praiseworthy person;' but still I have thought it necessary to guard against the encroachments attempted by his church, and to protest against a Popish high sheriff 'appointing a chaplain of his own religion to attend on me, when offi-

ciating as a judge, and that chaplain appearing in the garb of his order.' I am also very thankful that we are exempted here from that praiseworthy and excellent person's favourite tribunal, the Inquisition. And after all, my dear sir, his best friends, I think, must admit, that Pio is not so honest in political affairs as he is infallible in matters of faith. There was a time when Gavazzi, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, who 'seemed to be the pillars' of the liberal party, perceiving (as they thought) 'the grace that was given unto him,' and his desire to reform all abuses, would, I daresay, have given to him and Antonelli 'the right hand of fellowship'—that they should negotiate with the sovereigns, and the liberal leaders themselves set every thing right with the people." "Yes, my dear lord; but they also insisted that his Holiness should 'remember the poor' prisoners thrust into his own dungeons by Gregory XVI. of happy memory,—'the same which he also was forward to do.' 'All these favourable symptoms, however, vanished like the early dew;' for although 'before that certain came from' the Austrians, if he did not 'eat,' he certainly was hand and glove with the liberals; but 'when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were favourable to the Inquisition.' He wore the mask, however, for a time so adroitly, that more than half the sacred college 'dissembled with him,' and I really believe that Bomba also 'was carried away with their dissimulation.' I daresay Bomba feels towards the Neapolitans just as the Duke of Arcos, the Spanish governor, did in 1647, when he exclaimed, 'Better that Naples should be destroyed, than remain a nest of rebels and malefactors; and if 100,000 men were to lose their lives in the scuffle, the king would not lose a friend, but his enemies would be punished by a fate which they deserve.'—(*Raumer*, ii. 25.) They certainly imposed upon all the friends of Italian freedom, and were at first hailed as its restorers; but, alas! 'they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel.' Ah!

my lord, if my interview with his Holiness had only lasted half an hour longer, I believe I should have spoken my mind very freely, and expostulated with him upon the cruelties, which he has exercised ever since his return." "I wish, with all my heart, my dear sir, that you had done so. I daresay you would have pointed out to him the folly as well as the criminality of 'building again the things which he destroyed,' by which he has 'made himself a transgressor' of all laws, both human and divine." "I am afraid, my lord, that 'through the law of unprincipled oppression, on which he unfairly acts, he has become 'dead to the law of God and of justice,' that he might live according to the law of the Neapolitan tyrant, to whom he seems to have said, 'I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses.' When our conference broke up, I felt much disposed to have said to Pio, 'before them all,' cardinals, Swiss-guards, and masters of the ceremonies, 'If thou, being a pope, didst for a time act after the manner of Italy's patriots, and not as do its oppressors, why compellest thou the patriots, of whom thou professedst to be one, to live in the same state of durance and wretchedness as they did in the days of thy predecessor, who, if not a liberal, was also, at all events, not a hypocrite? but if he chastised the Romans with whips, thou art chastising them with scorpions; for though Gregory made their yoke heavy, thou hast added to their yoke, and thy little finger is thicker than his loins.'" "My dear sir, if you intended to have spoken your mind so plainly, you made a very fortunate as well as a very narrow escape. I don't think you would have experienced from Pio the same treatment, which Paul did from his beloved brother Peter, after having received much such another rap on the knuckles as you were disposed to administer, and I am sure his Holiness would not have said that you had spoken 'according to the *wisdom* given unto you.' I shall be happy to finish this conversation when you favour me, as I hope you will do on some early day in the

course of next week, with your company to dinner at Stratheden House; but the hour for my being at Westminster Hall is nearly arrived, and I am compelled rather abruptly and very reluctantly to wish you good morning."

If the names of the eminent persons between whom the preceding dialogue is supposed to have taken place, had been withheld, no one, I am sure, would for one moment have suspected, that the *dramatis personæ* were Lord Fielding and Father Ignatius; and as little would it be conjectured, that the following conversation occurred between the worthy Episcopalian canon, and the Presbyterian Lord Chief-Justice,—“I have been waiting here in great anxiety, until your lordship returned from the holy father's apartment—O, my dear friend, I am so entranced in rapture and astonishment, that I can scarcely find words to express myself. It was a true report that I heard, even in my own heretical land, of his acts, and of his wisdom, howbeit, I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it—and behold the half was not told me. When I beheld the holy cardinals, the mitred prelates, the generals of the orders, the Swiss-guards, the peacocks' feathers, and above all, the holy father himself, there was no spirit in me until I kissed his sacred foot, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.” “My own feelings, my dear lord, were, under similar circumstances, precisely the same as yours. The first time I was ever blessed with the sight of his Holiness, was when he was borne aloft on his throne of state, glittering in gold, and silver, and precious stones, and followed by a vast train of ecclesiastics, arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls; an attendant knocked loudly at the door of the Sistine Chapel, with the staff of a large crucifix, which he bore before the Pope—the door was thrown open, and the Pope in all his splendour was borne forward into the chapel; the choirs singing in Latin, ‘Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift

up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.' What a noble and soul-stirring spectacle! how it reminds one of Filiucius' incomparable aphorism, that 'the Pope sustains Christ's lieutenantship, not only over things in heaven, over things in earth, and over things in hell, but also over the angels both good and bad!'" "My dear father, I never happened to hear that saying before. Pray let me have a copy of it, as soon as possible, that I may get it translated into Welsh, for the use of the pupils at my schools." "I would advise you also, my dear lord, to add, by way of appendix, the decree of the Lateran council under Leo X., in which it is laid down, that all power is given to the Pope in heaven and in earth! I suppose it was by way of a corollary to that infallible decree, that Bellarmine has most justly declared, that if the Pope should err by enjoining vices, or condemning virtues, the church should be bound to believe the vices to be good, and the virtues to be bad, unless it would sin against conscience. I believe we both have the honour to dine to-day with Cardinal Antonelli—have we not? I am very glad to hear that you are to be there, and as there is half an hour to spare, we cannot, I think, employ it better than in earning an indulgence of 100 days, by hastening to imprint a devout kiss on the large crucifix in the Coliseum."

I leave it to you, my dear friends, to determine which of these "dialogues of the living" is most in accordance with the letter and spirit of the writings of Paul, and Peter's other inspired contemporaries, or with the conduct and declarations of the very apostle himself, whose vicar and representative the Pope pretends to be.

II.—THE FATHERS—PURGATORY—EPISTLE OF ST BONIFACE.

I HAVE already, my dear friends, made occasional allu-

sions to the fathers, and warned you against conceding an undue weight to their writings or opinions. The former are exceedingly voluminous, doubtful, and corrupted; the latter often inconsistent, fanciful, and discordant. Many of their interpretations are fallacious—many of their arguments weak—many of their illustrations far-fetched. Their prejudices are often strong, and their knowledge superficial. In fixing your own judgments on any point of doctrine, or discussing with a Papist on any controversial subject, I would earnestly advise you to confine yourselves to a humble and prayerful consideration of the Scriptures themselves; “for in so doing, ye shall never fail.” A genuine and Bible-taught Protestant can never be perplexed or refuted, so long as he derives his religion and his reasonings from the sure fountain of the inspired writings; he can only be “shaken in mind,” or “drawn away and enticed,” when he ventures to slake the thirst of a perilous and prurient curiosity in the muddy and contaminated waters of traditional and patristic lore. Not that I by any means deprecate the perusal of the fathers on the part of any student, whose acquirements and leisure enable him to embark in so arduous an undertaking, provided he establishes this distinction between the Scriptures and all uninspired writings, whether ancient or modern, that every warning and testimony—every jot and tittle of the former is to be received according to its plain and palpable import, and accounted “worthy of all acceptance,” whilst he is not only entitled, but bound, to read the latter in a very different spirit—a spirit of caution, not unmingled with distrust, and with a firm determination never to receive, at their behest, any doctrine or principle not borne out by the supreme authority of the canonical Scriptures. This, as I shall ere long attempt to demonstrate, was the earnest recommendation, and uniform practice, of the fathers themselves. I am, however, far from thinking it right to bestow upon the earliest writers this too reverential appellation; and

if it must be conceded to them, in deference to ancient usage, I much approve of the reply of a sagacious countryman of ours, who, when hard pressed by quotations from "the fathers," exclaimed, "Well, let them say what they please, I, for my part, shall fall back upon the *grand-fathers*." At least as numerous, and as decisive quotations might be cited from the earliest writers on behalf of the Protestant as of the Popish cause; but feeling assured, that we have the all-sufficient sanction of the inspired writings for believing what we believe, and rejecting what we reject, it is, to us, comparatively "a small matter" whether our principles are or are not borne out by Origen or Optatus, by Athanasius or Augustine. "OUR fathers, where are they," my friends? Within the precincts of the sacred Scriptures. OUR fathers are Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, James, Peter, and Jude. We admit every doctrine which they teach—we repudiate every tenet which they either gain-say or pass over in silence.

I shall now proceed to lay before you a series of propositions in reference to the fathers, which I request that you will do me the favour attentively to consider. For most of the quotations, and many of the arguments, I may state, once for all, that I am mainly indebted to two most distinguished authors of a former age, namely, D'Aillé and Jeremy Taylor.

I. *The fathers uniformly ascribe a supreme, uncontested authority to the Holy Scriptures.*

1. *Irenæus*.—We have known the economy of our salvation by no other, than by those through whom the gospel came to us; which, truly, they then preached, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in the Scriptures, which were to be the pillar and ground of our faith.

2. *Augustine*.—Our Lord Jesus Christ did many things, which are not written; and the holy evangelist does witness, that he both did and spake many things which are not written; but those things, which were seen to suffice to the salvation of believers were chosen

to be written, and, therefore, St Augustine and St Optat compare the Scripture to the will of the testator concerning his goods. His kindred may strive, one affirming this, and another that; but *proferte tabulas*—show the will—peruse the writings—then the judge listens, the advocates are silent, the people are in suspense, the litigants wait; let the testator's words be read, that must end all contentions. Now, this will was, therefore, consigned to writing, that, when our testator was gone from us, we might not doubt concerning his legacies and commandments. I confess (says Augustine elsewhere, addressing himself to Jerome) to thy charity, that I only owe to those books of Scripture, which are now called canonical, such reverence and honour as to believe steadfastly, that none of their authors ever committed any error in writing the same. And if, by chance, I there meet with any thing, which seemeth to contradict the truth, I immediately think, that either my copy is imperfect, and not so correct as it should be; or else that the interpreter did not so well understand the words of the original; or, lastly, that I myself have not so rightly understood him. But as for all other writers, however eminent they are, either for sanctity or learning, I read them in such manner as not instantly to conclude, that whatever I find is true, because they have said it; but rather because they convince me, either out of the said canonical books of Scripture, or else by some probable reason, that what they say is true. Neither do I think, brother, that thou thyself art of any other opinion; that is to say, I do not believe, that thou expectest, that we should read thy books as we do those of the prophets or apostles—of the truth of whose writings, as being exempt from all error, we may not in any wise doubt.—(*Aug. Ep. ad Hier.*)

3. *Jerome*.—I know, that I place the apostles in a distinct rank from all other writers; for as for them they always speak truth, but as for others, they err sometimes, like men, as they were.

II. *In all controversial questions, which occurred during the earliest ages of the church, the Scriptures constituted the standard of ultimate and paramount appeal.*

1. *Clement of Alexandria.*—"It is not fit that we should simply attend to the affirmation of man; for our nay may be as good as their yea. But if the thing be matter of faith, and not of opinion only, let us not stay for a testimony of man, but confirm our questions by the Word of God, which is the most certain of all, or is, indeed, rather the only demonstration. . . . If there be any demonstration, it is necessary that we make inquiry, and from the Scriptures learn demonstratively. . . . They that occupy themselves about the best things, never give over their searching after truth, until from the Scriptures they have obtained a demonstration." He speaks against the Gnostics, who pretended to secret traditions from I know not what quarter. Against them he advises Christians "to wax old in the Scriptures; thence to seek for demonstrations, and by that rule to frame our lives."

2. *St Basil* affirms in his ethics, that "whatsoever is done or said ought to be confirmed by the testimony of the divinely-inspired Scripture, both for the full persuasion of the good, as also for the condemnation of the evil."

3. *Origen.*—"We ought to bring Scripture for the confirmation of our exposition."

4. *St Cyril.*—"Attend not to my inventions, for you may possibly be deceived; but trust no words unless thou dost learn their import from the divine Scriptures." Speaking of faith in the Holy Trinity, he advises them to "retain that zeal in their mind, which by heads or summaries is already lightly expounded to you; but, if God grant, shall, according to my strength, be demonstrated to you by Scripture, for it behoves us not to deliver so much as the least thing of the mysteries of faith, without the divine Scriptures. . . . Neither give credit to me

speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the holy Scriptures; for this is the security of our faith, which is derived, not from witty inventions, but from the demonstration of divine Scriptures."

Being to dispute with Theodoret concerning some mysterious questions of religion, Cyril refused to confer, but from the fountains of Scripture. "It became him," says he, "being exercised in Scriptures, since his desire was to confer with one about divine mysteries, to speak with us only out of the holy Scriptures, and so to frame his discourse as becomes holy things."

5. *Jerome*.—"Every thing that we speak, we must prove from the holy Scriptures. . . . If it have not its warrant from Scripture, it may with as much ease be despised, as it was offered."

6. *Chrysostom*.—"If any thing be spoken without Scripture, the thought of the hearers is lame—sometimes inclining to assent, sometimes declining—sometimes rejecting the opinion as frivolous, sometimes receiving it as probable; "but when a testimony of the Divine voice proceeds from Scripture, it confirms the speech of him that speaks, and the mind of him that hears."

7. *Theodoret*.—"Tell me not of your logisms, and syllogisms—I rely on Scripture alone. Scripture alone is the ground of my confidence, the argument of my persuasion in matters of religion."

8. *Augustine*.—"I ought not to cite the Nicene council, nor you that of Ariminum, as prejudging the questions on either side. But let the causes be confronted, argument against argument, matter against matter, thing against thing, by the authorities of the Scriptures, which are the witnesses common to us both. I have learned only to ascribe to those writers, who are already called canonical, such reverence and honour, that I dare not believe that any of them has erred in his writings. Others I read in such a spirit, that, however much they may excel in sanctity and learning, I do not admit any thing to be true, because they have thought

so, but because they have been able to convince me through these canonical authors, or by some probable reason, not foreign to truth. . . . If any thing is confirmed by some clear authority derived from the divine Scriptures, namely, those which are called canonical by the church, it is to be believed without any hesitation. But you may, or may not believe other witnesses or evidences, when adduced as authorities in matters of faith."

III. *The primitive doctors did confute all HERESIES from Scripture, which could in no way be done, but because "that which is straight will demonstrate its own straightness, and the crookedness of that which is crooked."* —(Jeremy Taylor.)

1. *Tertullian*.—"Take from heretics their ethnic learning, that they may dispute their questions out of Scripture only."

2. *Origen* brings in the precedent of our blessed Lord from Scripture confuting the heresy of the Sadducees about the resurrection. "As Christ did, so will the followers of Christ do by the examples of Scripture, which will put to silence every voice of Pharaoh."

3. *Athanasius*.—"That faith, which the fathers confessed at Nice, according to the Scriptures, was sufficient to reprove all heretical impiety, and to establish our religion or faith in Christ."

4. *Chrysostom* compares the Scriptures to a door, "for they lead us to God, and open to us the knowledge of God, and keep heretics from entering in."

5. *Theodoret*.—"Whatsoever we are ignorant of, we learn from thence."

6. *Theophylact*.—"There is no difficulty but may be untied by the Scripture."

7. *The author of a work on Matthew, ascribed to Chrysostom*.—"Then, when ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place; that is, when ye shall see impious heresy, which is the army of Antichrist, standing in the holy places of the church, in

that time, he which is in Judea, let him flee to the mountains; that is, they who are in Christ, let them run to the Scriptures. And why does he command all Christians at that time to run to the Scriptures? Because, ever since heresy did infect those churches, there can be no proof of true Christianity, nor any other refuge for Christians, who would know the truth of faith, but that of the divine Scripture." And again, "Now, by no means can he that desires, come to know which is the true church of Christ, but only by the Scripture. Our Lord, therefore, knowing, that there would be so great a confusion in the last days, commands, that all Christians, who would be established in the rule of faith, should fly to nothing but to the Scriptures."

8. *Augustine*.—"Against treacherous errors, God would place our strength in the Scriptures, against which none that would any way seem a Christian, would dare to speak. . . . When Christ offered himself to Thomas to be handled, he thought it not enough, unless out of the Scriptures he had confirmed the heart of the believers; he foresaw, that we should come after—for if they therefore believed, because they believed and handled him, what do we? Christ is ascended into heaven, not to return but at the end of the world, that he may judge the quick and the dead—whence shall we believe, but by that by which he confirmed them who handled him? He opened unto them the Scriptures."

IV. *The magazines of the Scriptures were the armories of the church.*

I may here remark, my dear friends, that this patristic mode of encountering and defeating the dangerous errors, and "strong delusions," which prevailed in their day, is precisely the course adopted by Protestant controversialists, in dealing with the soul-destroying heresies of the Romish apostasy. We bring them to the test of the Divine record, and can thus triumphantly demonstrate, that they are altogether "ignored" by our Lord and his apostles, or are directly and

diametrically opposed to the doctrines which the inspired writings inculcate, as both adequate and essential for the sinner's salvation. Our fathers rejected whatsoever was offered as an article of faith, or a rule of manners, that was not in, or could not be proved from, Scripture.—(*Jeremy Taylor.*)

1. *Tertullian*.—"If ye cannot show the authority of a divine precept, your office is not religion, but superstition—not a reasonable service, but curiosity, coercion, or affectation. . . . Whether all things were made of pre-existing matter, I have nowhere read—let the school of Hermogenes show where it is written. If it be not written, let him fear the curse of them that add to, or detract from, what is written in the Scriptures."

2. *Basil*.—"It is a manifest defection from the faith, and a conviction of pride, either to reject any thing of what is written, or to introduce any thing that is not. . . . Whatsoever is without Scripture, not derived from thence, is not of faith, and therefore is a sin."

3. *Augustine*.—"If any of us, I will not say, but if any angel (for that St Paul added), shall say any thing of Christ, or of his church, or of any other thing pertaining to faith, and our life, except what we have received from the Scriptures of the law and the gospel, let him be anathema. . . . If the Scriptures speak not, who will speak?"

4. *Cyril*.—"All things, which are delivered to us by the law, and the prophets, and the apostles, we receive, acknowledge, and confess, neither do we inquire after any thing else; for it cannot be, that, beside these things, which are divinely spoken by the divine oracles of the Old and New Testament, we should say, or at all think any thing of God."

These fathers (says *Jeremy Taylor*) speak dogmatically, generally, and peremptorily, nothing but what is in Scripture—nothing of God, nothing of Christ, nothing of his church, nothing of any thing else.

5. *Theophilus Alexandria*.—"It is the instinct of

the devil to follow the inventions of men's minds, and to follow any thing without the authority of the Scriptures."

6. *Jerome*.—"These things, which they feign, as if they were traditions apostolical, the sword shall smite, if they be without authority and testimonies from Scripture."

7. *Basil*, as to the question, whether new converts are to be accustomed to the Scriptures? answers, "It is fit, that every one should, out of the holy Scriptures, learn what is for his use—yea, it is necessary, both for the full certainty of godliness, and also, that they may not be accustomed to human traditions. . . . As to these things, which are disputed amongst us, some are determined by the commandment of God in holy Scripture—others are passed over in silence;—as for these things which are written, there is absolutely no power at all given to any one, either to do any of these things which are forbidden, or to omit any of these things which are commanded—since our Lord hath at once denounced, and said, Thou shalt keep the word which I command thee this day; thou shalt not add to it, nor take from it. For a fearful judgment is expected, and a burning fire to devour them, who do any such thing."

V. *The fathers of the church affirmed the holy Scriptures to be a sufficient and a perfect rule of faith and manners.*

1. *Tertullian*.—"I adore the fulness of Scripture, which declares God and his riches."

2. *Irenæus*.—"We know assuredly, that the Scriptures are perfect, for they are the word of God, and spoken by the Spirit of God. . . . Read the gospels which the apostles left us more diligently, and you shall find declared in them all the doctrines of Christ, all his actions, and all his passions."

3. *Constantine the Emperor*.—"The evangelical books, and those of the apostles, and the oracles of the old pro-

phets, evidently teach us to believe those things which we ought to believe, concerning what is divine."

4. *Athanasius*.—"The holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are in themselves sufficient for the preaching or enunciation of the truth."

5. *Chrysostom*.—"If there be need to learn any thing, or to be ignorant of any thing, thence we learn; if we would reprove falsehood, thence we draw; if any thing be wanting to correction, to castigation, to comfort, and that we ought to get it, from thence we learn it. Look for no other teacher—thou hast the oracles of God, learn from them. For the Scriptures are like a most strong gate, and keep out heretics from entering, and make us altogether sure of all things, whatsoever we will. In the Scripture there is fully whatsoever is looked for unto salvation."

6. *Augustine*.—"In those things, which are openly placed in Scripture, all those are found which contain faith, and the morals of life, namely, hope and charity. Read the holy Scriptures, in which ye shall perfectly find what is to be held, and what is to be avoided."

7. *Abbot Odilo*.—"Every measure, by which we know God or ourselves, is contained in the divine books."

8. *Pope Gregory I*.—"In this volume whatsoever can instruct us, whatsoever can edify us, is contained."

9. *St Damascen*.—"All things delivered to us by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists, we receive, and know, and reverence, looking for nothing beyond these."

10. *Theodore*.—"To bring in any thing that is a stranger to Scripture, is an extinguishing of the Spirit, something contrary to that duty whereby we are obliged to stir up the grace of God, which we have received."

11. *Jerome*.—"The church of Christ dwells in and possesses assemblies in all the world, being joined by the unity of the Spirit, and hath cities of the law and the prophets, of the gospel and apostles; she departs

not out of her own bounds, that is, from the holy Scripture, but retains her first possession." In his commentary on Ps. lxxviii.—"If there be any wise man, any saint, after the apostles, he hath no authority, because our Lord says in the Scripture, 'of the princes which have been' in her."

12. *Anastasius of Antioch*.—"It is manifest, that those things are not to be inquired into which the Scripture has passed over in silence, for the Holy Spirit has dispensed to us and administered all things, which conduce unto our perfection. Whatsoever is of the Word of God, whatsoever ought to be known or preached of the incarnation of the true divinity and humanity of the Son of God, is so contained in both the testaments, that besides these, there is nothing that may be believed or preached. The whole celestial oracle is comprehended in these, which we must so firmly believe, that besides these it is not lawful for us to hear either man or angel."

VI. *The fathers never regarded their own writings, or those of their uninspired predecessors or contemporaries, as a tribunal of ultimate appeal in matters of faith.*

1. *Jerome*.—"I think Origen, on account of his erudition, ought sometimes to be read, like Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollonius, and some ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, that we choose what is good in them, and avoid what is otherwise, according to the apostle, who says, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' Victorinus, who was crowned with martyrdom, cannot express his own conceptions. I wish Lactantius had been as able to confirm our religion, as he found it easy to destroy those opposed to it."

He reprehends other fathers for having maintained, that, when Peter denied Christ, he denied not God, but man; and St Ambrose for understanding the Gog of Ezekiel to signify the Goths.

In speaking of his own writings he says, (Com. ii. in

Hab.), "If any one gives a more true and sagacious explanation than mine, do you not fail to give assent to it."

2. *St Ambrose*.—"I take it as a favour, when any one that reads my writings, gives an account of what doubts he there meets with. First, because I may be deceived in those very things which I know. Besides, many things escape us; and many things sound otherwise to some than they do to me."—(*Amb.* vii. 47.)

3. *Origen*.—"I beseech my hearers to attend diligently, and receive the grace of the Spirit, from whom proceeds the discerning of spirits, that, like good bankers, they may diligently observe, when I am a false teacher, and when I proclaim what appertains to piety and truth."

4. *Cyril*.—"Believe me not in whatsoever I shall simply deliver, unless thou find the things which I shall speak, demonstrated out of the holy Scriptures. For the preservation and establishment of our faith is not grounded on our own power of invention, but on proofs derived from the holy Scriptures."

In fact, my friends, it is evident, that the early fathers quoted the writings of preceding authors, not for the purpose of propounding authoritatively any tenet not derived from Scripture, but merely in order to illustrate or enforce the doctrines previously deduced from that unerring source; just as they quoted heathen writers, the oracles of the Sibyls, and passages from the apocryphal books; or as we should cite Rutherford, Boston, Chalmers, M'Crie, or even Seneca or Marcus Antoninus.

VII. *The fathers often wrote in a careless, hurried manner, and consequently fell into many mistakes, oversights, and absurdities.*

1. We are told by Jerome, that certain homilies of Origen, which he translated into Latin, were delivered in the church extempore; and D'Aillé suggests (p. 207), that many of those of St Chrysostom, St Augustine,

and others, "were as soon born as conceived, and as soon published as made." Jerome himself employed but three days in translating the Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles (*Præf. in Pro.*), which a man will hardly be able to read over well and exactly in a month. He tells us, that he was straitened for time, and dictated in very great haste his commentary on Matthew; and in that on the Ephesians, he was in such a hurry, that he often wrote as much of it as came to a thousand lines in a day. Another composition was "an extemporary and running business, and huddled out so fast, that his tongue was on the hand of his amanuenses, and by its volubility and swiftness confounded them, and their ciphers and abbreviations."

2. *Justin Martyr* makes a mistake of about 500 years as to the period which elapsed between David and Christ; represents Ptolemy, king of Egypt, as sending, in reference to the translation of the seventy interpreters, his ambassador to Herod, king of Judea, instead of to Eleazer, the high priest, 240 years sooner. He also affirms, that a statue was erected to Simon Magus in the reign of Claudius, whereas it was only inscribed to Semo, one of the pagan demigods.

I must refer you to D'Aillé, for a long and sometimes laughable catalogue of the monstrous errors committed in reference to geography, chronology, etymology, and natural history, by Epiphanius, Basil, Ambrose, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, (whose definition of the name of Abraham is "the elect father of a sound"), Jerome, Athanasius, and others: as also for the many fanciful and far-fetched allegories of Jerome, such as, that in the 146th Psalm, he understands by the clouds, wherewith God is said to cover the heavens, the writings of the prophets; and by the rain, which he prepares for the earth, the evangelical doctrine; by the mountains, which bring forth grass, the prophets and apostles; by the beasts he understands men, and by the young ravens the Gentiles; assuring us withal, that it would not

only be erroneous, but rather very irreligious, to take these words in the literal sense. In commenting, too, on Matt. x. 29, "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing," he understands by the two sparrows, sinners, whose souls and bodies, having been made to fly upward, and to mount on high, sell themselves to sin for mere trifles, and things of no value, &c.

*"Cætera de genere hoc (adeo sunt multa) loquacem
Delassare valent Fabium."*

VIII. *The fathers have erred in divers points of religion, not only singly, but many of them together.—(D'Aillé.)*

In the former section, a few of the multiplied and multiform inaccuracies, inadvertences, and puerilities are pointed out, which abound in the writings of the early fathers. We might defy Father Newman, Pusey, or Dodsworth, to point out any similar errors in Boston, Rutherford, Chalmers, or even in any of the second or third-rate writings of our Presbyterian "lay teachers." But it may be necessary for the sake of some of our readers, more disposed to venerate patristic authority, that we should endeavour to demonstrate, by abridging a chapter in D'Aillé, that "*the fathers have greatly and gravely erred in divers points of religion, not only singly, but many of them together.*"

1. *Justin Martyr.*—In opposition to "the whole Western Church," he believed that the saints should, after their resurrection, spend one thousand years in Jerusalem, which shall be rebuilt, enriched, and enlarged. He seems, in another place, to have held, that the essence of God was finite, and not present in all places.—(*Contra Tryph.*) That the angels had been overcome by the love of women, and begotten children, whom we now call demons, or devils; that all who lived under the rule of reason, were Christians, even though they had been accounted atheists, as among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus; among the barbarians, Abraham and Azarias.

2. *Irenæus* maintained, on the authority of a *tradition* from St John, that Christ was somewhat aged when he began to preach, being then about forty or fifty years old; that the souls of men retain the figure of the bodies, to which they had been united, and, like Justin Martyr, he has been rash in his averments as to the strength of human nature in the business of salvation, though this is partly owing to the zeal with which they opposed those who ascribed human actions to a fatal necessity.

3. *Clement of Alexandria* held, that the heathen, who lived before the coming of Christ, were "justified" by philosophy,—that our Saviour preached the gospel in hell and saved many,—that the apostles also, after their death, descended into the same place, and for the same purpose,—that all the punishments, which God inflicts upon men, even upon the damned in hell, are sent for their instruction and amendment,—that the angels, when they fell in love with women, divulged many secrets, which they ought to have concealed,—and that Christ died, not as *Irenæus* maintained, at fifty, but at the age of thirty-one.

4. *Tertullian* has many dangerous expressions on the person of the Son of God,—ascribes to God a corporeal substance, as also to the human soul, propagated and derived from the Father's substance. With *Irenæus* he shuts up the souls of the departed in a subterranean place, till the New Jerusalem, which shall be all of precious stones, shall descend from heaven to the earth,—inveighed against second marriages, and even against marriage in general,—denied the validity of heretical baptism,—was far from pressing men to baptize their children when young,—was against Christians acting as magistrates, or serving in war, &c.

5. *Cyprian* was a great admirer of *Tertullian*,—maintained the nullity of heretical baptism (in opposition to Pope Stephen), and insisted on the necessity of administering the eucharist immediately after baptism, be-

cause he held both to be equally necessary for salvation.

6. *Origen*, "notwithstanding all his excellent gifts, has not hesitated to broach very many opinions which, by reason of their absurdity, have been utterly rejected (and very deservedly so) by the church in all succeeding ages" (*D'Aillé*); and "those, who have written against him, by opposing to the utmost some certain errors of his, have sometimes fallen into as great a one of their own."—*D'Aillé*.

7. *Lactantius*.—Of the heresies to be met with in his writings, I shall only state an important one mentioned by Jerome, namely, that he denies the Holy Ghost to be a distinct person in the Godhead, subsisting together with the Father and the Son.

8. *Hilary*.—His "principal and most dangerous error regarded the nature of Christ's body, which he maintained had no sense or feeling of those stripes and torments he suffered."—(*D'Aillé*.) "When the blows fell upon Christ, or a stripe pierced his skin, it brought indeed with it the violence and impetuosity of passion, but yet it wrought no pain in him," &c. He likewise maintained, in reference to our Lord's words, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me"—that our Saviour did not here desire, that he himself might be delivered from his passion, but rather that, after he had suffered, his disciples might also suffer in like manner. He held that "our souls themselves, whether united to the body or separated from them, are still of a nature, whose substance is corporeal;" that "at the last day all men shall endure an indefatigable fire. Then is the time that we are to undergo these grievous torments, for the expiation of our sins and purging our souls. A sword shall pierce through the heart of the blessed Virgin Mary," &c.

9. *Ambrose* maintained, with Hilary, that "all in general shall be proved by fire at the last day;—that the just shall pass through it, but that the unbeliever shall

continue in it,—although a man be such an one as Peter, or as John, he shall be baptized with this fire. He believed, that “the dead shall not be raised at once, but by degrees, and by a long yet certain order;” he denies, that the bow which God “set in the clouds,” is the rainbow, but understands by it the invisible power of God, and held baptism to be legitimate, when the name of the Son or the Holy Ghost only is pronounced, without mentioning the other two persons of the Holy Trinity.

10. *Jerome* asserts, that God’s providence takes care of all men, indeed, in general, and also of each particular man, but not of other things, whether they be animate or irrational. “It is absurd,” says he, “so to abuse the majesty of God, as to make him take particular notice how many gnats are bred or die every hour, and how many bugs, fleas, and flies there are through the whole earth,” &c. In another place he extends ubiquity to the souls of departed saints: “They always follow the Lamb wherever he goes; and as the Lamb is present everywhere, we ought to believe that they also, who are with the Lamb, are present everywhere.” He has spoken reproachfully against marriage in general, and second marriages in particular. In controversy, he “wrests the words of his adversaries from the author’s intention, and then fiercely encounters this giant of his own making, mixing with it strange abuse and sarcasms.”—(*D’Aillé.*) He sometimes even “speaks of the penmen of the Old and New Testament in a most disrespectful manner,”—asserts in plain terms, that the inscription of the altar at Athens (*Acts xvii.*) was *not* to the unknown God, but “to the gods of Europe, Asia, and Africa,—to the unknown and foreign gods.” He repeats in several places, that St Paul knew not how to speak, or to make a discourse hang together,—that he makes solecisms sometimes,—that he knew not how to render a hyperbaton or to conclude a sentence,—that he was not able to express his own deep conceptions in the Greek tongue, and that he had no good utterance,

but had much ado to deliver his mind,—that, disputing with the Galatians, he counterfeited ignorance, as knowing them to be a dull, heavy people, &c.

11. *St Augustine* contended, that all children are excluded from heaven, who die before baptism,—that the eucharist is necessary for infants,—that the soul is derived from the father,—that the world was created in an instant, and he refers the six days, wherein the creation is said to have been perfected, to the different degrees of the knowledge of the angels. But it is unnecessary to dwell on his mistakes, since he acknowledged his own liability to error by publishing a book of retractations, “wherein he corrects many things which he had written, either foreign to, or against, the truth,” besides expressing himself “doubtingly and waveringly” on many points, “leaving it undecided not only whether the sun and the other stars are endued with reason, but also whether the world itself be a living creature or not.” And I may here remark,—(1.) That had his volume of retractations been lost (as has been the case with so many valuable patristic treatises), his authority would have been quoted in favour of many opinions, which he himself deliberately renounced; and (2.) That if these eminent fathers have been wrong in matters of such importance, why should they be deemed infallible in regard to those points, which are in dispute between the Papists and the Protestants? When certain ancient authors are quoted on our side, they are objected to on the ground, that they were “heretics.” But if (as *D'Aillé* well observes) a Romanist quotes Hilary on behalf of the real presence, may it not be urged by way of rejoinder, and on the same principle, that he maintains, in the same book, that Christ felt no pain on the cross? and if he was in error in this particular, why must he necessarily be right in the other?

IX. *The fathers have differed from each other on the doctrines of great importance; and there are no controverted in modern times, in which their opinio*

unanimous, and in which their authority is not quoted by both parties with equal confidence.

I must treat very briefly, and indeed can do little more than merely state, the remaining propositions on this subject, to which I wish to call your attention. I have often been surprised at the coolness with which Romanists quote a celebrated and specious aphorism of Vincent of Lerins, intimating that we must only admit as true doctrine *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. I venture to maintain, that if you apply that test to the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of the virgin, purgatory, or indulgences, it could be demonstrated, with respect to each of these figments, that, so far as the apostolic age, and the immediately subsequent era is concerned, it was a tenet *quod nunquam, quod nusquam, quod a nullis*. The Council of Trent has very astutely declared, that every text of Scripture must be understood according to the unanimous interpretation of the fathers,—wishing it, of course, to be assumed or inferred, that the Romanist has the entire patristic authority on his side, and that the Protestant is contumaciously and irreverently opposed to it. On what subject is this pretended agreement to be met with? It is truly a *concordia discors*. Justin Martyr and some of the earliest fathers embrace millenarian views. Gregory Nazianzen and Jerome are opposed to them. The Bishops of Asia and Pope Victor differed about the observance of Easter day; Cyprian and Pope Stephen about the baptism of heretics; and the strife waxed so hot, that they even excommunicated each other. Jerome holds, that all the reprehension used by Paul to Peter was a mere feint, purposely acted between the two apostles by an agreement between themselves. Augustin maintains, that the thing was real, and meant heartily and seriously. Some of them regard the celebration of the eucharist thrice a-week as an apostolical tradition; others believe the contrary. You may find many other instances in D'Aillé of differences in regard to the nature

of the Trinity, the Sonship of Christ, the procession of the Holy Ghost,—the 630 fathers at Chalcedon, who advanced the claim of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and made it equal to that of Rome,—the ancient condition of priests and bishops, as to which Epiphanius and Jerome are as much opposed to each other as Cyril and Theodoret are on the procession of the Holy Ghost, besides their contrariety in their expositions of the Scriptures. Why then, as D'Aillé well asks, should we so cruelly and so uncourteously rack them, to make them all say the same thing whether they will or no? It might just as well be contended, that every expression in Cicero or Shakspeare must be understood according to “the unanimous consent of the commentators,”—by which rule, the works of these illustrious authors would soon be reduced within comparatively narrow limits, if every passage were expunged, of which the meaning has been made a subject of controversy.

X. *The fathers possessed no advantages over the moderns with respect to the understanding or interpretation of the Old Testament.*

Hebrew was as much a foreign language to a Greek or to a Roman, as to a native of France or Scotland—it was rarely cultivated by the early writers, and the knowledge possessed by them was generally crude and superficial. Some of the definitions of Hebrew words given by Ambrose, Optatus, and others, are most puerile and ridiculous; and I question whether Jerome himself understood the prophetic writers as well as even an ordinary Hebrew scholar of the present day, who is favoured with many aids in this respect which the ancients did not enjoy; such as learned commentaries, excellent lexicons, admirable teachers, &c.

XI. *The Latin fathers were not better qualified to comprehend or elucidate the New Testament, than the commentators of more recent times.*

It was just as necessary, and just as difficult for them as for us, to acquire the Greek language by regular tui-

tion, if they wished to be acquainted with it at all; and it is evident, that the acquaintance of many of them with that tongue was far inferior to that which has been exemplified by the Scaligers, Bentleys, Porsons, and Arnolds of modern times. It may be added, that the Greek fathers were in general very little, if at all, acquainted with the tongue, in which the Latin fathers wrote, and *vice versa*—so that every modern student, who is assiduous and intelligent, bids fair to possess a more intimate acquaintance with the fathers, taken as a whole, than was enjoyed by a large proportion of these worthies themselves.

XII. *The writers of the first three centuries are, of all others, the most important, and the least numerous.*

“I cannot believe,” says D’Aillé, “that any faithful Christian will deny, that Christianity was in its zenith and perfection at the time of the blessed apostles—and Eusebius has preserved a remarkable passage from one of the most ancient ecclesiastical authors (Hegesippus), who witnesses, that the church remained pure and incorrupt until the time of Trajan—but that error began to abound when the holy choir of the apostles had disappeared, and the generation which had enjoyed the benefit of their ministrations.” Of these writers, however, the number which remains is exceedingly small—the authenticity of several is contested—and of those of Origen (one of the most remarkable), the text is “miserably abused and corrupted.”

XIII. *These writers chiefly discuss matters very different from those which have occupied modern controversialists, and which now possess little or no interest.*

In these early days, the principal objects of Christian teachers were to vindicate their religion against the unfounded calumnies propagated by its enemies, to meet the objections urged by the Jews, to exhort the faithful to prepare for martyrdom or persecution, to expose the absurdities of Paganism, or to refute the errors of the Gnostics and other heretics, whose errors and absurdi-

ties have long been forgotten. As to the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of images, the necessity of auricular confession, they say nothing; and their very silence may turn to a testimony, that no such doctrines were held in these days.

XIV. Of such books as remain, and profess to have been written in those early ages, a large portion has been forged, either long since or at later periods.

In no department have these supposititious writings been so numerous as in that of theology; and in all disputes, each party has been apt to reject as spurious such works or quotations as militate against their own views. This abuse has existed above 1400 years. The fathers often complain of spurious writings promulgated by heretics under the names of eminent writers, and even of the apostles themselves. Several of this kind are rejected by Jerome—some by other fathers, or by general councils. The Latin and Greek churches continually tax each other with such forgeries. Jerome complains much of the copiers of books, who “write, not what they find, but what they understand,”—and they often, with a view to profit, substituted an illustrious for an obscure name, in order to dispose of their manuscripts to greater advantage. Authors themselves, where they deemed it unlikely that their own lucubrations would attract public attention, made no scruple of prefixing to them the name of some popular and well-known authors; and D’Aillé adds, that the fathers themselves sometimes made use of this artifice to promote their own opinions or their wishes, as in regard to the insertion of certain canons into the acts of the Council of Nice, which actually passed in the inferior Council of Sardica; and yet these canons are now accepted by a great part of Christendom, as establishing, on the authority of the Council of Nice, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. Of a similar supposititious nature are the pretended deed of the donation of Constantine, the epistles of the early bishops of Rome, &c. In most of the editions of t

fathers many pieces are "cast into the later tomes," as being either spurious or questionable; and it is after all by no means improbable, that much undetected dross may still alloy the finer metal, especially as these writings have been transmitted through so many ages, and passed through so many hands, many of them notoriously guilty, or strongly suspected, of forgery.

XV. *The authentic writings of the fathers have in many places been corrupted by time, ignorance, and fraud.*

It is obvious how many mistakes must have crept into the writings of authors before the invention of printing, when each copy was separately transcribed by men of different capacities and opinions—some imperfectly acquainted with the language in which the author wrote, others either ignorant of, or hostile to, his tenets or opinions. What could we expect from a copy of Boston's Fourfold State, written by Dr Cahill, or Father Ignatius, or even by an honest French Protestant not conversant with the Scottish idiom? The holy Scriptures have been preserved against any important mistakes and interpolations, because so many nations were on their guard against any changes which might have been attempted in any quarter. But the patristic writings were often carelessly copied, or were in many cases more liable to be erroneously transcribed, because of their obscurity or other peculiarities. There are, as Jerome complains, many ancient forgeries, and strange stories of miracles and visions, which are nevertheless tolerated to increase the devotion of the people;—Marcion even dared to mutilate the gospel of Luke, and some of Paul's epistles. Many Romanist compilers allow, that the acts of some councils are questionable. Rufinus, who was highly esteemed by Augustine and by Jerome also (until they quarrelled), has so mangled and confounded the writings of Origen, Eusebius, and others, that there is hardly a page in his translations, which he has not made some omission, alteration, or

addition; and Jerome avows, that he himself, in translating Origen, put away what was dangerous, and left only what was useful, and suppressed what might give offence to the common people—affirming, that this practice was also followed by Hilary and Eusebius. How then can it be doubted, that the later transcribers and translators adopted the same plan, which alone can account for the “unseasonable breakings off, and impertinent additions” found in so many places? The license grew stronger daily, as the times grew worse. Very striking instances of the prevalence of this practice, even in regard to the canons of councils, are quoted by D’Aillé. But all these are insignificant, when compared with the baseness of the Romanists in later ages, who “have most miserably corrupted all kinds of books and of authors;” the proof of which assertions occupy many pages, and indicate, on the part of the Popes, the most criminal and unscrupulous audacity, and involve in their guilt the Councils of Lateran and Trent, besides the glaring interpolations and omissions sanctioned by the Indices Expurgatorii, and the Inquisition at Madrid.

XVI. *The writings of the fathers are “hard to be understood,” on account of their rhetorical flourishes, logical subtleties, and the terms which they employ being used in a different sense from what they now bear.*

Jerome himself declares, with respect to some expositors, that “it is more difficult to understand them, than the things which they endeavour to explain.” Their translations abound in ridiculous blunders. A superficial knowledge of the tongue in which they wrote, will not enable us to dive into their meaning. Whole sessions were wasted by the Greek and Latin disputants, at the Council of Florence, as to the meaning of certain passages in the canons and in the fathers. Many extracts are cited by both parties, in different senses, in the course of polemical controversies; and it is admitted on all hands, that those who wrote before the springing up of

certain heresies, expressed themselves loosely and incautiously on the doctrines, to which these heresies related. Some (like Clement of Alexandria) profess to "wrap up some things in riddles," whilst others wrote vaguely and obscurely, from ignorance or want of taste. Gregory Nazianzen bitterly inveighs against "the vain and loose kind of divinity everywhere now in fashion," and speaks of the time, when "to vent any such novelties or curiosities was thought like playing the juggler, and showing tricks of legerdemain." The words pope, patriarch, mass, oblation, penance, &c., had also very different significations then, from those attached to them now.

XVII. *The fathers frequently conceal their own sentiments,—1. In reporting the opinion of others without naming them, as in their commentaries; 2. In disputing with adversaries; 3. By accommodating themselves to their auditors, as in their homilies.—(D'Aillé.)*

Jerome professes to give in the same commentary the expositions of different persons, and deliver in the same passage his own judgment and that of others, and maintains that this is the general practice. These writers even mix up, without discrimination, the senseless and dangerous commentaries of authors, whom they themselves distrust, "robbing poor Origen without mercy." Ambrose borrows largely from Basil, but never names him. In a dispute with Augustine as to the meaning of a passage, Jerome says, "If thou lightest upon any thing in my expressions, which was worthy of reprehension, it would have stood better with thy learning to have consulted the Greek authors themselves, and to have seen, whether what I have written be found in them or not; and if not, then to have condemned it as my own private opinion." Both Bellarmine and Perron, when the Protestants quote passages favourable to their views from Jerome or Hilary, assert, that these authors are there speaking according to the opinion of others;

¹ the latter endeavours to get rid of certain passages

in various fathers, which militate against the doctrine of transubstantiation, by asserting that such expressions are used "to cast a mist before the eyes" of those who were not fully initiated into the mystery. May not, however, the Protestant with equal justice retort this argument, when quotations are alleged from the fathers in support of Popish doctrines, and say, that their object was to accommodate their instructions to the edification of others, as, for instance, in the case of the sacrament, to increase the veneration of the people, and prevent the warmth of their devotions from being abated? Jerome plainly lays it down as an axiom, that the most eminent writers, both Heathen and Christian, many of whom he names, employed contradictory arguments according to the purpose they had in view, and the adversaries they had to deal with: "What can you find in them that is clear and open? what word in them but has its design? and what design but of victory only? Only observe what manner of arguments, and what slippery problems they made use of for subverting those works, which had been wrought by the spirit of the devil; and how, on being sometimes forced to speak, they alleged against the Gentiles, not that which they believed, but that which was most necessary to be said;" and he insists elsewhere, that "we must not immediately condemn an author for having delivered, in one and the same book, two contrary opinions."

XVIII. *The fathers often changed or modified some of their opinions, according as their judgment became matured by study or age.*

As the fathers were not inspired, it is obvious, that such of their works as were written when they had arrived at "full strength and ripeness of mind," must possess more authority, than such as were composed at an earlier period of life. The same remark applies to poets, historians, and orators, whether an Origen confessed in his old age, that he things which he had written. Had A

Retractions been lost, he might (as already observed) have been quoted on behalf of many errors, which he himself had solemnly abjured. Perron, when citations were brought forward against him from Jerome and Gregory, alleges, that when they wrote these passages, their judgments were not ripe, nor their studies perfected. Now, we cannot, in many cases, know at what period of their lives the different treatises of the fathers were penned, nor indeed are second thoughts always best; and, as many portions of their works have been lost, we cannot know for certain how far their opinions really continued to be such as are maintained in the writings which are actually in our hands.

XIX. It is difficult to know, in regard to the opinion of any of the fathers on any point, whether he accounted it to be necessary or probable—whether it was held by the whole of the ancient church, or what was the belief of the universal church on any of the points controverted between Papists and Protestants.

I must refer you to D'Aillé, my friends, for the proofs and illustrations of these important views, into which I do not feel myself justified in entering at any length. It is obvious, that propositions, though true, may differ widely in point of importance,—as, for instance, that Christ is God, and that he suffered at the age of 33. The belief of the former is essential to salvation; the latter may be questioned with impunity. There may thus be errors, which do not amount to heresies, and disputes (as that between Polycarp and Anicetus, in regard to the celebration of Easter) on which either side may be taken with equal safety. General councils may be quite mistaken as to the opinions of the church in preceding ages—as, for instance, that of Trent declared that the fathers held only as “probable” the tenet, that the eucharist should be administered to infants, whereas it is clear, from the authorities cited by D'Aillé, that they deemed that usage indispensable. With respect to canon of Scripture—the fasting on Saturdays—the

mode of observing Lent—the discipline of the church—a wide difference exists between different fathers and different councils, of equal weight and authority.

XX. *The Papists, as well as the Protestants, refuse to acknowledge the fathers as supreme judges in points of religion.*

The Scriptures constitute the touchstone, by which every Protestant “tries every spirit,” and the writings of every author, ancient or modern, “whether they be of God;” believing, as he does, that the pure and holy doctrine taught by the apostles, very soon began to be infected by the leaven of error, which gradually increased in each successive age. He only cites the fathers in order to show, that they held some doctrine already proved from the testimony of the sacred oracles themselves, or as witnesses against some new tenet, which any perverse sectary has endeavoured to fasten upon the church. The Romanists, again, regard *the church* as holding the same position, which Protestants ascribe to the Word of God. It thus appears, that both parties agree in depriving the fathers of the supremacy. “God,” says Cardinal Cajetan, “has not tied the exposition of the Scriptures to the sense of the ancient doctors, but to the whole Scripture itself, *under the censure of the Catholic Church.*” “Let us,” says Bishop Canus, “read the ancient fathers with all due reverence; yet, as they were but men, with discrimination and judgment. . . . They sometimes fail, and bring forth monsters out of the ordinary course of nature.” “Their sayings,” says Ambrosius Catharinus, “are not of themselves any such absolute authority, that we are bound to assent to them in all things.” “Many things,” says Petavius, “have slipped from them, which, if they were examined according to the exact rule of truth, could not be reconciled to any good sense;” and again, “we ought no more to maintain or defend their errors, than to imitate their vices, if they had any.” Numerous and striking instances, in addition to the above, are furnished by D’Aillé, which de-

monstrate how little respect the Papists pay to the writings of the fathers, when not in accordance with their own views. I shall only transcribe the following extract from a sermon of the Bishop of Bitonto:—"O Rome, to whom shall we go for divine counsels, unless to those to whom the dispensation of the mysteries of God has been committed? WE ARE, THEREFORE, TO HEAR HIM WHO IS TO US INSTEAD OF GOD, IN THINGS THAT CONCERN GOD, AS GOD HIMSELF. Certainly, for my own part (that I may speak my mind freely), I would rather believe one single Pope than a thousand Augustines, Jeromes, or Gregories, to say nothing of Richards, Scotuses, and Williamses; for I believe and know, that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, because the authority and right of determining all such things as are points of faith resides in the Pope." It is evident, that those Romanists who maintain the infallibility of the Pope, and confess that the fathers may have erred, set the Pope above the fathers; and the same holds good of such as maintain the infallibility of general councils, and submit the writings of the fathers to their decisions. In ancient times, the people "had their voice in the election of their pastors," and probably were consulted in all other affairs of importance which took place in the church, as is attested by Cyprian, Eusebius, and many others. It is needless to remind you, how completely the authority of antiquity has, in this instance, been set aside by the Church of Rome. The ancient fathers abhorred persecution for conscience' sake. "From whom," says Athanasius (speaking of the Arians), "have they learnt to persecute their brethren? Certainly not from the saints; they have rather been taught this practice by the devil." And again, "Jesus Christ has commanded us to fly, and the saints have, indeed, fled sometimes; but persecution is the invention of the devil." Hilary also complains, that "the
 "ch now terrifies by banishment and imprisonment,"
 and Ambrose, in many passages, loudly denounces

the use of violence and persecution on the part of the church. The Papists, who call upon us to bow implicitly to the sentiments of the fathers, when in unison with their own doctrines and opinions, have, in this respect, set at defiance the unanimous verdict of primitive antiquity, by establishing the Inquisition, and exercising such unheard-of and atrocious cruelties against their victims, as it never entered into the heart or imaginations of the most reckless and relentless Pagan tyrants to perpetrate or to conceive.

Having thus fully discussed the question of patristic authority, I may here make a very few remarks on the doctrine of purgatory, which is chiefly founded on that basis.

The distinction, which the Pope has drawn, between mortal and venial sins, appears to me to be unwarrantable and unscriptural. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." There is here no limitation; it is not said, "The soul that committeth mortal sin, shall die." The *genus* sin (if I may so speak) contains many species and varieties; but all are characterised by the same noxious and "mortal" property. If there ever was a sin which, apparently, might have been included under the category of "venial," it was that of our first parents in eating the forbidden fruit; and yet that single act not only rendered the perpetrators obnoxious to death and misery, but involved their entire posterity in the same awful and universal ruin. It seems also wholly impossible to draw a just and satisfactory line of demarcation between the two classes, and every sinner's self-partiality may often lead him to imagine, that he has committed a venial error, when, in the judgment of all around him, his transgression has been mortal. In one respect, however, the man who has committed mortal sin has no small advantage over another, who has the misfortune to be chargeable with what the church pronounces to be venial; for the blood of Christ can cleanse him from the one, and he must himself expiate the other by per-

sonal pains and penalties. If the question be put to a sinner, "How much owest thou unto thy Lord?" his mortal sins may be estimated at ten thousand talents, and his venial ones at fifty pence. With respect to the former, he has nothing to pay—nothing that can satisfy the just demands of his Creditor, who himself graciously interposes and says, "Be of good cheer; thy sins, though they be as scarlet, are forgiven thee—I have found a ransom; with a great sum, even by the sacrifice of myself, obtained I this freedom for you; but lo! I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions." There remains, however, still a balance of fifty pence; and for the payment of this, the Creditor has made no provision. The mortal sins are all scored out; but for the venial ones, there remaineth no more sacrifice. "It is a mortal sin, not only to read prohibited books without a license, but even to keep them beside one;" the Bible is a prohibited book, and therefore it is a mortal and not a venial sin to read it. Dr Johnson tells us, that venial means "pardonable, excusable, permitted, allowed;" it is therefore not "pardonable, excusable, permitted, or allowed," to read the Bible, if the Pope, instead of giving a license, thinks proper to forbid the bans between the poor sinner and the word of life! The transgressor, however, though perplexed, need not be in despair; he has only committed a mortal sin, from which he may be cleansed by that blood, the efficacy of which is proclaimed in the volume which he is forbidden to read! But venial sin, "which is not contrary to charity, and does not deprive the soul of grace, nor send to the pains of hell, but nevertheless displeases God, because it is not conformable to his will," must be expiated either in this world, or in purgatory, which is in the "world to come."

This doctrine of purgatory is one of the most prolific sources of gain to the priest, and of terror to the sinner. Besides the alleged necessity of an atonement being made for venial sins, by penances and satisfactions, it is

contended, that the "taking away the guilt of sins, does not suppose the taking away the obligation to punishment."—(*J. T.*) Expressly in defiance of the gracious promise of God, that, when he takes away our sins, he will "remember them no more;" as well as of the consolatory prayer of Cyprian, "Disease does not depart slowly from those whom thou curest, but immediately he whom thou restorest becomes entirely well, because what thou doest is complete, and what thou givest is perfect." That this tenet is neither primitive in its origin, nor universal in its acceptance, is proved by the admission of many eminent Popish authorities (*Roffensis*, *Polydore Virgil*, and others), that the Greek fathers rarely, if ever, make mention of purgatory.

Two memorable persons of the Greek Church, *Nilus*, Archbishop of Thessalonica, and *Mark*, Archbishop of Ephesus, have, in behalf of the Greek Church, written against the Roman doctrine in this particular.—(*J. T.*) "Unto this day, says *Alfonso de Castro*, "the Greeks do not believe in purgatory;" and the dubious recognition of this doctrine by the Greeks at the Council of Florence, was only assented to in the hope of obtaining aid from the Latins, and soon thereafter repudiated. The Latin fathers did not all believe it, and only adopted it by degrees.

"For some time," says *Bishop Fisher*, "it was unknown; it was but lately known to the Catholic Church. Then it was believed by some, by little and little—partly from Scripture, partly from revelations." "As long," says *Polydore Virgil*, "as there was no care about purgatory, no one sought indulgences, for on that depends all the reputation of indulgences; if you take away purgatory, what is the use of indulgences?"

(1.) Two arguments are much insisted on by its advocates in favour of this doctrine, that "the ancient churches in their liturgies, and the fathers in their writings, did teach and practise prayers for the dead;" but the purport of these prayers was, that God would "show

them mercy, and hasten the resurrection, and give a blessed sentence in the great day," just as Paul prayed for Onesiphorus, "that God would show him mercy in that day" (i. e., of judgment); and they were "offered in behalf of these who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory, for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and evangelists, for martyrs and confessors, and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary," and you nowhere "meet with one collect or clause for praying for the delivery of souls out of that imaginary place." St Augustine prayed for pardon and remission on behalf of his mother, though he never thought she was in purgatory; to use his own words, "he believed the thing was done already, but he prayed to God to approve of the voluntary oblation of his mouth." (2.) The fathers often speak of a fire of purgation after this life; but this, as we have already seen, is not to be kindled until the day of judgment. Such is the opinion of Origen, Ambrose, Basil, Hilary, Jerome, and Lactantius, who, as stated by Sixtus Senensis, affirm, that all men, Christ only excepted, shall be burnt with the fire of the world's conflagration at the day of judgment. Even the blessed Virgin herself is to pass through this fire. It has before been stated, that, according to many of the fathers, including Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Bernard, the souls of men are "kept in secret receptacles, reserved unto the sentence of the great day, and that before then, no man receives according to his works done in this life." Now, my friends, if these two latter views may with impunity be rejected by the Romanists, why should we Protestants be condemned to everlasting flames for repudiating the vain figment of a purgatorial fire, which the Pope has substituted in their place? In the time of St Augustine, "it is certain, that the doctrine of purgatory, before the day of judgment, was not the doctrine of the church; it was doubted even by himself. Whether it be so or not (says he) may be inquired; possibly it may be found so,

and possibly never." "Let not a man think," says he elsewhere, "that there shall be any purgatory pains, before that last and dreadful judgment;" and again, "All they that have not Christ in the foundation, are argued and reprov'd in the day of judgment; but they that have Christ in the foundation are changed, that is, purged, who build on this foundation, wood, hay, stubble." "When we depart hence," says Cyprian, "there is no place left for repentance, and no effect of satisfaction." St Ambrose contends, that "death is a haven of rest, and makes not our condition worse; but, according as it finds every man, so it reserves him to the judgment that is to come." The same is affirmed by St Hilary, St Macarius, and others. "After this life," says Gregory Nazianzen, "there is no purgation." Many similar testimonies are alleged by Jeremy Taylor and others, but these are sufficient to show, how little countenance is given by the ancient fathers to their crude and cruel doctrine. What can be more at variance with our Lord's own gracious declaration, "He who heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but passeth from death unto life;" or with another Scripture passage, equally clear and consolatory, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours." This is the soul-invigorating promise, which comforts the genuine believer in his dying moments; and it is because the Pope has made void this precious declaration by his traditions, that the expiring Papist is so often overwhelmed with terror and anxiety, and sacrifices the interests of the "fruit of the body" at the shrine of sacerdotal avarice and importunity, in order (as he vainly imagines) to purchase exemption from the punishment due to the "sin of his soul," even when the guilt of sin itself is admitted to have been atoned for. From hence has sprung the base and barefaced sale of indulgences, which, when carried to its height, led ultimately to the blessed and glorious Refor-

mation. Antoninus (an eminent Popish doctor) admits, that "we have nothing expressly, either in the Scriptures, or in the sayings of the ancient doctors," in regard to indulgences. Bishop Fisher says, that, "in the beginning of the church, there was no use of indulgences, and that they began after the people were awhile affrighted with the torments of purgatory." The first jubilee was kept in the reign of Boniface VIII., one of the most arrogant and audacious of the Roman pontiffs—of whom it has been justly said, that "he entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog." It is true, that, in the primitive church, when severe penances were imposed, some parts of them were relaxed, when there was danger of death, or the martyrs interceded. But this practice is *toto cœlo* different from the Romish doctrine on the subject of indulgences—which maintains, that there is in Christ an infinite amount of righteousness and satisfaction, beyond what is necessary for the salvation of his servants, and that there is, in addition to this inexhaustible fund, a surplusage of merits, which can also, at the behest of the church, be made available ("for ready money only," I believe,) to redeem souls from the pains and penalties of purgatory. The period of a century, fixed for the recurrence of the jubilee, was afterwards shortened by Clement VI., in 1350, to fifty years, and, at a later period, to twenty-five. Neither Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, or Gregory, in any of their authoritative writings, make any mention of this infamous and unscriptural traffic. Even now, the whole subject is involved in doubt and obscurity; and, in a Popish work of great credit (the *Summa Angelica*), no fewer than seven opinions are stated concerning the penalty which is taken off by indulgences. Jeremy Taylor, after stating how unscriptural the tenet is, that the saints (the best of whom were "unprofitable servants"), performed works of supererogation, sums up the question, saying, "It is a practice that hath turned penances into a fair, and the court of conscience into a lombard,

and the labours of love into the labours of pilgrimages, superstitious and useless wanderings from place to place, and religion into vanity, and our hope in God to a confidence in man, and our fears of hell to be a mere scarecrow to rich and confident sinners—and at last, it was frugally employed, by a great Pope, to raise a portion for a lady, the wife of Franceschetto Cibo, bastard son of Pope Innocent VIII.; and the merchandise itself became the stakes of gamesters at dice and cards, and men did vile actions, that they might win indulgences—by gaming making their way to heaven.”

The same learned and judicious divine furnishes a few of the absurd and lying legends, by which this pernicious and soul-destroying doctrine was palmed on the credulity of mankind; as, for instance, that St Jerome appeared after his death to Eusebius, commanding him to lay his staff upon the bodies of three dead men, that they might confess purgatory, which they had formerly denied. This story is written in an epistle imputed to St Cyril, although the truth is, that Jerome outlived Cyril, and wrote his life. A certain monk saw some souls roasted on spits, like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard, but, a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. St Odilio heard the devil complain, that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands by the alms and prayers of the living; and a certain priest, in an ecstasy, saw a soul in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing to heaven upon a shining pillar.

But, instead of wasting my time or yours by transcribing any more examples of such blasphemous and incredible puerilities, I shall conclude with the following striking summary of the chief objections to a doctrine so unhallowed, unscriptural, and discouraging:—“Is it a likely business, that, when men have committed great crimes, they shall be pardoned here by confession, and the ministries of the church, &c., and that as to the

venial sins, though confessed in the general, and as well as they can be, and the party absolved, yet there shall be prepared for their expiation the intolerable torments of hell-fire for a very long time? and that for the greater sins, for which men have agreed with their adversary in the way, and the adversary hath forgiven them, yet that for these also they should be cast into prison, from whence they shall not come, till the utmost farthing be paid?"

You will, perhaps, allow me, by way of illustrating the hatred, which the holy see manifests against the Word of God, to suppose for a moment, that Peter and almost any one of his pretended successors, after the sixth or seventh century, such as Boniface VIII. or Innocent III. or IV., or any of the sixteen Gregories, with the exception of the first, were to change places,—that Boniface, for example, had been, instead of Peter, the contemporary and companion of James and John, and that it was at the house of Boniface's wife's mother that our Lord performed a miracle. Now, supposing that Boniface the apostle had been animated by the same spirit which actuated Boniface the pope,—that we found in the sacred canon 1 and 2 Boniface, instead of 1 and 2 Peter, I must at once own, that the unfortunate and infatuated Protestants would not have a leg to stand upon. The spirit of the bull *unam sanctam*, would breathe in every line; and if we bowed, as we must do, to the infallible authority of the inspired volume, we should have no alternative but to prostrate ourselves before the pontifical slipper, and confess, that all power had been delegated in heaven and on earth to Boniface, the supreme president of the apostolic college; and if poor, humble Peter had lived in the fourteenth century, and emitted two milk and water epistles, which would appear so tasteless and vapid after the strong meat and high-swelling words of his inspired predecessor, not claiming the power to depose kings or appoint jubilees, but substituting meekness for arrogance, and disinterestedness for the love of lucre, it would have been deemed as im-

probable that *he* could be the successor of the lordly Boniface, as it now appears to us that Boniface can have been the representative of the lowly Peter.

The silence of Scripture as to relics, candles, crosiers, chrism, canopies, copes, and the pompous paraphernalia of Popish worship, and the positive as well as negative testimony which it bears against all the leading peculiarities of the Popish system, constitute two of the most powerful reasons why that church places so many restrictions in the way of its general circulation, wherever the Pope's influence extends. I believe they allow certain favoured extracts to be perused, in order that those who dive no deeper may infer, that, as some of the tenets which they believe are countenanced in these selections, the rest are probably contained in such portions as are not included. I dare say, however, that a Popish society could be formed for the circulation of the Epistle of Boniface (though those of Peter are contained in a book which must not be read without a licence), if its tenor were nearly to the following effect, which it necessarily would be, if it proclaimed and propagated the gross delusions and fatal errors of Popery.

THE EPISTLE GENERAL OF BONIFACE THE APOSTLE.

CHAPTER I.

1. Boniface, the vicar of Jesus Christ, who am infallible in all matters of faith, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, who am head on earth of the whole church, and whose authority extends over all the world,

2. To all the faithful in Christ Jesus, that is to say, to all who believe that I am the rock on which He built his church; and that all baptized persons are subject to my authority.

3. Grace and peace be multiplied unto you, through the Virgin Mother of God, the sole foundation of the sinner's hope.

4. Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to exhort you, that you deprive yourselves every day of some agreeable recreation, although lawful, as of breakfast, of some curious object, of smelling a flower, or hearing a piece of music.

5. And that every day, in going out of the room, or enter-

ing it, ye kiss the image of Mary, saluting her with the Ave Maria.

6. And let ours maintain good works for necessary uses; recite seven times *Gloria Patri*, with your arms in the form of a cross, in honour of the Virgin Mary, for in so doing ye shall never fail.

7. The Inquisitors amongst you I exhort, who am also an Inquisitor, to drag a man that is an heretic from a place of protection, as often as proof sufficient for the torture can be had.

8. And being affectionately desirous of him, and loving him as ourselves, we (not the Lord) command and exhort,

9. That thou deliver him to the judge, and the judge deliver him to the officer, and he be cast into prison.

10. And if he agree with his adversary, and acknowledge our supremacy, well; if not, he shall be cast into the fire.

11. Come unto me, all ye that labour under the stings of conscience, and are laden with bags of gold and silver, and I will sell you indulgences.

12. How easily shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven!

13. For I say unto you, that he, who giveth alms to the church, that the priest may celebrate a mass for him, and dieth with such atonement, fleeth to heaven without tasting the pains of purgatory.

14. Ye have heard, that it hath been said by them of old time, Cursed is the man that maketh any graven image;

15. But I say unto you, Ye shall make unto yourselves graven images, and the likeness of every thing that is in heaven above, and in earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth; ye shall bow down to them and worship them, and shall burn candles before them in streets and on bridges; and whosoever shall refuse to salute them by the way, that soul shall be cut off from his people.

16. It hath been said by our Lord Jesus Christ, that no man hath at any time seen the Father's shape;

17. But I say unto you, that, in every place where his name is recorded, ye shall set up paintings of divers colours, in which he shall sit on a cloud, in the form of a man old and well-stricken in years, that his hair shall be white with age, his countenance ruddy, and his raiment blue, or green, or yellow.

18. Our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath said, that all bishops and deacons must each be the husband of one wife;

19. But I say unto you, that whatsoever bishop or deacon marry one wife, shall be degraded and deposed, and shall be more in danger of hell-fire, than if, like king Solomon the son of David, he loved many strange women.

20. Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him to uncover their nakedness ;

21. But I say unto you, that kings, who are nursing fathers to the church, shall marry their aunts, and queens, who are nursing mothers, shall marry their uncles, when they shall pay unto me a present, and take double money in their hand, as the price of a dispensation.

22. But with the poor man in vile raiment it shall not be so ; for he cannot recompense me ; if he shall marry his aunt or his brother's widow, his trespass, which he hath trespassed, shall go up to the very heavens, and he shall weep and howl for his miseries that shall fall upon him,—his incestuous dealing shall come down on his own pate.

23. Is any sick among you ? let him not be as Asa, king of Judah, who sought for the physicians, or like unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who sent his wife to ask counsel of Ahijah the prophet ;

24. But let him send for a figure of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose vicar I am, and who hath put all things in subjection under my feet.

25. And the said figure shall be three cubits high, and adorned with jewels ; and it shall have a chapel erected in its honour, even as Solomon built an house for the Lord.

26. And the sick shall kneel before the altar of the figure, where prayer is wont to be paid for, and shall kiss its feet, and rub his forehead upon them.

27. And the priest shall rub his body in the form of a cross, first upward and down, and then across.

28. And every such sick person shall do as did the mother of Ahijah (the son of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin) who took with her ten loaves, and cracknels, and a cruise of honey.

29. Even so shall ye take with you gold and silver, and frankincense and myrrh for the priest ; and ye shall by no means leave the chapel, until ye have paid the uttermost farthing of his dues.

30. And ye shall then be healed of all manner of sickness, and of all manner of disease, if the Lord will. The effectual, fervent touch of a wooden image availeth much.

CHAPTER II.

1. Now as touching the book of God, ye remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he spake, Search the Scriptures, and again, What saith the Scripture? how readest thou?

2. But it shall not be so with you, for, lo! I have received the tiara adorned with three crowns, and am the father of princes and kings, the Governor of the world, on earth vicar of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

3. And I command and exhort you, by the bowels of the Virgin Mother of God, that ye touch not, taste not, handle not the Word without a license from me or from the bishop, who taketh the oversight of you in my name.

4. Be ye not therefore as the Bereans, who searched the Scriptures daily, neither do ye compare spiritual things with spiritual.

5. For whosoever transgresseth this law shall be in danger of the judgment here, and except he repent and pay tribute as a trespass-offering, shall be cast into hell-fire, inasmuch as he is guilty of a sin unto death, and I do not say that ye shall pay for it.

6. It is reported commonly, that there are Bibles among you, and that a certain man of Belial, to whom we gave no such commandment, hath called together his friends and neighbours;

7. And read unto them the prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the beloved disciple hath recorded in his gospel, and hath said unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found the books which were prohibited.

8. And divers of you are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he, that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you.

9. For I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, to deliver such an one to Satan, and that he shall be driven, like Cain, who put his brother to death, from the face of the earth, and shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.

10. Yet he that readeth the Scripture with caution, and with a license obtained according to the due order, doeth well; but he that repeateth the Lord's Prayer, not unto seven times, but unto seventy times seven, doeth better;

11. And he that giveth large money to the priests to say masses doeth best of all, inasmuch as the word may prove barren and unfruitful, or be a savour of death unto death;

12. But he that hears, and he that celebrates, the holy mass, merit more than if they made a pilgrimage through the whole earth, and gave all their goods to the poor.

13. And whereas there be certain men crept in unawares, which say they preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and determine to know nothing amongst you but Christ and him crucified; and who, being presumptuous and self-willed, and not afraid to speak evil of dignities, maintain that an image is nothing at all in the world;

14. And that virtue doth not go forth from dead men's bones or shoe-latchets; and that, when the sun rejoiceth as a giant to run his course, it availeth nothing to burn candles in churches;

15. And deny the perpetual virginity of God's mother, and bow not the knee before her shrine, and say, that she cannot make one hair white or black, and blasphemously bring her no present, and exclaim, Can this woman save us? From such turn away.

16. Moreover, when thou fastest, be not of a sad countenance, but anoint thy head and wash thy face, so that it may never enter into the heart of the stranger that is within thy gates to conceive that thou art fasting.

17. Thou shalt on these days in nowise eat the flesh of bulls or of lambs, or of fatted calves, for by so doing thou shalt be even as Esau, who, for one morsel of meat, sold his birthright.

18. But of every living creature that moveth, which the waters bring forth abundantly after their kind, thou shalt on fast days surely eat : *

19. To wit, great sturgeons and turbot, and salmon after their kind, and soles, and John d' Orys after their kind, and haddocks, and eels, and flounders, and lampreys and char, and mullets, red and grey, after their kind, and carp and lobsters, and cockles, and oysters.†

* "There has been one Spanish fast-day since we came here—the Vigil of All Saints. We had as good a dinner of fish, vegetables, sweets, and fruits, as any one could wish, but it made some of the guests very cross."—(*Meyrick*, p. 6.)

† The allowance awarded on fast days by Henry IV to the "successor of the apostles" (Cardinal Aldobrandini), who accompanied his queen, Mary of Medici, to France, was "25 trouts, from 2 to 30 lbs.; 8 to 10 pikes, from 10 to 12 lbs.; 30 other fish; 8 to 10 golden carps; 9 to 12 barbels; 5 to 8 cephal; many other sorts of fish; 30 to 40 lbs. of oil; 10 to 12 lb. of butter; and 200 eggs." His eminence was furnished on each ordinary day with "45 dozen

20. He that swalloweth hastily a spoonful of giblet soup, if peradventure it was an oversight, shall be beaten with few stripes; but he that wilfully emptieth a full bowl of muligatawney, shall be beaten with many stripes.*

21. But when I command and exhort you, that ye abstain on fast days from fleshly dainties, which war against the soul, behold I, even I, Boniface, say unto you, that I, who framed the prohibition by a law, can also dispense with its observance, so as to make it void in respect of thee.

22. Wherefore, if thy soul lusteth after meat, and thou shalt say I am sick, thou shalt pay a talent of silver, current money of the merchant, and by the offering of this corban thou shalt be free; and let them not fail to burn the fat presently, and then take as much as thy soul desireth.

23. Wherefore, comfort one another with these words.

24. And every vegetable or herb yielding seed after his kind, to wit, artichokes and asparagus, and peas and beans, and cucumbers, after their kind, thou shalt eat on fast days.

25. But thou shalt in no wise add ducks to thy green pease, or bacon to thy beans, or gravy to thy brocoli, for this is an abomination.

26. And thou shalt moreover fast also upon peaches and apricots, and nectarines, and melons and pine-apples, and green-gages, and shalt make them into pies and puddings by the art of the confectionary; and thou shalt add cream to thy strawberries, and custards to thy plums, that it may be well with thee.

27. And on thy fast days, thou shalt not put away thy wine from thee; but thou shalt make a feast of wines on the lees well refined, and he who, like Zabdi the Shippnite, is over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars, shall provide thee with wines of Portugal, and wines of France, and wines

of loaves; 6 barrels of wine, for his *suite*; 26 bottles for the cardinal's table; 5 sheep; 150 lbs. of beef; 2 young calves, and sometimes 1 or 2 kids; from 10 to 20 turkeys, but if more than 13 were furnished, somewhat else was usually omitted; 6 or 8 great, and 30 to 36 ordinary capons; 8 or 10 ducks; 2 herons, but not every day; 6 to 10 partridges, &c."—(*Raumer*, ii. 412.) If this "man of God" preached during the journey, he probably did not select for his text (Matt. xvi. 24), when addressing his retinue, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

* At Ravenna, recently, an Austrian captain ordered twenty blows to be administered to an individual who was sent to him by the bishop, charged with having committed the heinous offence of eating both meat and fish on the same day; the mixing of *grasso* and *magro*, on a fast day, being contrary to the ecclesiastical statutes.—*Witness*.

of Spain, and wines of the far isles of the sea, the scent whereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.

28. When thou makest a will, call not thy friends nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, to be thy heirs; but make to thyself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, by bestowing thy goods to feed the friars, and purchase masses for the repose of thy soul.

29. For behold all power is given to me in heaven and on earth, whom I will I canonize, and whom I will I condemn; for it appertaineth to me, and to me only, and to my successors after me, to give rank, and honour, and power, and pre-eminence; I do according to my will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth.

30. And it shall come to pass, that in the course of a time, and times, and half a time, of the tribe of Francis shall be beatified 12,000;

31. And of the tribe of Dominic shall be beatified 12,000;

32. And of the tribe of Benedict shall be beatified 12,000;

33. And of the tribe of Loyola shall be beatified 12,000;

34. And besides all these, there shall be nuns and hermits, and heads and members of the holy office, who were clothed with vestures dipt in blood; and kings and queens, and great captains, both good and bad, who have left lands and houses to the priests, and have hated father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, for our sakes and the church's.

35. These all died in odour of sanctity, and ever live to make intercession for you, if ye observe their days, and trim their lamps, and bow to their images, and make the sign of the cross when thou art praying before them, and invoke their aid, and trust in their merits, when thou art about to go the way of all the earth.

36. For even thus shall an abundant entrance be surely earned by thy good deeds, into the city which hath foundations.

CHAPTER III.

1. Now concerning the things whereof you wrote to me, it is good, yea, necessary, for all, both men and women, to confess their faults one to another, even as our beloved brother James hath declared.

2. But take heed, that no man deceive you by saying, that if thou acknowledge thy sins to thy brother, whom thou hast injured, thou hast, by so doing, fulfilled the law.

3. For unto all of every age and sex speak I,—not the Lord,—that thou make thy confession unto the priest.

4. The married woman shall not commune with her husband, neither the daughter with her mother, nor the daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law, of all that is in their hearts.

5. Neither if a profane thought, or lustful imagination enter into their minds, shall they in any wise banish it at once, and pray that it may be forgiven them.

6. But thou shalt carefully treasure it up in thy memory, and think of it often (lest, peradventure, it should be forgotten at the time of confession) at thy downsitting, and at thine uprising, and when thou walkest by the way, and thou shalt bind it as a frontlet between thine eyes.

7. And thou shalt whisper in closets, into the ears of Hophni and Phinehas the things which thou wouldst hide from thy father, and from thy husband.

8. And when the chaste virgin kneeleth at the feet of Hophni or of Phinehas, she shall commune with him of all that is, or ever has been, in her heart, and shall in no wise say, as Samson did unto his wife, Behold, I have not told it my father nor my mother, and shall I tell it thee ?

9. And when thou confessest thyself unto the man of God, out of thy mouth shall proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies, if committed even in thine heart.

10. When thou speakest with the tongue of repentance and godly sorrow unto thy Father, who seeth in secret, and unto thy brother or sister, whom thou hast offended, and when thou hast taken any thing from any man by false accusation, and restorest it fourfold, if thy sorrow be perfect, thy sin is immediately remitted.

11. But let no man beguile thee with enticing words; for even if thy sorrow be perfect, thou shalt still confess these very sins to thy priest; and if thou only perform an act of imperfect sorrow, and make no confession, thou art as an heathen man and a publican, and thy sin shall not be forgiven thee.

12. And though thou give thy Bible to be burnt, and the books which thy priest cursed, and spake also in thine ears, and which were distributed by heretical sons of Belial, whom after the first and second admonition I cast out, and who speak lies in hypocrisy, saying, that the Lord alone is the way, the truth, the life, the door, the sun, and the shield of believers :

13. Yet if thou confess not unto thy priest the mortal sin of having read such profane and blasphemous writings, thou art in the gall of bitterness, and a child of hell.

14. And thou shalt bear the punishment of thine offences according to the priest's estimation, so as to be beaten with stripes, whether few or many, or to pay to the Levites sundry shekels of silver, current money of the merchant, or to array a graven image of the mother of God with ouches of gold, and two chains of pure gold at the ends.

15. And when thou hast done or suffered all that the priest commandeth thee, he shall say, Lo, the Lord hath put away thy sin—thou shalt not die.

16. And it shall come to pass, long after I have put off this my earthly tabernacle, that, as Moses lifted up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, even so shall a bronze statue of myself be raised up in a street that shall be in Rome.

17. And all the faithful of high and low degree, kings and queens, man-servants and maid-servants, shall bow down and kiss its feet; and it shall be counted unto them for righteousness.

18. And when thou art healed of any manner of sickness, or any manner of disease, thou shalt render unto every saint his due—custom to whom custom—tribute to whom tribute—eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, in gold, or silver, or ivory.

19. And when the barren woman shall keep house, and be a joyful mother of children, she shall repair unto the temple of the mother of God, and kneel before her black image in token of thankfulness for her deliverance.

20. And when the wife of thy near kinsman, or of thy neighbour is with child, near to be delivered, and boweth herself and travaileth, because her pains are come upon her,

21. Thou shalt dip thy wool into the oil of the lamp, which burneth before the image, and thou shalt make haste and not tarry, to convey it unto the spouse of thy friend, that it may be well with her in the hour of labour; and thou shalt salute no man by the way.

22. And her statue shall be decked with rings and rubies, and pearls and corals, and the walls of the chapel shall be covered with paintings, that the mercy which she hath shown unto thousands of them that have loved her, and kept her feasts, may be known unto their children, and unto their children's children, even unto a thousand generations.

23. And as touching such devout and honourable women

as bring their gifts to the altar, and leave them there, and tell their beads, and sprinkle themselves with holy water, it shall turn to them for a testimony, that they have passed from death to life.

24. And all worshippers, whether male or female, who devise liberal things, and adorn either graven or molten images with the sapphire, the chalcydon, the emerald, the sardonyx, the topaz, the jacinth, and the amethyst, shall be precious in the sight of the Lord, in the day when he maketh up *his* jewels.

CHAPTER IV.

1. This know also, that, in the last days, perilous times shall come.

2. Be ye, therefore, strong in the grace that is in the Mother of God and in the Saints, of which treasure I have the key.

3. For the weapons of our warfare are carnal, and mighty to the pulling down of the strongholds of natural affection, setting a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

4. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

5. And he that taketh not his crucifix, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me; for God forbid that I should glory, save in the crucifix of our Lord Jesus Christ,

6. Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days jumpers, walking not after the traditions of the church, and they shall persuade and turn away much people, saying that they be no saints which are canonized by popes.

7. And when the carpenter encourageth the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer, him that smote the anvil, and they prepare Gods many, and Lords many, of gold, silver, and stone, graven by art or man's device, they shall rend their clothes, and say, Sirs, why do ye such things? and they shall cut down the images, and stamp them, and burn them at the brook Kidron; and they shall call every chapel, in which the head of John the Baptist is kept in a charger, or the bones of other saints are varnished and venerated in silver shrines, Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, the place of a skull.

8. And as touching baptism, also, they shall privily bring in damnable heresies, saying, that it sufficeth to be baptized with pure water, even as our Lord Jesus Christ was baptized

in Jordan; and they shall say, what is holy water more than Abana or Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, or than the waters that we drink at our own cistern? and the making of the sign of the cross shall be to them foolishness, and the washings of cups, and pots, and tables, and the pix wherein is the show-wafer (which is called the sanctuary), and the pleasant pictures above the altars, overlaid round about with gold, shall to them, even to them, be rocks of offence.

9. And they shall laugh to scorn the priest that breatheth three times in the face of the infant, and toucheth with his spittle its nostrils and its ears, and anointeth it on its breast, and back of the neck, and under the head, and placeth a lighted candle in its hand; whose damnation is just.

10. And they shall not discern the body of the Lord that bought them, in the wafer which we consecrate, or believe that he, as God and man, is eaten by 500 brethren at once, in divers parts of the earth.

11. And being men of perverse minds, they shall say, If the Lord's body and blood be altogether present in the bread, why did he also give his blood to be drunk in the cup? and the cup of the New Testament, which the Lord hath given us, why should we not drink it as well as the priest, or he abstain from it as well as we?

12. Mine answer to every such an one is, Be still, and know that I am the Pope, and that thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this thing, prating against us with malicious words.

13. And they shall have evangelists or missionaries, and pastors and teachers, faithful (as they pretend) and able to instruct others also, and to be themselves ensamples to the flock.

14. But cardinals, and patriarchs, and archbishops, and abbots, and priors, and archdeacons, they shall not away with, or use such flattering titles as holiness, and eminence, and grace, and lordship.

15. And ye shall load all such jumpers with chains of iron, and clogs of brass, and they shall be scattered over the face of the whole earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, and many shall be tortured, not accepting deliverance.

16. And there shall arise Dominics, who shall condemn to the vengeance of temporal fire their tens of thousands, and Torquemadas, who shall burn their hundreds of thousands, and other thousands shall they starve in prisons, and put under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron.

17. Verily, I say unto you, wherever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that these men of God have done be told for a memorial of them.

18. And many such shall be raised to the rank of saints in heaven, and all generations shall call them blessed ; for this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that whoso burneth jumpers glorifieth God, and doeth him service, for with such sacrifices God is better pleased than with an ox or bullock that hath horns and hoofs. I am the Pope.

19. Moreover, I know, beloved, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle (as I told you before in few words).

20. But let not your heart be troubled, neither be ye afraid with any amazement ; for my bishopric shall another take.

21. For I declare unto you, that pontiffs shall the Lord our God raise up like unto me, them shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever they shall say unto you.

22. And their power shall at the first be as a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand.

23. And by degrees it shall wax stronger and stronger, until the heaven shall be black with clouds ; and as darkness once overspread the face of the deep, so shall our authority overshadow the whole earth.

24. But the time would fail me to tell of Sixtus, and Alexander, and Benedict, and Pius, and John, and Leo, and Gregory, with Clement also, and Paul, and Urban.

25. Who through fire shall subdue heresies, and by gagging stop the mouths of gainsayers, whom they shall stone, and saw asunder, and slay with the sword ; say masses, drink wines, rejoice at the sound of the organ ;

26. Build palaces, fill prisons, appoint cardinals, sell dispensations, wear a triple crown, multiply jubilees, adore relics, receive ambassadors, excommunicate kings, inhale incense, tax subjects, distribute palms, consecrate roses, entertain armies of aliens, wear velvet slippers, bring down the God-man from heaven into wafers, have wax lights burning round their coffins when they are dead, and trust in the intercession of the Mother of God for admission among the saints in light, while they are living.

27. And they shall rejoice, and divide continents by line and plummet, and mete out the valleys of countries not yet known.

28. And they shall say, Germany is mine, and Gallia is mine—Britain is the strength of my purse—Italy is my washpot—over Spain will I cast my shoe—Rome, triumph thou because of me !

29. Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand, and, moreover, in virtue of the plenitude of my supremacy, I grant an indulgence of four hundred years, nine months, eleven days, three hours, and seven minutes, and three quarters, to every one who shall read it at a sitting, and repeat ten Hail Marys, and seventeen Paternosters.

30. Salute my great toe with an holy kiss.

31. Grace and peace be with all that count their beads, and frequent masses, and pray to Mary, and purchase indulgences, on them the fire of purgatory hath no power, and their sins, though they be as scarlet, shall in no wise be remembered against them, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.

Given at our pontifical palace at Rome (opposite Simon the tanner's), *sub ann. Pisco.*, in the forty-seventh year of grace, and fourteenth of our pontificate.

L. S. A true copy.

PAUL PINGUEBELLI,



Cardinal of Ganderopolis.

Popery, my friends, is, in my judgment, neither more nor less than a gorgeous and grotesque caricature of Christianity. Many ingenious humorists in modern times, after selecting some of the most sublime and renowned pictures of the ancient masters, have acquired distinction for themselves, and furnished recreation for their readers, by closely and curiously adapting them to the principal events and eminent politicians of our own era. On the same principle, the Pope* may be said to have tortured and travestied the leading facts and features of the gospel, for consolidating his own despotism, and authorizing his own usurpations, interlarding, however, so many strange and anomalous interpolations, that the faint resemblance is almost buried in a mass of unseemly and monstrous incongruities. There is not a more palpable contrast between the epistles of Peter and that of Boniface (as here attempted to be portrayed), than between the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel,

and the figments, and fopperies, and fooleries, which "Christ's vicar" (wherever his baneful authority extends) has audaciously substituted in their stead. I might have still further illustrated what Christianity would have been, had Popish rites and tenets prevailed in the church's infancy, by laying before you not only a few more epistles similar to that of Boniface, but a book of "the Acts of the Mother of God, and of the Saints," exclusively dug out of the inexhaustible dross of Popish lies and legends. But I trust, that this specimen may more than suffice to render you, if possible, more thankful than ever for the Holy Scriptures, which have been written not only for our learning, and for our guidance (under the Spirit's teaching) into all truth, but to serve as a celestial talisman against the fascinating plausibilities of error, the fantastic mummeries of will-worship, and the gloomy thralldom of superstition.

On the absurdity and extravagance of the legends, concocted and credited in the Popish Church, it is unnecessary for me to dwell at any length. But you may perhaps peruse with some interest a specimen of these marvellous tales, connected with the miracle narrated in a former letter, according to which, the Cardinal Lobster, who was one of the admiring audience at St Antony's sermon addressed to the fish, presides, under the title of *St Peter ad hamum*, as legate *a latere*, over an extensive diocese at the bottom of the ocean.

A miracle takes place annually in his Eminence's submarine cathedral, to which the yearly liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius at Naples bears a strong and striking resemblance. On the festival of St Granchio, a large crystal vat, about sixty feet in circumference and ten in depth, presented and blessed by Pope Alexander the Eighth, is placed before the high altar. After mass has been celebrated by the cardinal archbishop, the senior canon (who is always a member of the dolphin family) removes from a superb cover of crimson velvet a silver urn of exquisite workmanship, hermetically

sealed, and filled with rich gelatine. As soon as the prior of the convent of red mullets has censed the vessel for about eight minutes, and has pronounced six Ave Marias, he breaks the seal, and removes the cover, when the canon pours the contents into the crystal vat, where they immediately assume the figure of a very large and lively John d'Ory, which swims up and down to the delight of the devout spectators, who instantly prostrate themselves on their knees, and repeat eleven Paternosters. The chief provincial of the college of sturgeons then throws a bajocco of the reigning Pope into the water, which the fish swallows with avidity; and the cardinal lowers the sacred hook into the vat, without any bait. The hook is instantly laid hold of by the John d'Ory, which the cardinal drags in triumph to the altar. On opening its mouth, his eminence removes the piece of money, which has been converted from a copper coin of last year into a silver *denarius* of Caracalla. The fish is then held up over the silver urn by the tail, and on being touched with a large rosary made of oyster shells, gradually drops into it in the form of gelatine, after which it is carefully sealed up and laid by until the ensuing year.

The bones of the 153 fish, which Simon Peter drew to land after the resurrection, constitute another relic of great interest and value. Of these, 117 are preserved in the submarine cathedral, which has just been described—13 in a convent of female turbot at the bottom of the Gulf of Florida—11 in a monastery of red mullets in the Sea of Marmora—and 12 in a priory of grey mullets, about fifty leagues distant from the western coast of the Mediterranean; besides which, the entire set is shown at a nunnery of congor eels, which was founded in the Pentland Firth by St Anguilla, in the reign of King James III. (1477.)—(See bull of Sixtus IV., dated 11th August in that year.) The discovery of these precious relics took place, (according to *St Acipenser de Eccles. submar.*, vol. iii. p. 171. Strasb. ed. 1694) in the year 1135, when St Muræna and St

Rhomba, the daughters of two illustrious families of the finny tribe, who lived in habits of sisterly affection, both dreamt on the same night, that a large stone casket, containing these bones, had been lying, ever since the miraculous occurrence took place, at the bottom of the Sea of Tiberias. Having perfect confidence in the celestial vision, they repaired thither with all possible expedition, and found it even as it had been told them; but not having sufficient strength to waft the inestimable burden to its destination, they invoked the aid of St Balæna, a whale of the fair sex, the foundress of the now widely-spread order of bottle-nosed hermitesses, by whom it was transported to the cathedral of St Granchio, and the bones distributed as before described. On their way homeward, St Muræna was unfortunately caught by a fisherman in the service of Henry I., king of England; and it is believed to have been as a punishment for having feasted on the holy damsel, that his majesty died immediately afterwards of an indigestion, 1st December 1135, (*vide* Chron. Henric I., p. 172, and Bayle, art. St Muræna.) St Rhomba was so deeply affected by the unfortunate fate of her beloved companion, that she retired to the Gulf of Florida, and established the convent of female turbot, to which allusion has already been made, where she died in odour of sanctity, an. 1174.—(Lanfranc. de gestis sanct. Pisc., vol. iv. p. 19, ed. Ven. 1643.) The distinctive badge of the nuns of that celebrated institution is a small cross of coral, fastened by a band of twisted seaweed between the anal and caudal fins. St Balæna lived in her hermitage to the great age of 119; and all the three are believed, on the authority of Sigonius, Joseph Scaliger, and Petavius, to have been changed into stars, and to occupy a prominent place in the constellation Pisces. The bull for their canonization was ordered to be drawn up in 1590 by the excellent Pope Urban VII. (Castagna), the successor of Sixtus V.; but as he was prematurely cut off after a brief reign of three weeks, his holy and wise in-

tentions were carried into effect by his successor, Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati); and although no day is dedicated to their honour in the ordinary Romish calendar, so much respect is paid to them in his holiness' submarine dominions (which have never been tainted by Protestant heresy), that the first of April has been set apart for their worship, and is observed with particular strictness in the Black Sea, and in the Straits of Babel-mandel.

III.—ON BAPTISM.

THE second sacrament, which both Papists and Protestants observe in common, is that of Baptism; and it appears to me, that not only by the former, but by most Episcopalians also, the nature and importance of this institution have been magnified and overrated, in order to augment the amount of "power and holiness" supposed to be inherent in the priesthood, by whom it is administered. There have of late, on the other side of the Tweed, been many bitter controversies, as well as an unseemly and expensive lawsuit, in regard to the question of baptismal regeneration—a doctrine, as to which there is a wide and palpable difference of opinion amongst not only the highest living authorities, but the most distinguished authors belonging to former ages, who have been the props and ornaments of the Anglican Church. At present there seems to be a preponderance of opinion (at least amongst the bishops) in favour of this principle; although it is concurrently repudiated by many very eminent divines, who dogmatically differ from each other on many other points of great importance. Arnold, who abhorred the evangelical party, and Bickersteth, who, in that section of the church, was revered as one of its holiest leaders, are equally opposed, on this subject, to a great majority of the Episcopal bench.

"All the Newmanite language about baptism," says Arnold, "might be, and probably was, used by the Jews and Judaisers about circumcision. The error in both is the same—i.e., the teaching that an outward bodily act can have a tendency to remove moral evil ; or rather, the teaching that God is pleased to act upon the spirit through the body, in a way agreeable to none of the known laws of our constitution ; a doctrine, which our Lord's language about meats not defiling a man, 'because they do not go into the heart, but into the belly,' puts down in every possible form under which it may attempt to veil itself."—(P. 443.)

"I have been reading carefully," says Bickersteth, "the articles, canons, and liturgy ; and, after some doubts and difficulties, feel satisfied our church holds no doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, and that her forms tend greatly to edification. My greatest doubt was, whether they did not identify baptism and regeneration ; and though I think their ideas were obscure on this subject, I am now satisfied, particularly from the homily on Whitsunday and the article on baptism, that they did consider them quite distinct."—(i. 239.) "Without a real change from nature to grace, manifested in a really Christian and holy life, baptism, however rightly administered, leaves the baptized only under heavier guilt." "Thus baptism becomes a cover for delusion, a rest in an outside service, a charm to ensure our salvation, and a putting off anxiety about the new heart, instead of an encouragement to seek and attain it."—(ii. 150.)

The following extract from Sir James Stephen, in reference to this Anglico-Popish tenet, is also well entitled to serious consideration :—"Those, who believe in this astounding efficacy of the sacrament of baptism, must needs number Xavier among the greatest benefactors of his species ; for no other man ever brought down, by his ministration, a blessing of such unutterable magnitude on so vast a multitude of babes and

sucklings. It is, indeed, a subject of curious inquiry, why the adherents of that doctrine do not arise to the more than human, and yet easy, office of love which invites them? By employing a few active emissaries, to baptize infant Hindoos, they would confer on the race of man benefits infinitely eclipsing all the results of all the labours of all the philanthropists who have trodden this earth from the days of Adam to our own. Why, then, is this mighty work of benevolence unattempted? It is because they, who are driven by a tyrannical logic to these most marvellous consequences, escape the pressure of them by something which is superior to all logic, and proof against all argumentation, even by those indestructible instincts of our nature, and by that free spirit of the Gospel, which will dash to pieces the inference and the belief, that the Almighty Father of us all has really made the eternal weal or wo of our children to depend on the observance or neglect of an ablution to be sprinkled by the hands, and a benediction to be pronounced by the lips, of mortal man."—(P. 207.)

Between those who contend for baptismal regeneration, and others who maintain that the rite is only an outward and visible sign, there is the same difference as between one man who gives a promissory note for a large sum, which may or may not be paid at a future period, and another who at once pours the same amount in ready money into your lap.

There are, I conceive, two elements necessary to constitute a genuine believer in the Lord Jesus Christ: the external profession, and the inward change of heart; the former can be bestowed by man—the latter must be imparted by God. Baptism confers the one—divine grace communicates the other. I may illustrate this position by the following comparison:—Two things are necessary to constitute a soldier: in the first place, he must go through the form of being admitted into the army; there are certain persons invested with legal authority, before whom the law directs that the oath

allegiance shall be taken, and other prescribed ceremonies observed, after which the raw recruit is considered as regularly enlisted. All these proceedings, however, do not in any degree impart to him the qualities necessary for rendering him a good and useful soldier. These must be derived from another source, altogether apart from the mere form of admission, which, whether the justice who presides be an illustrious peer or a humble squire, leaves the man's internal dispositions exactly where it found them. It seems to me, that baptism, whether performed by a cardinal or a curate, and even when "the sacerdotal breath is gently breathed into the face," does no more for the individual, than the administration of the oath of allegiance has done for the soldier.

In connection with this subject, I may, perhaps, be pardoned for premising a few remarks with respect to John's baptism. 1. From the manner in which our Lord questioned the Jews on that subject, he evidently intended to intimate, that it was "from heaven," and not "of men"—an institution of divine appointment. 2. It did not possess any inherent virtue for effecting a change either of heart or of condition. "I indeed baptize with water," which is equivalent to saying, that it was merely an outward ordinance. 3. Our Lord himself was baptized by John, although he needed not to be regenerated; but he submitted to that rite, which was "from heaven," in order to manifest his belief in the mission and authority of John. 4. Those who came to be baptized of John, confessed their sins before the rite was administered. When many of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism, he saw that they were not in a fit state to be admitted into fellowship; for he said unto them, "O, generation of vipers! who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance"—which, I think, implies, that the fruits of repentance must be seen, before the outward ceremony

could with propriety be performed. He would at once have administered the rite, if he thought that baptism would produce conversion and reformation.

I am firmly persuaded, that baptism, under the New Testament dispensation, is, in the case of adults (as was true also in regard to the rite as administered by John), an outward and visible sign of inward spiritual grace already received. Will any one say, that the Baptist was not regenerated at the time when he bore testimony to the Divine character and mission of Him, the latchet of whose shoes he declared himself unworthy to unloose? He could not have called Christ Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. He that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he; the humblest believer has a more clear perception of the Gospel mystery, than was enjoyed by John, although among those that are born of women there had not risen a greater than he. The Baptist possessed, like the patriarchs, prophets, and saints under the old economy (and even in a more eminent degree than they), a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus; but an enlarged acquaintance with the great mystery of godliness was, after the day of Pentecost, vouchsafed to the apostles and to the churches. John, however, himself says, I have need to be baptized of thee—not for the purpose of being enabled to recognise him as the Christ, for he knew this already; but in order that, by being baptized, he might make a public profession of his faith, and show that he was not ashamed of Christ, or of his Gospel. When our Lord says to Nicodemus, “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,” it seems to me, that he intended to declare the necessity of combining an outward profession of the Gospel by baptism, with the internal change which is effected by the operation of the Spirit; that it is not sufficient to be “his disciple secretly, for fear of the Jews.” If regeneration necessarily follows water baptism, I do not see why our Lord should have added, “and of the

Spirit ;" but his language appears to imply, that there may be the external rite without the inward grace. Nor, indeed, is it improbable that the expression, to be "born of water and of the Spirit," like the phrase, being "baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire," is meant to indicate that change which is effected in the sinner's heart by the agency of the Holy Spirit, which is aptly typified both by water and fire—the former cleansing all filthiness from the flesh, the latter purely purging away all the dross, and taking away all the tin, from the precious metal which is left behind. On the other hand, it is laid down as an axiom in the Romish Catechism (printed in 1829), and the definition will, I doubt not, be assented to by almost all Episcopalians, that "baptism causes man to become the son of God, and heir of paradise ; cancels all sins, and fills the soul with spiritual gifts"—

*"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint
Infantes !"*

All children that are baptized go at once, if they die, to heaven ; all that are not so, pass an eternity in limbo. But the principle applies to adults, at least as much as to infants, for baptism is said to "cancel all sins," and with the exception of original sin, an infant can have no sins to be cancelled. I contend, however, that, in the case of every adult, who comes to be baptized, he either must have, or must at least profess to have, the very graces already in exercise, which baptism is supposed to bestow. "He that believeth," saith our Lord, "and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he who believeth not, shall be damned." The belief here spoken of must necessarily be a belief with the heart unto righteousness ; after which, the tongue maketh confession unto salvation, by applying for the administration of the outward rite, and thus the believer professes a good profession before many witnesses. That the belief, which precedes water baptism, must be a saving faith, which

can only be imparted through the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and that baptism, unless preceded by this saving faith, does not cause a man to become the son of God, is, I think, evident from the case of Simon Magus, who believed, and was baptized, but because his faith was (as we are told) spurious and carnal, his baptism did not make him the child of God; for he is declared, notwithstanding he had made a profession of faith, and received the rite of baptism (perhaps from the apostle himself) to have been in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity. He that believeth not, says our Lord (and this may be implied from the context to mean, whether he be baptized or not), shall be damned. We are told, that, without faith, it is impossible to please God; but this is nowhere said with respect to baptism. It is not by the administration of baptism, but by the foolishness of preaching, that they who believe are declared to be saved. (1 Cor. i. 21.) Peter also establishes a clear distinction between the outward sign of immersion, or "putting away of the filth of the flesh" (1 Pet. iii. 21), which is all that mere immersion can "put away," and the inward change effected by the Spirit's agency, "the answer of a good conscience towards God;" which distinction seems to presuppose that there is no indispensable connection between them.

When Paul set out for Damascus, breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples, he was, doubtless, at that moment a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious, and continued to be so, until the Lord himself spake to him with power; but what was his disposition, when he was led to exclaim, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Is it possible to suppose, that he would have acknowledged Christ to be his Lord, and placed himself wholly at his disposal, unless the Spirit had slain the enmity in his heart, and caused him in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, to become a new creature? Ananias, when sent to him, commanded him (Acts xxii. 16) to arise and be baptized, and wash away his sins, cal'

on the name of the Lord. The spiritual change had been effected when the Lord appeared to him; but it was essential, that he should not be a disciple "secretly for fear of the Jews," or come "by night" to learn his Master's will, but he must *call* on the name of the Lord, and partake in the outward rite and solemn seal of baptism, in order to testify, that he was not ashamed of the Lord and of his words, in an adulterous and sinful generation. So secondary, indeed, in point of importance, does the outward rite appear to have been in the apostle's own estimation, that, on the most important occasion, in which he narrated the history of his conversion, in the presence of Festus, Agrippa, and Bernice, though he states very fully all the other particulars, the circumstance of his having been baptized is passed over altogether. That Paul did not attach to the outward ceremony the same sanctifying and saving character, with which it is invested by Romanist and high-church divines, is, I think, evident from the manner in which he speaks of it in 1 Cor. i. 14-17, "I thank God," says he, "that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius." Let us here substitute the Romish definition, and we shall find the apostle saying, "I thank God, that I made none of you the sons of God, and heirs of paradise, but Crispus and Gaius;" he adds, indeed, "lest any of you should say, that I had baptized in mine own name." But although the fear of misconstruction might admit of the apostle being thankful, that he had not administered a rite, which conveyed nothing along with it, but the mere outward profession of the gospel, he surely would have braved that trial, for the sake of performing a ceremony, which cancelled all the sins of those to whom it was administered. He then adds, "I baptized also the house of Stephanas;" a matter of so little moment, that it cost him an effort of memory to recollect it; and he then adds, "I know not whether I baptized any other." I have been so much engrossed with the weightier matters, of warning the unruly, comfort-

ing the feeble-minded, and helping much those who have believed through grace, that I really forget whether I baptized any other or not; and the Holy Spirit, under whose influence he was writing, did not think it worth while to refresh his memory in this particular, "for Christ (continues the apostle) sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." I have, indeed, from time to time administered the rite, I scarcely know how often or how seldom, but preaching is the most important function entrusted to me, necessity is laid upon me, and wo is unto me if I preach *not* the gospel; but it is not stated, that a necessity was laid upon him as to baptism, and that wo would be unto him if he did not baptize. The first injunction to the disciples was to "*teach* all nations," and then to baptize. Teaching was to be the appointed channel for the communication of saving grace, and baptism was to constitute the medium through which a public profession was to be made. If baptism really converts every sinner, to whom it is imparted, into a child of God and an heir of paradise, it is undoubtedly a far more important and essential institution than preaching, which is often wholly ineffectual in the case of multitudes who live under its administration during a long course of years. Baptism makes every recipient an heir of paradise in an instant—

*"Memento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama"—*

whereas preaching is to thousands of persons a savour of death unto death, and only effects the salvation of others, after having been times and ways out of number resorted to in vain; for although faith (by which is meant *saving* faith) cometh by hearing, and not by baptism, there is also a hearing, by which saving faith cometh not. If, therefore, baptism be so important, so efficacious, so indispensable, why did Jesus not baptize, but his disciples? In order, I apprehend, to show that we are to consider the rite as a mere outward badge

or symbol, and of far less moment than preaching; for if you tell us, that his disciples both preached and baptized, I reply, that our Lord, though he never baptized, was continually occupied in preaching; and surely that employment must be the most necessary, and the most instrumental in saving souls, in which he not only commanded others to be occupied, but in which, in season and out of season, he himself was incessantly engaged. The baptism of infants may be regarded as an useful and salutary practice, inasmuch as it implies, on the part of the parent, who solicits it on behalf of his child, a renewal of his own public profession of faith in the gospel, and a pledge to make a diligent use of the means of instruction, which (together with earnest prayer) have been appointed by the Redeemer as the channels through which saving knowledge is communicated to the soul; but all these outward means are in themselves unavailing, and must be accompanied by that baptism of fire, and spiritual unction, with which his own sacred humanity was anointed above his fellows, and in virtue of which he increased in wisdom, and in favour both with God and man.

It is generally contended, that baptism, under the new covenant, occupies the same place as circumcision under the old. Now, I think, Paul is at very great pains to demonstrate, that circumcision did not effect any internal change, but was no more than the badge or sign of a change previously wrought by the agency of the Holy Spirit—a seal or symbol of the pre-existing faith, which Abraham had, when yet uncircumcised. When King Hamor, and Shechem his son, and all that went out of the city, were circumcised, we surely cannot imagine that they were all regenerated, and made meet for the kingdom of heaven—an object which never entered into their contemplation, when they submitted to the rite for the mere accomplishment of a secular purpose. Without faith, it is impossible to please God; but it is not said, that without circumcision it is impossible to

please God, for in that case (as the outward rite was confined to males) Sarah and the holy women of old must have been necessarily shut out from heaven, although she and others are included by the apostle in the catalogue of the worthies who died in faith, as did Abel, Enoch, Noah, and others, who lived and died in faith before circumcision was introduced. Circumcision, therefore, could not be essential for the production of that faith, which was imparted to believers, before it was ordained to be administered; and the same seems to hold good of baptism, which was substituted as an initiatory rite under the new dispensation. As, however, baptism is an ordinance appointed of God, it is the duty of every Christian to submit to it on that account, though without ascribing to it those important results or concomitants which Popery has attached to it. The Prophet Ezekiel (xliv. 7 and 9) speaks twice of those who were "uncircumcised in heart, and uncircumcised in flesh," placing the expressions in such an order as seems to imply, that, although both kinds of circumcision are necessary before a sinner can be numbered amongst "them that are perfect," the circumcision of the heart has the priority, instead of being a fruit or necessary consequence, of the other. Stephen calls his persecutors "uncircumcised in heart and ears," although, doubtless, they had all undergone in their infancy the outward rite of circumcision. Jeremiah also (iv. 4) exclaims, "Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your hearts, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem!" And this exhortation is addressed to those, who had undergone the outward rite in their infancy, but who evidently still remained in an unregenerate condition. And the same prophet says, in reference to persons externally circumcised (ix. 26), "All the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart."

There are, I must confess, two reasons which induce me to withhold my belief from the Popish view, that baptism necessarily regenerates every child to whom it is

administered, and is essential to salvation. First, I perceive that great numbers of baptized children of both sexes never manifest the slightest indication, throughout the whole of their subsequent lives, that this marvellous transformation has taken place; we not only, in such cases, never see the full corn in the ear, but no trace appears either of the ear, or of the blade; which leads me to deny, that the incorruptible seed of regeneration has ever been sown at all;—and in the second place, many believers, who hold antipædobaptistic opinions, have proved, by the holiness of their lives, the ardour of their love, and the activity of their zeal, during a long period before the administration of the outward rite, that they had experienced the internal renovation, without which it is altogether impossible that they could have called Jesus Lord, or devoted their time, their talents, and their substance to his service. “Be not afraid, only believe,” is a far more scriptural sentiment, than “Be not afraid, only be baptized.”

These are discussions connected with the sacrament of baptism, on which it is unnecessary, and perhaps inexpedient, that I should venture to express any opinion, because they are not involved in the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as held by Romish and Puseyite controversialists. I allude to the inquiries whether the privilege of the rite appertains to infants as well as to adults, and whether it should be administered by sprinkling or by immersion. Instead of entering upon such an extensive, and, in this case, extraneous investigation, I shall instruct, as well as gratify, my readers by inserting the following extracts from my friend Dr M'Crie's admirable treatise on this subject:—

“As there is an outer and an inner man, so is there an outer and an inner church, the former being the visible image and embodiment of the other. And as the outer and inner man is the same being, viewed in different aspects—so it is with the church. In correspondence to this, there is an outer and an inner bap-

tism; a baptism *in the name* of Christ, and a baptism *into* Christ. The former baptism is an outward privilege, and has only to do with the outer church. *As administered by the church, it establishes merely a visible relationship; it secures outward advantages.* It is in this sense only, as constituent parts of the visible community, called by Christ's name, that we consider children as entitled to the character of church members."—(P. 65.)

"We must bear in mind that the church of Christ, so long as she is in this world, is a visible corporeal society, and possesses external privileges, which, in the nature of things, must necessarily be shared by the children of God in common with many, who are so only nominally or by profession; that there is an outward baptism with water, as well as an inward baptism with the Spirit, and for hundreds that receive the former, there may not be one in a hundred that receives the latter, and that true spirituality, instead of confounding these things together, just appears in being able to distinguish them. The church of Christ, as a visible society, must have outward privileges, by which its members may be distinguished in the sight of man, as well as inward graces, by which they are distinguished in the sight of God—privileges, which the worldly may despise and the hypocrite abuse, but by which all will be judged at last, and which shall be found either 'the savour of life unto life, or of death unto death.'"—(P. 89.)

"The Spirit may no doubt bless any ordinance for salvation, but according to this theory [of baptismal regeneration] he not only *may* but he *must* bless this ordinance, and bless it in the very act of its administration. The moment that grace is made to hang on the performance of a ceremony, or the pronouncing a certain form of words, that moment its nature is changed, and we ascribe to the sign what is only due to the Divine Agent. It is a reversal of the divine order; the

Spirit in this case depends on the sign, instead of the sign depending on the Spirit. The priest is converted into a kind of spiritual Prometheus, who at his own pleasure can call down fire from heaven, to animate the dead clay of fallen nature, and God becomes subsidiary and subservient to man. The very idea is tainted with blasphemies."—(P. 118.)

Every infant, as a descendant from Adam, is tainted with sin, full of perverseness, and of course incapable of faith or repentance. I do not, I confess, perceive why the sprinkling of water on its forehead, and the pronouncing of a certain form of words, even if accompanied by all the mysterious and arbitrary appliances of Popery, should in every case regenerate the child, and render him meet for heaven; whilst the same ceremony, even if performed by the Pope himself, in the case of an unbelieving adult, would not be attended by any such auspicious result, and only tend to aggravate his condemnation. It seems, however, as probable, that the sprinkling of consecrated water, accompanied by the utterance of the prescribed form of words, should be the infallible medium for converting an aged infidel into a regenerate believer, as that, in the case of the other holy rite, the pronounciation of the mystic words by the officiating priest should change a tiny wafer into the living and omnipotent God. At all events, it seems to me a pernicious error to expect, as the necessary result of the administration of an outward rite by a priest, the stupendous miracle of that change of heart, which the psalmist ascribes solely to the creative power of Him who made the worlds.

IV.—PUSEYISM AND PRELACY.

THERE is another point, my friends, to which I cannot refrain from calling your attention, because it involves the most serious consequences to ourselves, in reference both to our comfort in time, and our salvation throughout eternity. I allude to the principle so strenuously maintained, not only by Papists, but by all Puseyites and high-church Episcopalians, that no one but a prelate can ordain a minister of the gospel; that all others are merely lay teachers, without authority to preside at the sacraments, or to perform any of the functions appertaining to the pastoral office. Our royal Solomon's favourite maxim was, "No bishop, no king;" but this celebrated aphorism is maintained, in many quarters, in a far more comprehensive acceptation; and it is gravely propounded that, where there is no bishop, there can be no church, no sacraments, no ordinances, no ministers. According to this startling hypothesis, unhappy Scotland is "poor indeed;" and her sad condition has, during some centuries, resembled that of the children of Israel, when they "abode many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim"—(Hosea iii. 4.) Thus we, my dear friends, and our blind, infatuated ancestors, have been without a queen to be the head of our church, without an archbishop, and without a dean, and without a liturgy, and without a candlestick, and without a surplice, and without lawn sleeves, and without all those postures and genuflexions, and that observance (I had almost said *non-observance*) of saints' days and festivals, which, as we think, was, during the prevalence of mediæval and antiscriptural superstition, imposed until the times of Reformation. We know, however, from history, tradition, and experience, that, during the whole of this dismal and dreary interregnum, the Gospel has been preached throughout the

length and breadth of our land, the name of the Lord Jesus has been magnified, his instituted ordinances diligently observed, the Bible generally read and revered, missionaries sent forth to evangelize the heathen; and that the blessing and agency of the Holy Spirit have accompanied, both at home and abroad, the ministrations of non-prelatic ministers, whom high-churchmen concur with Papists in representing as guilty of schism and rebellion. But although our presbyteries and synods are not favoured with episcopal superintendence, we have abundant cause to bless the name of the Great and only Head of our Church, that we have had a regular succession of such scriptural and primitive bishops as were recognised and revered, when the canon of revealed truth was given by inspiration; such bishops and deacons as ministered at Philippi; such bishops as Paul exhorted the elders to be, whom he sent for from Miletus to Ephesus, in which (though a town, as was Philippi also) it necessarily follows from the context, that there must have been several bishops, and not merely one in each; such episcopal presbyters as Titus was commissioned to ordain in every city, and such as Peter commanded (though he expressly calls them presbyters) to *episcopise*, and prohibits from being *lords* over God's heritage. We object to diocesan prelates, because we see no warrant in the Divine record for the creation of any such dignity. We believe, that the apostles—in order to be numbered amongst whom, it was necessary to have “*companies with the rest all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them*”—neither had, nor could have had, any successors; that they were expressly chosen to be “*witnesses of his sufferings and resurrection*”—(Luke xxiv. 46); this was the purpose for which Matthias was chosen as a substitute for Judas—(Acts i. 22); and Paul, when he asserts his privilege as an apostle, says, “*Have I not seen our Lord Jesus Christ?*”—(1 Cor. ix. i.); that the office died with the original holders of it, whilst the

ordinary functions of the ministry were handed down to all such faithful men as should, until the end of time, be able to teach others also, and be set apart, after due examination, for that sacred office, by such presbyters or bishops (for, in Scripture, the terms are identical and convertible) as had been in Christ before them. Supposing that Nelson had appointed twelve officers, who served with him during all his victories, and had been present when he closed his brilliant career at Trafalgar, to be "witnesses" of his achievements throughout the world; and that, when one of the persons so honoured, had been cashiered for misconduct, another had been substituted in his place, in the choice of whom (as in that of the original twelve) it had been an essential prerequisite, that he should himself have been one of the illustrious hero's companions in arms,—it must, I think, be evident, that such distinction could only have been of a temporary character, and must have expired with the generation, in which Nelson lived and moved. The same principle, I humbly think, holds good with respect to the apostolic office; which, like that of "prophets," "miracles," and "deaconesses," have been allowed by the church to expire. The Lord has nowhere informed us in his Word, that any one of the apostles presided over any fixed diocese, or even had any certain dwelling-place. If Peter was the first prelate in the Roman catalogue, it is passing strange, that his first epistle *certainly* (and *probably* the second also) should have been written from Babylon; and Paul is almost continually represented as being on his travels—at Ephesus, at Corinth, in Pamphylia, or in Macedonia, and projecting journeys to Spain or to Rome, or visiting his brethren in every city, where he had preached the Word of the Lord.

There are, I think, two objections to the principle, that prelatial ordination is essential for entitling or qualifying a candidate to perform the functions of the holy ministry. In the first place, it is often palpably

inefficacious, and fails in accomplishing its object ; in the next place, it cannot be indispensable, since thousands have been able and faithful ministers of the New Testament, on whom the hands of a prelate have never been imposed, but who, after the laying on of the hands of the presbytery (when due and deliberate examination as to their fitness has taken place), have faithfully and zealously laboured both in word and doctrine, with equal acceptance and success. Far be it from us to deny, that many, very many, of the pastors and teachers, who have received episcopal ordination, have shone brilliantly amongst the lights of the world, and proved the salt of the earth in their day and generation. Far be it from us to question the piety, the talents, or the usefulness, of such men as Newton or Scott, as Simeon or Venn—(I believe that our respect for their names and for their memories, is far more hearty and sincere, than that of many of their own high-church brethren)—and if it were only contended, on the part of Episcopalians, that theirs is the more excellent way (without pronouncing every other system to be wholly invalid and schismatical), why, reason would that we should bear with them ; but when a principle is gravely and authoritatively propounded, which virtually lays the whole of Scotland (so to speak) under an interdict, and unchurches, if it does not unchristianize, our Rutherfords and our Hendersons, our Chalmerses and our McCries, and, let me add, our Alexanders, our Goolds, our Browns, or our Wardlaws, it is difficult for those who, from their imperishable writings and bright example, have learnt to venerate the Lord's name, and delight in the Lord's ordinances, and love the Lord's day, the Lord's word, and the Lord's people, to repress an honest feeling of indignation and astonishment. Such presbyters as I have "named to honour," are despised and rejected by high-churchmen, whilst gay and thoughtless non-resident incumbents of snug family benefices, such as I myself have often seen in my younger days—(when

“Parson This,” or “Parson That,” was any thing but a complimentary designation)—

“With rings on their fingers, and pumps on their toes;”

men who were better stewards of the midnight ball than of God’s manifold grace; men, whose patron saint was St Leger rather than St Luke; men out of whose mouths have proceeded blessing in the reading-desk and cursing on the race-course, and who have been far more conversant with betting-books than with Bibles,—may trip, on the Sunday morning, from the clubroom to the chapel, there to regenerate sinners by the administration of baptism, or impart to grave believers the body and blood of their Redeemer; whilst these very acts, if performed by the holiest and most consistent “dissenting teachers,” are wholly useless as regards man, and utterly loathsome in the sight of God!

According to high-church principles, such pastors, or rather such hirelings, must be acknowledged, honoured, and obeyed, as true ministers of Jesus Christ, because a prelate has ordained them, and “preachers have no right to go into the parishes of other ministers, even although nothing but Socinianism or neology is taught.”—(*Haldane*, p. 474.) In this respect, however (as well as in most others), there is, happily, a wide difference between the Puseyite and evangelical “sections” of the Church of England. “We would not,” says *Bickersteth*, “recommend continuance with an erroneous and wicked teacher. The primitive church clearly held, that Christians ought to leave an irregular and profane pastor. Cyprian and the African bishops lay it down as a rule, that the people, who are obedient to the Lord’s commandments, and fear God, ought to separate from a sinful bishop, and, as Irenæus shows, that we ought to separate from heretical bishops, and adhere to those who faithfully keep the apostles’ doctrine. The general council of Constantinople lays down this rule, that whoever separates from such as publicly teach heresy in

the church, even before they are synodically condemned, are not guilty of schism, but maintain the unity of the church from schisms, by condemning not a bishop, but a false bishop, and a false teacher."

The same sentiment is thus avowed by an excellent evangelical correspondent of Mr Bickersteth:—

"You are not a Christian of yesterday. You are not a minister of yesterday. *You have long been a minister, without imposition of hands*, indeed, but acting under the indisputable and powerful motion of the Spirit. You have not administered the sacraments, or appeared in a pulpit before the great congregation, but you have performed all the functions of a minister except these; and, what is still more, you have the light of life beaming in full radiance in your soul. Your heavenly knowledge is great, your heavenly enjoyments are great, your Christian experience is diversified and matured, and you may speak the revealed things of God out of the ripe and yet ripening fulness of your own heart."—(*Life*, i. p. 238.)

How many worldly-minded or erroneous teachers are introduced into the Anglican communion, in spite, or perhaps in consequence, of prelatic superintendence, we learn by the inclosed extracts from two high authorities, who differed widely from each other—namely, Bickersteth and Arnold; and, indeed, how can it be otherwise, when every shade of theological system has its representatives on the episcopal bench, if we start from Exeter and journey as far as Hereford? It is from want of the possibility of cordiality and co-operation amongst dignitaries differing so widely, that we find such expressions as the following, employed by Bickersteth's admirable biographer:—" . . . The vague, neutral, indecisive course, pursued by too many of the bishops (vol. ii. p. 218); had all the bishops been decided in their adherence to reformation truth (p. 219.) . . . When a conspiracy to unprotestantise the church had been openly avowed, and was in constant operation, main-

tained by systematic evasions of its public code of doctrine, and when the whole cycle of Romish teaching and practices was gradually introduced, some of the bishops maintained a timid silence, and some flattered and abetted the growing evil" (*ibid.*)—and that Arnold says (p. 307), "It is delightful to read a charge without any folly in it."

"I know of many ministers now in the church, who do not indeed preach the truth. It seems harsh, it seems judging men, to say so; but they are, indeed, false teachers. Christianity opens, it does not blind, my eyes; it directs me not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, as he that preacheth not Christ come in the flesh, is not of God. I hear of *many* entering from worldly motives, to gain riches or ease, or power."—(*Bickersteth*, i. 122.)

Arnold felt himself called to insist on what he regarded as the dark side of the picture—on the fanaticism, which has been the peculiar disgrace of the Church of England; "a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology, the superstition of a priesthood, without its power, the form of episcopal government without its substance; a system imperfect and paralysed, not independent, not sovereign; afraid to cast off the subjection, against which it was perpetually murmuring; objects so pitiful, that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual."—(P. 351). "To insist on the necessity of episcopacy, is exactly like insisting on the necessity of circumcision; both are and were lawful; but to insist on either as necessary, is unchristian, and binding the church with a yoke of carnal ordinances; and the reason why circumcision, although expressly commanded once, was declared not binding on Christians, is much stronger against the binding nature of episcopacy, which was never commanded at all—the reason being, that all forms of government and ritual are, in the Christian

church, indifferent, and to be decided by the church itself, *pro temporum et locorum ratione*—‘the church’ not being the clergy but the congregation of Christians.”—(P. 300).

“I never accused Keble or Newman of saying, that to belong to a true church would save a bad man, but of what is equally unchristian—that a good man was not safe, unless he belonged to an episcopal church, which is exactly not allowing God’s seal, without it be countersigned by one of their own forging.”—(P. 301). “Their doctrine is schismatical, profane, and unchristian.”—(*Ibid.*)

“The high-churchmen abandon reasoning and impute motives, and claim to be Christ’s only church; and where are the signs of an apostle to be seen among them, or where do they pretend to show them?”—(P. 297.) “In their peculiar system, they are the development of that system which, in the early church, existed in the bud only, and which, as being directly opposed to our Lord’s religion, as taught by him and his apostles, I call antichrist.”—(P. 497.)

“They hate the Reformation; they hate the reformers. . . . My feelings towards a Roman Catholic are quite different from my feelings towards a Newmanite, because I think the one a fair enemy, the other a treacherous one. The one is the Frenchman in his own uniform, and within his own *præsidia*; the other is the Frenchman disguised in a red coat, and holding a post within our *præsidia*, for the purpose of betraying it. I should honour the first, and hang the second.”—(*Arnold*, p. 582.) He elsewhere dwells on the “inconsistency of any attempt to hold the apostolical succession, short of Romanism.”—(P. 614).

“Some of the Oxford men now commonly revile Luther as a bold, bad map; how surely would they have reviled Paul! how zealously would they have joined in stoning Stephen, true children of those who slew the prophets; not the less so because they, with idolatrous reverence, build their sepulchres.”—(P. 553).

A year or two ago, my dear friends, my respected and

excellent friend, Dr Muir, officiated in a Presbyterian parish church before our gracious Queen and the royal family; and no one, who knows him, can doubt, that his prayer was fervent and affecting, his sermon eloquent and impressive. But according to the Puseyite rubric of propriety, Dr Muir had no right to be in the pulpit, and her Majesty, in entering the church—or, I beg pardon, I should call it the building; for it has no claim to be styled a church, inasmuch as it has not received episcopal consecration—was guilty of a sin, or, at least, of a solecism. Some starch lackadaisical sentimentalist, when he read the record of this “great fact” in the *Times*, will, it may be, have taken out his pouncet-box, shrugged up his shoulders, and exclaimed, “Alas! how painful it is to hear, that the earthly head of our apostolic church has been encouraging lay preachers by her presence at their unauthorized ministrations! I fear, that disregard for ecclesiastical order will gradually insinuate itself into the royal family. I should not be much surprised to learn, that Prince Albert dines every Friday upon hashed venison or roast grouse, and that neither her Majesty nor his Royal Highness, nor any of the royal children, have observed the holy festival of St Simon and St Jude. I am glad to hear, and willing to believe, that they are very benevolent, and ‘give tithes of all that they possess;’ but all this will avail them nothing, unless they also ‘fast twice in the week,’ restricting themselves, it may be, on the one day to turbot and truffle pie, and roughing it, on the other, upon red mullets and maccaroni.” After this solemn and pathetic soliloquy, during which “melancholy would mark him for her own,” our high-church Hamlet would probably seek consolation in Pusey’s last sermon, or (what would doubtless be a more immediate and effectual remedy) in Punch’s last joke, by way of “parmacity for his inward bruise.” And I may here remark, that if a return were moved for, and obtained, of all the archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, priests, and curates, who observe

these week-day festivals, and of the numbers of their respective fellow-worshippers, either in chapels or cathedrals, the result would not be very creditable to their churchmanship or to their consistency; and it would be seen how large a majority of the professors of Episcopacy, however zealously they may declaim on behalf of their church's ritual, are, in this respect, practically Dissenters.

But while our high-church countrymen, on both sides of the Tweed, so hermetically close their ports against the prohibited wares of Presbyterianism, they scruple not to carry on (if I may so express myself) a kind of one-sided free-trade with Popery, in regard to ecclesiastical courtesy and recognition. They admit, that the Bishop of Rome is, to say the least of it, *primus inter pares*; his orders are submissively acknowledged; and whilst the repudiation of one grade in the ranks excludes Scotland from moving in the orbit of Christian churches, they have by no means so strong an objection to excess as to deficiency. They have nothing to allege against, or probably much to say in favour of, mitred abbots and lady abbesses, monks and *monsignores*. The gold of Popery is pure gold, the silver of Presbyterianism is reprobate silver; and we ourselves are reprobates, because it passes current amongst us, and is found sufficient for all our wants. It is as criminal in the eyes of such pseudo-Protestants to be a genuine Protestant, as it is unpardonable in the estimation of such a pseudo-republican as the President of the French Republic to be a sincere republican. The errors of Episcopal Papacy are either openly defended or faintly condemned, whilst all non-prelatic professors are regarded with a hatred which never dieth, and with a contempt which is never quenched. The unwritten supplications, which our devout and holy ministers, in conformity with the usage of the apostles, and their brethren and fellow-worshippers, as recorded in the Acts, pour forth every Sabbath-day, from enlarged and sanctified hearts (though

without denying, or undervaluing, the beauties of the Episcopal liturgy), are never spoken of but in terms of supercilious disparagement. It seems as if prayers in their estimation—

“ Grow dear as they grow old—
It is the rust they value, not the gold.”

But, my friends, all this coquetry with Popery availeth them nothing. The Papist still says to the Puseyite, Yet lackest thou one thing, and *that* the one thing needful; thou art as yet only “almost, and not altogether,” such as we are; thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven, but art not yet entered therein; take my yoke upon you, and come and buy of me. “Dr Sumner” is to them no more than Dr Symington. When “Dr Bloomfield” and Dr Bunting are tried in the infallible scales of Popish orthodoxy, there is not one scruple between them. “Dr Philpotts,” of Exeter, and Dr Fletcher, of Stepney, belong to the same “order” in the Romish nomenclature of ecclesiastical botany; they are both huddled together into the same unhonoured *genus*, and it requires a microscope of no ordinary power to discriminate between the *hereticus anglicanus* and the *hereticus dissentiens*. Nay, even Dr Pusey himself has not yet entered in at the wide gate, but is still only peeping through the keyhole; and the Papists would utter, in the astonished ears of the worthy doctor’s most devoted admirer, the unwelcome and disheartening exclamation, “What is thy beloved more than any other beloved?” It thus appears, my dear friends, that, in all the transactions between Popery and Puseyism, the reciprocity is wholly on one side. The Pope must be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*. In dealing with him you must be either hot or cold: he that is not entirely with him, may as well be entirely against him. In his estimation, the Bishop of Exeter is just as decided a heretic, as Mr Gorham is in that of the bishop; and the orders conferred by the Presbytery of Caithness, however uncanonical they may be deemed by chapters and

churchmen, are at Rome placed precisely on a level with those, which have been imparted at Durham or at Lambeth.

I am far, my dear friends, from denying, that the Anglican Church can enumerate, in its long succession of dignitaries, many names which are deservedly illustrious in the annals of the universal church. "In many a bishop I can spy desert," and desert of the very highest and noblest kind. But I repeat, that I can find no warrant in Scripture for the prelatie office; and it seems to me, that there is, in many respects, rather a contrast, than a congruity between the acts of the apostles, as portrayed to us in the page of inspiration, and the position of their successors, as exhibited before our eyes. If a native convert, on his arrival in Britain from Hindostan, should visit the representatives of Paul, who wrought as a tent-maker, received his visitors at Rome in a lodging, and dwelt two years in his own hired house, or of Peter, who lodged in the house of one Simon a tanner, and should hope that, in their "modest mansions," he would find edification, spirituality, and repose, I believe that, on arriving at an episcopal palace, he would feel much as the Queen of Sheba did when she came to visit Solomon. He would, indeed, in many cases (as she did in the instance of the greatest of monarchs), find ample scope to admire the "wisdom" of its possessor (1 Kings x. 4); but on seeing "the house that he had built, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cup-bearers, and his ascent, by which he went up unto the house of the Lord, there would be no more spirit" in our dazzled and astonished Hindoo; for a bishop must, in the present day, not only be blameless, and apt to teach, not greedy of filthy lucre, and not covetous, according to the rule laid down in the primitive age, to which we and our presbyter-bishops bow with humble reverence; but it might almost be supposed that, in the case of every cardinal, abbot,

prior, archbishop, bishop, dean, and ecclesiastical dignitary, of every age and nation, it had been predicted in Holy Writ that (1 Sam. viii. 11), "he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants;" or, as it should perhaps have been rendered, reserve them for himself, and confer leases of them upon his offspring and connections.

"Archbishops in England," says Mr Wilberforce, "are not like archbishops in France. These last are jolly fellows, of about forty years of age, who play at billiards, and live like other men." That any of his successors should be a "jolly fellow," is not one of the requisites enumerated by Paul as essential to the episcopal character, unless, indeed, the expression rendered in our heterodox and incorrect version, "not given to wine" (1 Tim. iii. 3), ought to have been so translated. Perhaps it is so in the Douay version. It is also probable that, to "live like other men," is the surest method for having "a good report of them that are without." It is not impossible, that a French Christian might have thought that "some strange thing happened unto him," when he saw the Anglican Bartholomews, Matthews, Philips, and Lebbeuses occupying the most prominent places in aristocratic senates, or in regal drawing-rooms. I am not presuming to contend, that the mode of life adopted by the prelates either of France or England, is at all inconsistent with their exalted dignities; and I myself always voted against depriving the bishops of their seats in Parliament, because the church, of which they are the recognised rulers, thinks it essential, or desirable, that they should be there. I cannot pretend to argue with any subtle disputants, who may assert that Dean Hobson and his chapter are the "successors" of the 120 men

and brethren (Acts i. 16), who "gave forth their lots" at the election of Matthias ; that the prayer offered for Divine direction was typical of the *congé d'élire* ; and that the nomination by the Queen of a stranger, whom they *must* choose, is an improvement upon the practice adopted on that occasion, of humbly entreating the Lord to "show" which of two candidates He had chosen. I am only pointing out, my friends, certain apparent anomalies, which we Presbyterians are unable to reconcile with our views of scriptural usage and precedent, and stating why we think, that the pastors, whom our congregations elect, after much prayerful consideration, without having the benefit of royal nomination or patronal authority, bear a closer resemblance than the dignitaries of episcopal churches to the sons of Jonas or of Zebedee.

One great disadvantage, which has resulted to the cause of Divine truth, from the excessive and unscriptural elevation of ecclesiastical functionaries, in point of rank and pre-eminence, is, that they have unduly magnified the power and authority appertaining to their office, and endeavoured to draw a broad and arbitrary line of distinction between their Christian brethren and themselves. I need scarcely add, that this career of aggrandizement and usurpation has been most palpably manifested in the daring and disastrous encroachments of the prelatie antichrists at Rome.

The same remark, though in a subordinate degree, applies to the prelates, whether Popish or Protestant, who claim to monopolise the functions of the apostolic college, and pronounce. *ex cathedra*, a sentence of degradation and defect upon all churches which "follow not them." Now I admit, or rather contend, especially in reference to the more exalted dignitaries of former times, that they often exhibited, in a remarkable degree, the "fruits of good living," both in a moral and in a more secular acceptation. The prelates of Popish realms, and many high functionaries connected with Protestant

states, have been magnificent princes, excellent administrators of extensive territories, unrivalled in their acquaintance with music and painting, extremely polite to ladies, spoke many languages with precision, discussed all subjects (except theology) with taste and discrimination, performed all functions at court with dignified urbanity, were often (especially in heretical countries) most erudite scholars, familiar with all the love intrigues of Jupiter or Hercules, and conversant with the genealogies and exploits of Agamemnon or Alexander, and often stored up in the capacious repositories of their quick, retentive, and ready memories, all the errors, contradictions, and crudities of all the fathers, and all the fanatics, of all people, nations, and languages; in short, they were often profoundly skilled in all the lore, and thoroughly versed in all the literature, with which such unlearned and ignorant men as Peter, James, and John were entirely unacquainted; but I repeat, what I have already stated, that the apostles would rather recognise as their successors the laborious, self-denying, humble, zealous "lay teachers," who, with moderate incomes, are found presiding over Presbyterian or Dissenting congregations, than the lordly inmates of cloud-capt towers, and gorgeous palaces, who, in solemn temples, love the uppermost seats, and say to the Marshmans, Careys, Duffs, and Judsons, "Without us ye can do nothing; your orders are irregular; your oblations are vain; your sacraments invalid; your converts from idolatry yet in their sins; our pulpits must not be profaned by your presence; stand off, for I am holier than thou!"

The following remarks on the concordat between Leo X., the vicar of Christ, and Francis, the most Christian king, are not derived from any Presbyterian source, but from a dispatch of Carrero, the Venetian ambassador in France, and tend to show how gross and glaring the abuses are, which seem to be, in a greater or less degree, inseparable from the existence of such enor-

mous prizes of mitres, palaces, and vast domains, in the ecclesiastical lottery, as tend not only to lure within the precincts of a church many worldly-minded, voluptuous, and profane candidates for wealth and honours, but to place the most elevated stations at the disposal of thoughtless monarchs or unprincipled ministers, who consult only their own interests, or gratify only their own passions, in the selection of successors for John, Paul, and Peter :—" It is said, that the king, on the receipt of the Papal bull upon the concordat, foresaw the evils, which would arise from them ; and turning to the Chancellor Duprat, said,* ' This bull will lead you and me to the devil ;' and he has not deceived himself, for the concordat was in fact a treaty with the devil, in as much as the king began, like a kind and liberal companion, to give away bishoprics at the request of ladies, to assign abbeys as rewards for his soldiers, and finally, *to gratify all sorts of people, without respect to their qualities.* So, within a short space of time, almost every situation in the church fell into the hands of persons, who thought of nothing but their own advantage at the moment—all learned, well-instructed, capable persons, lost, on the contrary, all prospect of seeing their labours one day rewarded ; and the new prelates made over the churches to people, who undertook the spiritual profession simply to escape the labours of another calling. Their example, and the dissoluteness of their lives, threw the people into commotion, destroyed the ancient reverence for the ecclesiastical classes, and opened the door and gate to all heresies. The people were driven with blows to mass, obtained no instruction in any religion, turned to atheism, and lived, we may say, worse than the cattle.

* This concordat took from the church the election of bishops, and placed it in the hands of the king, subject to the pope's confirmation, and a payment of the first year's revenue to the latter. Duprat was afterwards cardinal legate, became an active and cruel persecutor of heresy, and retained his power till his death, in 1535.

Out of this present misery arose the greater despair, the French being people who see no further into futurity than the shadow of their foot. They deal in such a manner at the French court with bishoprics and abbeys, as among us with pepper and cinnamon; and *seldom is one bestowed that many do not share the profit*. Nay, they distribute such preferments even before they fall vacant, and in my time, a prelate had the greatest trouble to convince the purchasers that he was still in existence. All acknowledge the disorder, all cry out and confess, that every evil came from this source.” —(*Raumer*, i. 241.) The result of vesting the nomination of Christian ministers in kings, popes, nobles, or ministers of state, as illustrated in these passages, are not such as to prepare the way, on the part of a Presbyterian church, to a favourable reception of the invitation, “Go and do thou likewise.”

In awarding, however, to our ancestors the due meed either of censure or of commendation, for having abhorred and abolished Prelacy at the period of the Reformation, it is, I think, necessary to consider, what was the general character of the successors of the apostles at that time, and to contemplate the workings of the system in various countries at later periods. My much respected brother, the Archdeacon, in his admirable treatise against Papal infallibility, urges with great force the strong objection, which is derived from the personal conduct of the pontiffs who successively occupied St Peter's chair. “If, indeed,” (says he, p. 22), “we could be satisfied from history, that they had all, or most of them, in long succession, been pious, and holy, and exemplary men, in a degree beyond the ordinary standard of Christian excellence—that they had been rich in faith, and in good works—that they had been exalted models of disinterested beneficence, of real purity, and almost ascetic self-denial—men, whose affections were fixed unquestionably upon the glory and felicity of the heavenly state, to the exclusion of all concern for mere earthly

interests, and the little vanities of secular ambition, we might have been disposed to scrutinize with less distrust the claims of such truly virtuous and estimable Christian pastors. But, since the Papal character has been acknowledged, even by the ablest advocates of the Papacy, to have been, in general, the very opposite of what we have been describing, we have a strong presumptive argument that such men were not infallible." I entirely assent to the wisdom and justice of thus testing every institution "by its fruits"—and I venture to try Episcopacy by the same standard. I dwelt, in a former letter, upon the voluptuous worldly-mindedness of Leo X. Now, if I could discover, that contemporary prelates had emphatically protested against such a display of pomp and arrogance in the highest place—and that they themselves had been, in point of humility and disinterestedness, examples to their flocks, so that they could exclaim, as Paul did, (1 Thess. ii. 10), "Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably, we behaved ourselves among you that believe,"—why, then, I should, perhaps, have deplored the infatuation of our Scottish Reformers, in eliminating from their ecclesiastical polity an order so useful and so exemplary. When, however, I consult Hume's history of the period at which the Reformation took place, and select, by way of specimen, the occupant of the see of York—an unquestionable "successor of the apostles,"—I am far from finding "all things common," whether sacred or secular, between him and his predecessors, Paul and Peter. There is nothing stated, which could bear out the conclusion at which I should gladly have arrived, that he, in conformity with their example (Acts vi. 4), had "given himself continually to prayer, and the ministry of the Word." "By entering into the king's pleasures," says the historian (speaking of Wolsey), "he preserved his affections—by conducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited compliance in both capacities, he prevented

all that jealousy, to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and his splendid, ostentatious train of life, should naturally have given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant, Wolsey was promoted to that see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides enjoying the administration of Tournay, he got possession, on easy leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of their income. He held, *in commendam*, the Abbey of St Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester—and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for engrossing still more ample revenues. The Pope, observing his great influence with the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. His train consisted of 300 servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some even of the nobility put their children into his family, as a place of education; and, in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear office as his servants. He strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel," &c. We may add from Raumer (ii. 63), that "in proof of his pride, he caused himself to be served upon the knee by English lords, and allowed himself the use of haughty and contemptuous expressions towards foreign ambassadors." That Paul's "doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience" (2 Tim. iii. 10), were not the model which his successor in the apostolate had adopted, does not, I think, require to be demonstrated; and the two subjoined extracts from Mosheim may be added; in order to show, that Wolsey's conduct was only a fair specimen of the

mode of life, which a large majority of the prelates at that period exemplified or aspired to.

“The greatest part of the bishops and canons passed their days in dissolute mirth and luxury, and squandered away, in the gratification of their lusts and passions, the wealth that had been set apart for religious and charitable purposes. Nor were they less tyrannical than voluptuous—for the most despotic princes never treated their vassals with more rigour and severity than these spiritual rulers employed towards all who were under their jurisdiction. The decline of virtue among the clergy was attended with the loss of the public esteem, and the most considerable part of that once respected body became, by their sloth and avarice, their voluptuousness and impurity, their ignorance and levity, contemptible and infamous, not only in the eyes of the wise and good, but also in the general judgment of the multitude.”—(*Mosheim*, iv. 16.)

“In Germany, as is notorious to daily observation, the bishops, if we except their habit, their title, and a few ceremonies that distinguish them, have nothing in their manner of living that is, in the least, adapted to point out the nature of their sacred office. In other countries, a great part of the episcopal order, unmolested by the remonstrances or reproofs of the Roman Pontiff, pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts, and appear rather the slaves of temporal princes than the servants of Him, whose kingdom is not of this world. They court glory—they aspire after riches—while very few employ their time and labour in edifying the people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of practical religion and substantial virtue—and, (what is still more deplorable), those bishops, who, sensible of the sanctity of their character, and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by their zeal in the cause of virtue and good morals, are frequently exposed to the malicious effects of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds.”—(*Mosheim*, iv. 180.)

When describing the state of religion in Scotland immediately before the Reformation, after many centuries of prelatic superintendence, Dr M'Crie informs us, in his admirable history (i. 13), that it was "deplorable in the extreme. Owing to the distance of this country from Rome, it was the more easy for the clergy to keep up in the minds of the people a superstitious veneration for the papal power, and our ancestors, who heard of the Pope only in the lofty panegyries of the monks, regarded him as a kind of demi-god. Of Christianity almost nothing remained but the name." "The profligacy of the priests and higher clergy was notorious. The ordinances of religion were defaced, divine service was neglected, and, except on festival days, the churches (about the demolition of which such an outcry has been made by some) were no longer employed for sacred purposes, but served as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime."—(P. 14.) The Bishop of Dunkeld declared that "he had lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament."—(P. 17.) Our illustrious protomartyr, Patrick Hamilton, was "at the dead hour of night dragged from his bed, taken to the castle, and after confessing his faith before the Archbishop [Beaton], was condemned to be burned at the stake as an obstinate heretic (1528.) That prelate's nephew and successor, the Cardinal, inherited all his uncle's hostility to the reformed religion, with even a larger share of his ambition, craft, and cruelty." He forged a will in the name of James V., appointing himself governor of the kingdom; and before that monarch's death, amongst the "wholesale measures which this bloody-minded man had devised for the extirpation of Protestantism, he had presented him with a list of 360 of the chief of the nobility and barons, with the Earl of Arran at their head, who were suspected of heresy, and doomed to destruction." The holy martyr, Wishart, "was basely betrayed into the hands of the Cardinal, under a pledge of personal safety; and after a mock

trial, during which he was grossly insulted, mocked at, and even spit upon by his judges, he was condemned to the stake as an obstinate heretic." Soon after the committal of which atrocious crime by the Cardinal, he was himself most cruelly murdered. In one respect, it must be admitted, that the prelates in Popish times did resemble their apostolic predecessors; there was often "a strife amongst them which should be the greatest," as, for instance, when the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Glasgow "had a mortal quarrel in that city, the point of dispute being, which of their crosses should be carried foremost in a procession. The cross-bearers happening to meet, a scuffle ensued, and they pummeled each other with their crosses till both were thrown to the ground."—(P. 43.) Beaton's successor, Archbishop Hamilton, "furnished a cord from his own pavilion to bind Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest, to the stake, when not an individual in the town would give or sell a rope for that purpose. He was the last who suffered death in that cause." I might multiply instances of the cruelty, ignorance, profligacy, and baseness, which characterised the bishops of that gloomy and bigoted age. But I think that these few examples may suffice, as indications of the grounds on which our ancestors, having tried "apostolic succession" by its fruits, according to my worthy brother's excellent rule, abolished the entire system as a grievous and unhallowed yoke, "imposed until the time of reformation,"—every outrage against the laws of humanity and justice, perpetrated in support of Popish tyranny and superstition, having been devised or sanctioned by prelatic authority and superintendence.

The annals of Protestant Episcopacy, my friends, are almost as little calculated to excite in our minds any feeling of regret at the absence of "chief pastors" from our presbyteries or general assemblies. "James's bishops," indeed, as they were called, (*M'Crie*, p. 156, *ad ann.* 1610), "were prudent and humble men, and gave great respect

to all honest and deserving ministers as their brethren, very different from those that succeeded them about twenty years afterwards, whose ambition, in aiming at civil offices, induced the nobility to join with those, who sought to re-establish Presbytery." The first primate, however (Gledstane), was "vain-glorious, obsequious, and time-serving, a tool exactly to the taste of James, before whom he crouched with all the servility of an eastern slave." His successor, Spotswoode, "a shrewd and crafty politician, was the author of a history of the Church of Scotland, which, as has been well observed, might more properly be called, 'Calumnies against the Church of Scotland.'" It appears, from his private correspondence, that he "was engaged in all the Jesuitical plots of the government for overturning Presbytery, which he had sworn to support."—(P. 156.) The duplicity, treachery, and cruelty of Archbishop Sharpe, are as notorious as the barbarous and inhuman tragedy, by which his tyrannical career was terminated, although the flagitious outrages perpetrated against our Presbyterian forefathers were continued after his death until the Revolution. "The atrocious orders issued in the two preceding reigns, under the guise of Episcopacy," (says the Honourable William L. Melville), "remain recorded and undisputed, and the equally atrocious execution of them is written in characters of blood, never to be effaced. But where is to be found a single order issued by the Presbyterians for persecuting the Episcopalians? Which of the Episcopal clergy suffered from the Presbyterian authorities beyond deprivation, or which of their laity ever suffered at all? That those who openly prayed for King James, or refused to pray for William and Mary, after their recognition by parliament and the nation, should be deprived, excites neither surprise nor regret, but even many of them were continued." We cannot be surprised, my friends, that, when the convention had been converted into a parliament, one of its first "measures should have been an

act passed on the 22d of July for the abolition of Episcopacy, against which there was not a dissentient voice" —(ii. 286.)

That "gain is godliness," and that "money is a defence" (and of all defences the most effective and the most essential), appear to have been the axioms most universally embraced, and most steadily acted on by churchmen, during many ages. We are informed by Hallam (ii. 199), that even "under the Pagan emperors, the ministers of the Christian church had obtained, by concealment or connivance, certain immovable estates. It was amongst the first effects of the conversion of Constantine to give, not only a security, but a legal sanction, to the territorial acquisitions of the church. Passing rapidly from a condition of distress and persecution to the summit of prosperity, THE CHURCH DEGENERATED AS RAPIDLY FROM HER ANCIENT PURITY, AND FORFEITED THE RESPECT OF FUTURE AGES, IN THE SAME PROPORTION AS SHE ACQUIRED THE BLIND VENERATION OF HER OWN. Covetousness especially became almost a characteristic vice; and several of the fathers severely reprobate the prevailing avidity of their contemporaries." "The monks prostituted their knowledge of writing to the purpose of forging charters in their own favour. The ecclesiastical history of the middle ages presents one long contention of fraud against robbery. Had it not been for certain drawbacks, the clergy must, one would imagine, have almost acquired the exclusive property of the soil. They did enjoy nearly one-half in England, and, I believe, a greater proportion in some countries of Europe. Even under the Roman emperors, the hierarchy had found their road into palaces. They were sometimes ministers, more often secret counsellors, always necessary but formidable allies, whose support was to be conciliated and interference to be respected. But they assumed a far more decided influence over the new kingdoms of the west. The BISHOPS were among the chief instiga-

tors of those numerous revolts of his children, which harassed Louis the Debonair. . . . An assembly of BISHOPS adjudged the Emperor Lothaire unworthy to reign, and, after exacting a promise from his brothers to govern better than he had done, permitted and commanded them to divide his territory. . . . An assembly of BISHOPS declared Charles the Bald to have forfeited his crown, released his subjects from their allegiance, and transferred his kingdom to Louis of Bavaria. . . . *The power obtained by national churches, through the superstitious prejudices then received, and a train of favourable circumstances, was as dangerous to civil government, as the subsequent usurpations of the Roman pontiff, against which Protestant writers are apt too exclusively to direct their animadversions.* Voltaire, I think, has remarked, that the ninth century was the age of the bishops, as the eleventh and twelfth were of the popes. It seemed as if Europe was about to pass under as absolute a domination of the hierarchy, as had been exercised by the priesthood of ancient Egypt, or the Druids of Gaul. . . . The clergy, by their exclusive knowledge of Latin, had it in their power to mould the language of public documents for their own purposes. . . . Bishops were obtruded upon their sees, as the supreme pontiffs were on that of Rome, by force or corruption. A child of five years old was made Archbishop of Rheims. The see of Narbonne was purchased for another at the age of ten. Estates and honours compose the temporalities of the sees, without which the naked spiritual privileges would not have tempted an avaricious generation. . . . The chapters became extremely rich; and as they monopolized the privilege of electing bishops, it became an object of ambition with noble families to obtain canonries for their younger children, as the surest road to ecclesiastical honours and opulence. . . . The superiority of ecclesiastical to temporal power, or at least the absolute independence of the former, may be considered as a sort of

key-note, which regulates every passage in the canon law. . . . The vast acquisitions of landed wealth made for many ages by bishops, chapters, and monasteries, began at length to excite the jealousy of sovereigns. . . . The prelates sent their stipulated proportion of vassals into the field. . . . The cupidity of the clergy in regard to worldly estate had lowered their character every where. . . . It ought always to be remembered, that *ecclesiastical, and not merely papal, encroachments are what civil governments and the laity in general, have had to resist*—a point, which some very zealous opposers of Rome have been willing to keep out of sight. The latter arose out of the former, and perhaps were, in some respects, less objectionable. *But the true enemy is what are called high-church principles, be they maintained by a pope, a bishop, or a presbyter.*"

Such, my dear friends, are a few of the most prominent passages, in reference to the "successors of the apostles," which I have extracted for your edification from a chapter on ecclesiastical power, comprising 174 pages, in an elaborate and trustworthy work, by one of our most profound, enlightened, and impartial historians. I cannot conceive any more strong or striking contrast than between the acts of the apostles and the misdeeds of their representatives, or between the character of bishops (or presbyters), as delineated by Paul, and the conduct of prelates, as described by Hallam. And I may just notice, that, in the line of apostolic descent, the Bishop of Rome avowedly holds the first place. A few, indeed, of the links in the "endless genealogy" may be uncertain or spurious; but no other prelate, I believe, can compete with him in this important and enviable particular. I have already dwelt at such length on the luxurious pomp, intolerable pride, and unhallowed pretensions of these episcopal usurpers, that I shall here only subjoin a few extracts to confirm the statements already made, and illustrate, in this instance, the value of "apostolic succession." Of Gregory VII.,

Mr Hallam says, that "he exhibited an arrogance without parallel, and an ambition that grasped at universal and unlimited monarchy. He may be called the common enemy of all sovereigns, whose dignity as well as independence mortified his infatuated pride." And Sir James Stephen, though evidently more partial to Hildebrand, maintains that he was "the founder of a tyranny only less odious than that which he arrested (?), and was apparently actuated by an ambition neither less proud, selfish, nor reckless, than that of his secular antagonists."—(P. 86.) "He menaced Philip I. of France, who had connived at the pillage of some Italian merchants and pilgrims, not only with an interdict, but a sentence of deposition; and asserts, as a historical fact, that the kingdom of Spain had formerly belonged, by special right, to St Peter," &c.—(*Hallam*, p. 271.) But reckless and unprincipled as he was, it is observed, that "as Gregory VII. appears the most usurping of mankind, till we read the history of Innocent III., so Innocent III. is thrown into the shade by the superior audacity of Boniface VIII. . . . He is said to have appeared at the jubilee in 1300, dressed in imperial habits, with the two swords borne before him, emblems of his temporal as well as spiritual dominion over the earth; and it was he who declared, by the bull *Unam sanctam*, the subjection of every human being to the see of Rome, to be an article of necessary faith." From 1305 until 1376, these successors of the apostles assumed the privilege of non-residence, and disgraced themselves by such acts of pride and profligacy as are scarcely to be paralleled even in the annals of the "Bishops of Rome." The first of these, Clement V., on account of an attack made by the Venetians upon Ferrara in 1309, proclaimed the whole people infamous, and incapable for three generations of any office, their goods, in every part of the world, subject to confiscation, and every Venetian, wherever he might be found, liable to be reduced into slavery. A bull in the same terms was published

by Gregory XI. in 1376 against the Florentines. "Men generally advanced in years, and born of noble Italian families, made the Papacy subservient to the elevation of their kindred, or to the interests of a local faction. For such ends, they mingled in the dark conspiracies of a bad age, distinguished only by the more scandalous turpitude of their vices from the petty tyrants and intriguers with whom they were engaged. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, when all favourable prejudices were worn away, those, who occupied the most conspicuous stations in Europe, disgraced their name by more notorious profligacy than could be paralleled in the darkest age that had preceded."—(P. 371.)

Referring you to previous letters for further details as to the successors of the apostles at Rome, I proceed to lay before you a few instances of the workings of the Episcopal system, as exhibited in Germany; and I shall extract them from a favourite author of mine, the Baron de Pöllnitz, who travelled twice through the greater part of that country, and visited all the principal courts, both secular and ecclesiastical.

1. About the year 1720, he passed some days at Wurtzburg, one of the richest and most considerable sees of the empire. The bishop takes the title of Duke of Franconia. The "Right Rev. Father in God" (as he would have been denominated in England), had as numerous a court and establishment as any prince in Germany. "I saw him in all his splendour, on the day of the patron of the cathedral. He proceeded from his palace to church with a truly regal pomp. I saw first a principal officer of the bishop, followed by all the domestics and gentlemen of the court. Then six carriages and six, with the armorial bearings of the bishop. Then two couriers and twenty-four footmen of the prince, all dressed in his livery, which was purple, with a border of green velvet and silver; they had waistcoats of green cloth, with silver lace. After the footmen, marched eighteen pages, with mantles of the bishop's

colour, lined with green satin. They were followed by more than fifty gentlemen, who immediately preceded a magnificent carriage, in which the prince sat alone. His grand-master of the horse and the captain of his guards walked on foot at the doors of the carriage, which was in the middle of two rows of one hundred Swiss, dressed in an ancient *costume*. Fifty of the body-guard, in dresses of purple cloth bordered with silver, and with belts of green velvet, also bordered with silver, followed the carriage. The procession was closed by three splendid carriages and six, with the armorial quarterings of the bishop. It was with this *cortège* that he repaired to his cathedral; he was received at the gate by all the chapter in a body; an officer carried the banner of Franconia, and the marshal of the court bore the sword of state, to indicate the sovereignty of the Duchy of Franconia. The prelate was conducted to the sacristy, where he was invested with the pontifical ornaments; from thence he proceeded to the choir. His throne was raised by three steps, and placed under a magnificent canopy, all of tapestry on a silver ground. The service then began by a very fine performance, executed by the band of the bishop. After a short piece of sacred music, the prelate took the holy sacrament from the altar, and carried it in procession out of the church. He went all round the cathedral, preceded by the officer and the marshal of the court, bearing the banner and sword of Franconia. The streets, through which the procession passed, were lined by 4000 of the bishop's troops, which the prelate had collected in the town, to render the ceremony more splendid. When the procession returned to the church, the mass was chanted, and the bishop officiated. When the ceremony was finished, he returned to his palace, accompanied by the same *cortège*, with which he had repaired to the church."

Omitting a long description of the magnificent cathedral, and of the not less gorgeous castle, in which the

bishop resided, whilst busy in erecting another still more sumptuous, I may first extract what the Baron says as to the cellars:—"I have never seen any thing so fine. As they cannot receive any light, except through the door, care is taken to illuminate them by a quantity of candles on gilt branches. These cellars are filled with barrels, most of which are of an enormous size; all are adorned with sculpture, and all full of wine, which strangers are invited to taste." We are next introduced to the apostolic arsenal, containing 160 pieces of cannon; all the apparatus necessary for artillery; chests full of musket balls; provisions enough to maintain a garrison of 6000 men for a year; arms for 4000 men; the court of the arsenal and the bastions full of bombs and bullets. "In short," says the Baron, "if his castle were well examined, it would rather be taken for a temple of Mars, than for the palace of a minister of peace." When the Baron revisited Wurtzburg, a few years afterwards, he found a new bishop on the throne, who seems to have rather been an imitator of his immediate predecessor, than to have gone back to Paul or John or Peter for his models. "Three days ago," says Pöllnitz, "I happened to say to the bishop, that I wished to go and see the castle. This prince, to do me honour, ordered one of his gentlemen to conduct me thither. This honest chevalier, fearing, I suppose, that a *tête à tête* might weary me, arranged a party of four. He chose two toppers, whom Silenus would not have disavowed to be his children. I was not aware of the eminent virtues of these gentlemen. I gave myself up into their hands without at all foreseeing my misfortune. . . . At length, two servants of the prince carried me into a carriage, and from thence to my bed. . . . I rise at ten o'clock, my stomach much heated by the wine, which I drank on the preceding evening. I take a quantity of tea, dress, and go to pay my court to the bishop. Baron Pechtelsheim (marshal of the court) invites me to dine with the prince. He promises,

and even swears, that I shall not be expected to drink. We sit down to table at twelve. The bishop does me the honour to ask me three or four times to drink wine with him. The Baron de Zobel, the master of the horse, and the Baron de Pechtelsheim do the same, and I am obliged to drink with fourteen persons, who are at the table. I find myself *submerged* before I have begun to eat. We rise from table. I accompany the prince to the door of his apartment. He retires; and I intend to do the same; but I find myself barred in the antechamber by the master of the horse and the marshal of the court, who, with capacious glasses in their hands, propose to me as a toast, the health of the prince, and prosperity to the very praiseworthy chapter of Wurtzburg. I protest to them, that I am the very humble servant of the bishop, and that I entertain a profound veneration for the very praiseworthy chapter; but that to drink their health would injure mine, and that, therefore, I entreated them to pardon me if I declined to obey their commands. All this availed me nothing. I was obliged to drink these two toasts, or to pass for being no friend to the prince and his chapter. Happy should I have been if all had ended here; but M. de Zobel, one of the most intrepid toppers of our age, seizes me by the hand, and says, with an air and tone of cordiality, 'You are too attached to our prince to refuse to drink prosperity to the illustrious house of Hütten!' After these touching words, he empties a large glass, in token of his zeal for the family of his master. An officious domestic presents to me a glass, and, animated by the spirit which predominates in this court, he assures me, that this wine cannot do me any harm, because it is the same which the prince himself is pleased to drink. Emboldened by so powerful an argument, I drink; immediately afterwards, I stagger and lose my balance, when, to make an end of me, M. de Pechtelsheim, one of the most honourable men of our day, but who is the most insatiable consumer of wine, with whom I am

acquainted, accosts me with a smile, and says, 'Come, my dear Baron, one more little glass for friendship's sake.' He embraces me, kisses me, and says, 'My brother!' How was it possible to resist such tender words! In fine, I put myself into such a state, that I am scarcely able to walk. I find means to escape, descend the staircase as I best can, sleep three or four hours, dress, and go to pay visits, or receive them; but whether I receive or pay them, I am soon in such a condition as to be unable to walk alone. There is no such thing here as a *tête à tête*; the bottle must always be admitted as a third party. . . . The prince-bishop lives with much magnificence; he is one of the most powerful ecclesiastical sovereigns. His states contain 70 bailiwicks. It is the finest and most fertile country in Germany. Money only is rare, because there is little commerce, and a quantity of monks and priests, who attract it all to themselves. The bishop has 50,000 crowns *per annum* for his own pleasures. The Chamber is bound to supply him with every thing. It furnishes his apparel and his table, and pays the troops, which are now 3,500 men, and 10,000 in time of war. The court is numerous, and on festivals very magnificent. The day of St Kilian, patron of Wurtzburg and Franconia, the bishop goes in state to the cathedral [with 6 carriages and six, 24 valets, 16 pages, &c. &c., as in the time of his predecessor]. The bishop has a very distinguished prerogative above other bishops. Whilst he officiates, his grand marshal holds the sword of the Duke of Franconia, drawn and raised, until the consecration. He then replaces it in the scabbard, and carries it, with the point lowered, before the prince. This distinction appears to me less extraordinary, than that of the Abbot, Count of Gemblours, first noble of the states of Brabant, who has the privilege of saying mass in boots and spurs. The general service of the bishop is conducted with all the dignity befitting a great prince. His table, which has generally 18 covers, is

supplied with a magnificence which amounts to profusion. *It is not that the prince loves pomp; but he is obliged to conform to the ancient usages established at his court. This prelate applies himself much to affairs of state; he rises early for this purpose. When dressed, he employs some time in prayer, then confers with his ministers, or the chiefs of the different tribunals. At ten he hears mass, then attends the council; dines at twelve, remains an hour and a half at table, and passes the evening with his family, which is numerous, and composed of persons of merit. During the carnival he gives, two or three times a-week, great repasts to all the nobility of Wurtzburg. There are sometimes balls, and even masquerades, at the court."*

2. *Bamberg*.—Our traveller informs us, that "this bishopric is the first in the empire. The bishop is not suffragan of any archbishop; is subject, spiritually, to the holy see alone, and receives the pallium like an archbishop. He has also this distinction, that the electors are his grand officers, just as they also are of the empire, and he can summon them to perform the functions of their charges, on the day of his installation. The former Bishop of Bamberg was also archbishop and elector of Mentz," so that he held, my friends, at the same time, two of the highest and most lucrative ecclesiastical offices in the empire. I am not aware, that the example of any of the apostles can be adduced in defence of the glaring abuse of pluralities, of which this is only one instance out of many. "The present bishop is also vice-chancellor of the empire; and being minister of state to the emperor, resides generally at Vienna; he is there just now, so that I can tell you nothing about his court." I may here interrupt the Baron's narrative to mention, that this successor of the apostles was soon afterwards elected also bishop of Wurtzburg, and resigned his high office at Vienna. It was very usual for these two opulent sees to be united, as one was not sufficient for the oversight of such vigilant and disinterested chief pas-

tors. The last, who held both the bishoprics, was a Francis Louis, baron of Erthal, who died in 1795, and was a model of excellence as a ruler and as a man; but he too did not scruple to be the husband of two wealthy wives, or in other words of two rich dioceses, and live in that splendour and luxury, to which "the twelve" were undoubtedly strangers. "The environs of Bamberg," says Pöllnitz, "are most agreeable; but in arriving there from Nuremberg, one is horrorstruck, in passing along a wood of firs, to find there an avenue of a quarter of a league, formed of wheels and gibbets. This does not at first give to a stranger a very good opinion of the people; but one's sentiments change, on learning, that almost all these exposed criminals are strangers. The bishopric is contiguous to seven or eight other states, and Bamberg is on the great road through Germany, so that wicked persons crowd thither from all quarters. During the lifetime of the archbishop of Mentz, Bamberg was their *non plus ultra*. That prince gave them no quarter. Being an enemy to crime, and one of the most stern administrators of justice ever seen in Germany, he caused all those, who deserved it, to be hanged. He built a magnificent palace; spared nothing to leave to posterity a monument of his greatness and of his wealth, and has made of Pommersfelden a house, which surpasses many royal residences. There is much nobility residing in the town. The chapter is composed of persons of quality; they have a right to choose the bishop, and govern during the absence of the prince. There is as much drinking here as at Fulda and at Wurtzburg; this must surely be an etiquette attached to ecclesiastical courts."

3. *Fulda*.—The indefatigable Baron also paid his respects to the prince-abbot of this place, on one of whose successors the episcopal dignity was afterwards conferred, before which time, I suppose he could only be reckoned a *quasi* successor of Lebbeus or Bartholomew. "The prince-abbot has a grand marshal, a grand master of

the horse, a marshal of the court, many aulic and privy councillors, a number of gentlemen, a well-equipped and well-mounted company of horse-guards, a regiment of foot-guards, eight pages, a number of valets, and a very large stable. His livery is rich, and in a word, his establishment is gay and magnificent. There are very few sovereigns in Germany, whose table is better served. Every thing abounds there. The guests drink delicious wines ; but in such quantities, that you are not long in a condition to know what you are drinking. There are here, I believe, the most consummate topers in Europe. As I, on the other hand, am one of the worst, I thought Fulda was not exactly the place where it would suit me to pitch my tent. I dined with the prince, returned drunk to my inn, and fell asleep."

4. *Augsburg*.—"The bishop of this place is a brother of the Elector Palatine ; another brother was Archbishop and Elector of Treves. This prince has the same kindly disposition, which is so common to all his family. As his see is not one of the most considerable in Germany, his court is not one of the largest ; but his establishment is well assorted, and every thing is conducted with order and magnificence. The chapter of the cathedral is composed of persons of quality, who must furnish proofs of their nobility," (so that in Germany, you see, my friends, that "many noble," or rather none that were *not* noble, were called to succeed the apostles.) The canons have a right to choose their bishop, who is sovereign, like all the prelates of Germany.

5. *Strasburg*.—"The canons of the chapter, who must all be princes or counts, are not a great social resource here, because most of them being provided with other benefices, only come here to pass the three months of their residence, and are consequently little better than strangers. . . . The residence of the bishop, (who is also cardinal, and of the House of Rohan) is at Saverne. . . . He is handsome, like all his family.

Noble and magnificent in every thing that he does, he lives every where like a great lord, and especially at Saverne. I met at his house [here follows a list of dukes, duchesses, princesses, &c.] All were lodged in the castle, suitably and commodiously. We were all well diverted here; games, walks, hunting, music, and good living followed each other without ceasing. The furniture of the castle in embroidery of gold and silver is perhaps only too rich. His eminence means to bequeath all these splendid articles to the see. His table is served with abundance and refinement. He does the honours in a most enchanting manner. He is one of the richest lords in France, and certainly the one who incurs the largest expenditure. He has built a hotel at Paris, and furnished it superbly; has purchased the library of the famous *de Thou*, and is erecting a new episcopal palace at Strasburg. The Marquis of N. observed, in speaking of the cardinal's expenditure, that his eminence must have discovered the philosopher's stone. I agree with him, and I think that he has found it, by securing five or six hundred thousand livres per annum in good and lucrative benefices."

6. *Spire*.—"I went to pay my respects to the Bishop of Spire (who is also cardinal) at his residence of Be-housel. His eminence declined to see me, on the pretence that he was going to hunt, and I determined not to stay at a miserable inn. I was informed, that he even kept those, who had business with him, waiting for three or four days. The bishop is a most passionate sportsman. He has the means of gratifying himself in his diocese; the country abounds so much in all sorts of game, that the fields are ruined by fallow animals. The peasants have great difficulty in protecting their crops, and are obliged to watch them night and day. The cardinal often arranges hunting parties, at which hundreds of stags and wild boars are killed. The peasants are then compelled to take a certain number of pounds of meat, for which they pay a fixed price. The bishop-

ric of Spire is one of the most fertile provinces in Germany ; but the inhabitants are extremely poor ; their productions remain on hand, and they can scarcely pay the immense taxes, which they owe to their sovereigns. The present bishop is also coadjutor of Constance, and grand commander of the Teutonic order. His father was the first count of his family, and had a brother Elector of Mentz, and Bishop of Bamberg. The cardinal has a brother, Elector of Treves, and another is Bishop of Bamberg and Wurtzburg ; a third is counsellor of state to the emperor, and chief of the family. They had previously had an Elector of Mentz in their family, who was also Bishop of Wurtzburg ; but he did not bequeath to them much wealth, so that they were not very rich, until their late uncle was chosen Elector of Mentz. This prince has procured for them fortune, honours, and dignities, and has rendered the Count of Schönborn, the emperor's councillor of state, one of the richest nobles in Germany." Our traveller justly observes, that this is a house "in which merit has been seconded by fortune."

7. *Eichstadt*.—"I had the honour to pay my respects to the bishop of this see, a prelate who joined to his high birth a more than ordinary degree of merit. I had a letter of recommendation to him, and asked an audience, which he granted with great marks of distinction ; he sent me one of his carriages, and gave me the most gracious reception. Being seated on account of a violent fit of the gout, he made me also take a chair, and after having conversed some time, invited me to supper. The supper was followed by a concert, which his band came and performed in his apartment. It was very numerous, and perfectly well selected. I paid my court to him during five or six days that I remained at Eichstadt ; and when I set out, he presented to me a gold snuff-box, weighing fifty ducats ; he took it out of a cabinet, which he showed me, and in which I observed a quantity of jewels of great value, amongst the rest a

cross of diamonds estimated at 500,000 or 600,000 florins. This prelate was, besides, so polite as to pay my expenses at the inn, so that I was quite astonished, when I called for my bill, to find myself indebted to no one but the prince."

8. *Liege*.—"The cathedral dedicated to St Lambert is celebrated for its chapter, composed of princes, cardinals, and persons of the first quality, though there are also some of a less exalted origin. . . . The present bishop is the last of the house of Berg; he had powerful competitors when he was chosen, namely, the Elector of Cologne, and the Cardinal of Saxe Zeitz. His good fortune prevailed; he did not himself expect to be elected. I do not know whether the chapter is very well pleased with him, but the people are very much so; he governs with mildness and wisdom, is very just, and rarely pardons crime; . . . he leads a very retired life, . . . has generally with him only his confessor, the captain of his guards, and a chamberlain; his table is rather delicate than sumptuous, his liveries are very modest, his guard in small number, and their uniform plain enough. He has raised a regiment of guards, of which the Count de Beaufort is colonel. The pleasures of Liege consist in immoderate drinking. . . . The inhabitants are drunken, quarrelsome, and vindictive. The bishop is lord of the country, in which are included fifty baronies, a number of abbeys, more than twenty fortified towns, and nearly 500 villages."

9. *Salzburg*.—"When our traveller was at Munich, the intelligence arrived, that the archbishop of this diocese intended to celebrate his birth-day, not by holding a prayer-meeting, but by the performance of an Italian opera. Accompanying therefore a French count of the blood royal, and two young Bavarian princes, he repaired to the metropolitan city, and as the princes wished to remain *incognito*, they put up at a wretched tavern in the suburbs:—"The opera had commenced when we arrived, at which I was very sorry, for it was a piece,

the whole of which deserved to be seen. I never saw any thing so extraordinary, the theatre, the actors, the play, every thing was as ridiculous as possible. The place, in which it was performed, was so low, that the actors almost touched the ceiling with their heads. The voices and dances were very comical. What diverted me most were the interludes, which were executed by the pages of the archbishop. They included three *entrées*, the first was of shepherds; they were known by their dress, they had crooks in their hands, and sheep from time to time appeared on the stage. The second *entrée* was of huntsmen, they all had French horns, and whilst some danced, others caused to leap up on the stage, by the use of machines, a number of hare skins stuffed with straw. The third consisted of fishermen, who carried lines with trout attached to them, others had nets filled with living fish, which formed a very peculiar spectacle, and certainly unique in its kind. I must not omit to tell you, that, during the performance, all the spectators were regaled with large silver goblets full of wine or beer, by way of refreshment. The princes were much amused with this piece, and were long unable to forget the archiepiscopal performance. For my part, I cannot think of it even now, without feeling inclined to laugh." The princes declined a civil invitation to sup with the archbishop, but paid his highness a short visit, and returned to an execrable repast at the inn, to Pöllnitz's great mortification.

The Baron saw this residence of one of the successors of the apostles under happier auspices, during his second tour in 1730. He informs us, that the sacred pedigree can be traced back to a very remote period. St Rupert was the first bishop in 582; St Arnold the first archbishop in 798. He had six suffragans, four of whom were named by himself, but the archbishop, who enjoyed the special privilege of wearing the attire of a cardinal, seems, on that account, to have dispensed with the "primitive" garb of humility, for "he never gave

these four prelates his hand, and always addressed them [not as your lordship, but] as 'your friendship.' The archbishop, when chosen, must pay to Rome 100,000 crowns for the *pallium*, but this sum is paid by his subjects, together with a similar gratuity to himself; his annual revenue amounts to 1,500,000 florins. The divisions in the chapter led to his elevation. The canons could not agree upon the choice of an archbishop, each was anxious to become so himself, or at least to raise to the dignity one of his relatives or friends. The choice at length fell on the Baron de Firmian, who was then very infirm. *This consideration procured for him the mitre.* The parties, which divided the chapter, united in his favour, because they looked upon him as a man who would live but a short time, but hold out long enough to give each time to form cabals, *in order to raise to the dignity the individual, from whom he might expect the greatest amount of personal advantage.* [These do not appear, my friends, to have been the motives which influenced the election of the Apostle Matthias.] All these gentlemen have been much deceived as to the life of the archbishop. Like another Sixtus V., this prelate has lost all his infirmities, and appears likely to survive many of his electors. He is tall, has a severe and proud look, seldom salutes any one, is still less talkative; hunting is the pleasure of his life; he is almost always alone, even at meals. In summer he lives in the country, and is very difficult of access. He is a great valetudinarian; his physician, to whom he owes the preservation of his health, is almost the only one, who can speak to him with freedom. His palace surpasses in magnificence many royal houses; it contains, besides the saloons and galleries, 173 apartments, all richly furnished. [Several pages are occupied with a description of the pictures and magnificent ornaments, with which this and another palace were embellished.] To give you a notion of his greatness and wealth, I may mention, that he has a grand master, a grand chamberlain, a grand marshal,

a grand master of the horse, a grand huntsman, a captain of the guard, a grand master of the kitchens, a grand plate-keeper, twenty-four chamberlains, sixteen gentlemen servants, sixteen pages, forty-two valets de chambre, twenty-eight footmen, eighteen cooks, 750 horses, and coachmen and grooms in proportion; his two country houses are distinguished by beauty and magnificence."

It was during the reign of this prelate that an event took place, which excited much interest, and, in Protestant countries, great indignation at the time, and of which I shall transcribe the details from Pöllnitz, in order to show you, my friends, what we have to expect, if the "unchangeable and irremediable" tyranny of Popery should ever succeed in its attempt to re-establish its infernal sway in Great Britain.

"Since the year 1730, when this letter was written, great revolutions have happened in the archbishopric of Salzburg, in reference to religion. *More than 22,000 persons have quitted that country, abandoning their property and fortune*, and have declared themselves members of the Lutheran communion. A strange affair, and almost inconceivable! For, after all, none of these persons had ever known any ecclesiastics, except their priests. They lived in a land, where there was no such thing as controversy, because all the inhabitants were thought to be good Catholics; and consequently they could not instruct themselves. Most of them could not even read, and were brought up in such gross ignorance, that they scarcely knew the principles of Christianity. How, then, could these good folks ascertain that they were in error? I am aware that, at the commencement of the pretended reformation, there were some Salzburghers who followed the dogmas of Luther. But Lutheranism seemed to be stifled in this province, when suddenly it appeared more prevalent there than ever. I say again, that I cannot account for it. Is it possible that archbishops, curates, and priests have taken so little care of what should have

been most dear to them, namely, the salvation of souls, that so many thousand persons could pass for good Romanists before their eyes, whilst they abhorred Rome and its precepts? * For, let us suppose, or rather, I really believe, that there have been, since the pretended reformation, Protestants in the territory of Salzburg—human power is not sufficient to destroy a religion, when it has followers in a state. But it is difficult that such sectaries can subsist there, without the knowledge of an ecclesiastical sovereign. How, then, have these been able not only to exist there, but to multiply, without the knowledge of the archbishop and the priests? Should not confession have informed the curates of the sentiments of their parishioners? Should they not have given information to their chief, the archbishop? and should not that prelate and his priests have tried to bring back the wanderers by the example of a lively faith, and by charitable exhortations, opposing the propagation of error by a compassionate activity? All this has been neglected—the priests and their archbishop have only perceived the conflagration, when it was too late to extinguish it; and instead of mildness, pity, and charity, which were the water they should have poured on the flame, they have heaped on it the oil of hatred and violence, and have allowed themselves to be transported by the fury of their zeal. The archbishop, haughty, harsh, and severe, forgetting that he was father and archbishop, and yielding to the vehemence of his temper, has for ever lost these souls, which he might have hoped to recover by truly pastoral instructions, and treating them

* What Romanism was in the neighbouring country of Brixen and the Tyrol (or rather still is, wherever it exists), may be inferred from a subsequent passage in our author:—"The Holy Virgin and St Christopher are the principal objects of the devotions of the people. The highways are full of little chapels of the Virgin, who is painted in all sorts of manners. I have seen her represented in one of them standing, having on her head a huge veil, which she spread with her arms so as to cover the Pope, the Emperor, seven kings, and as many electors, who appear prostrate at her knees."

like wandering sheep. The system opposed to such precepts, which this prelate has employed, made many persons declare themselves Protestants, who would have died in the bosom of the church, if suitable remedies had been resorted to for bringing them back. I am, moreover, persuaded that, amongst the emigrants of Salzburg, there is a vast number to whom religion has served as a pretext, who have only quitted their country in the hope of bettering their condition, and were seduced by the deceitful pleasure of breaking the curb of submission. However this may be, these unfortunate subjects, like the Israelites, have spread themselves over different countries—in Germany, in Holland, and in Prussia, where the king (I must admit, Catholic as I am) has received them with a magnanimity and a charity truly Christian and royal. His majesty spared neither care nor expense; and has shown to the universe, that, if France is the asylum of unfortunate kings, the dominions of Prussia are the asylum of oppressed people.”

10. *Cologne* “is the largest town in Germany, and the dullest in Europe;” but Bonn is the residence of the Elector Archbishop. Our traveller visited it during the reign of Clement Augustus, Prince of Bavaria, who was also Grand Master of the Teutonic order, and Bishop of Hildesheim, Osnaburg, Paderborn, and Munster!! This plurality of benefices, like most other abuses, is defended by Pölnitz, on the ground that many similar cases had occurred in previous times (just as if the present venerable and excellent Archbishop Sumner were to allege the precedent of Archbishop Wolsey, as a ground for adding, not field to field, but see to see, and holding, along with that of Canterbury, the bishoprics of London, Durham, Exeter, Lincoln, and St David’s.) “Albert, Cardinal of Brandenburg, was, at the same time, Archbishop of Mentz and of Magdeburg. The Archduke Leopold possessed nine large benefices. The last Elector of Mentz was not a priest, and had five

bishoprics or abbeys." The Archbishop Clement Augustus "has a dignified air, and is easy of access; he loves pleasures, especially hunting, as much as his position admits of. . . . The prince, on arriving at Bonn, was saluted by the firing of cannon, &c. . . . The next day there was a gala at court. The archbishop was dressed like a layman, and wore a sword. Every one was surprised, because the Electors of Cologne usually dress like cardinals. He declared, that he wore this attire as grand master of a military order."

When I myself was at Bonn, my friends, in 1816, I purchased a Court Calendar, published in 1781, twenty years after the decease of the fortunate pluralist, to whose reign I have just been referring. His successor, Maximilian Frederick, who seems to have been a man of excellent character, and great benevolence, certainly exhibited, in the arrangements of his establishment, no indications of apostolic humility or self-denial. He was Bishop of Munster, as well as Archbishop of Cologne. One hundred and seven pages of this work are engrossed by the enumeration of the persons in his service as archbishop, and 29 by the list of those at Munster. He had 29 chaplains, 10 country seats, 100 huntsmen, 128 chamberlains, a grand marshal, grand master of the horse, privy councillors, generals, officers of various ranks, &c. In 1780, the Archduke Maximilian was elected to be his coadjutor, or presumptive successor in both his high dignities, and 30 pages are occupied in giving an account of the sumptuous and expensive carousings, which took place on that occasion. The election of Matthias to the apostleship (Acts xv. 26) took place very quietly; not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called to give forth their lots. We are not informed, that a sumptuous banquet followed the more solemn proceedings of the day—that a fatted calf, or even so much as a kid, was killed, that the new apostle might make merry with "the eleven," or that the result was blazed abroad by any

pompous or solemn announcement. But, in the case of Matthias's "successor," the Archduke Maximilian Francis, it was not so. All the electors were men of illustrious birth—an ambassador from his Right Reverend and Imperial Highness accepted, on his behalf, the nomination—three rounds of artillery were fired—a nobleman carried the intelligence to the archbishop, with six postilions blowing their horns before him, and received a handsome snuff-box as a present—*Te Deum* was again chanted, and the cannons fired as before—ambassadors and deputations were then received—a sumptuous dinner of ninety covers was prepared, which was followed immediately by cards, and a procession of forty court carriages to inspect the illuminations in the town and neighbourhood, consisting of several hundred thousand lights; after which the archbishop "made a great supper, and bade many." There were 90 covers, as at dinner. The proceedings of the day were wound up by a masked ball, in three spacious saloons, which lasted until six in the morning. A few days thereafter, the auspicious event was again celebrated by a solemn high mass, a feast of 233 covers, and the firing of 100 cannon, an opera at the theatre, another splendid illumination, and procession of 108 carriages, and another, not royal, but archiepiscopal, salute of 100 pieces of artillery. I pass over the costly entertainments, of much the same character, which took place, when the imperial coadjutor paid his first visit to his Right Reverend Father (in God), and shall only subjoin, by way of specimen, an account of the mode in which Sunday, the 15th of August, was passed (being the namesday of the Empress Maria Theresa, the coadjutor's mother), in order that you may judge, how far it was consonant with the usages of "primitive antiquity," and the apostolic simplicity of the men, who "gave themselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word." "At an early hour, the heavy artillery was thrice fired round the whole town; the *levee* was, on this joyful occasion, again very nume-

rous and splendid—his Royal Highness received at ten the most tender and cordial gratulations from the Elector, high nobility, court, and strangers. At eleven, there was again a solemn high mass in the court chapel, during which both cannons and muskets were fired three times. At twelve" (so that the service does not seem to have lasted inconveniently long, and neither the text, nor the sermon preached on the occasion, have been recorded) "dinner was served at five different tables; and in the evening, when the afternoon *levée* was over, there was a supper of 200 covers in the great gallery, and a masked ball in the tournament apartments, where the company was as numerous and brilliant as before, and which lasted until seven in the morning. His Imperial Highness" (the Bishop of Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Osnaburgh, &c.) "condescended to appear before its termination, in the presence of the gay and jocund assembly, in order to encourage them, by his most gracious greetings, to redouble their enjoyment."

From a contemporary manuscript, descriptive of the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1630, I transcribe the following account of the three "successors of the apostles," who then occupied the archiepiscopal "thrones" of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne.—(*Raumer*, 58.)

Of the first we are told, that at the head of his procession went ninety persons of the nobility, or otherwise of distinction, with heads covered; next, the body-guard, in cassocks, part dressed in Walloon fashion, in divers-coloured and embroidered coats and mantles. Six pages wore stockings half turned down, coats of velvet, brodered with gold, of the colour of the dead-rose leaf, and satin hose of the same tint. The carriage, built Walloon fashion, was of black leather without, and red within, studded with gold nails, the seats of red velvet, and the front curtains of red satin. The gentlemen were dressed in the old French or Walloon fashion.

The spiritual electors assert precedence over the lay

(so that, if not altogether befitting representatives of Paul and Peter, they, at all events, were manifestly the successors of Diotrephes), on which account the Archbishop Elector of Mentz, although he arrived only on the 25th, received an audience of the emperor so early as eight next morning. He had twenty or thirty gentlemen with him, dressed for the most part in the French fashion, but very warmly for the season, in heavy stuffs, strongly brodered with gold. By the Archbishop of Cologne, lodgings for 500 persons were bespoke; and "it is reckoned, that he will spend 400,000 crowns, if the diet last till September. His pages wear black velvet capoches, embroidered in blue and white, blue silk hose, embroidered in like manner, brown mantles, turned up with blue, and laced. He has a body-guard, the half of which is dressed Switzer fashion, with blue and white pads, open worked stockings, coats of black velvet, mantles of black cloth, turned up with blue velvet, and adorned with blue satin. The mounted body-guard has longer coats, ornamented in the same manner, and carrying a partizan, or hooked battle-axe, in the shape of a tongue or knife. The carriages are of black leather, lined with black velvet."

I doubt much, whether any of these "first three" of the ecclesiastical successors of "the twelve" in Germany, were ever in the habit of "preaching Christ," either to others or to themselves. "No man that *warreth* entangleth himself with the affairs of this life" (2 Tim. ii. 4); but these "men of God" can have known little or nothing of the "spirit striving against the flesh." In *their* minds there was no warfare; the "strong man armed (Luke xi. 21) kept his (and their) palaces, and their goods were in peace."

I have thus, my friends, endeavoured to lay before you an unvarnished, though, I fear, somewhat lengthy, account of the "doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, and long suffering" of the prelatic order in Germany, until the sees were all abolished in 1802. The time

would fail to dwell upon the wealth, pomp, and secularity, which characterised, up to a very recent period, the higher orders of the clergy in Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Poland, and even in Sweden and Denmark, prior to the Reformation. Such works as have furnished these details, extracted for your information, were perused by me upwards of 40 years ago, with very different sentiments from those which I now experience when reading them. Immersed as I then was in political cares and fashionable amusements, I regarded such prelates as entitled to reverential admiration. Delighted with the picture of their splendid hospitalities, I thought that, in the case of such "most excellent and most praiseworthy men" (to borrow my respected friend the chief-justice's expression in reference to the Pope), a very little sanctity would go a very great way. I honoured them as refined and polished men of the world, mild rulers of their subjects, careful managers of their finances, unrivalled *connoisseurs* in pictures, music, horses, jewels, and furniture; expert shots; consummate judges of Rhenish wine, and ragouts; but as to their constituting so many links in the line of "apostolic succession," I must candidly admit, that such a notion never occurred to me. Now, however, that I have been enabled to perceive what our Lord's first disciples were, and what their representatives require to be—now that I have learned to regard those, and those only, as the genuine successors of the apostles, who exemplify their work of faith, labour of love, and patience of hope, their humility, disinterestedness, and self-denial, it is amongst the Brainerds, the Marshmans, the Judsons, the Bostons, the M'Cheynes, M'Cries, and Hewitsons, that I seek for such "apostolic men" as the apostles themselves would own and honour. High-churchmen and Episcopalians may look down with disdain on these holy and devoted men, because they were devoid of the gifts which, we are told, can only be derived from the imposition of prelatic hands; and many a portly pre-

bendary may exclaim, in reference to such dignitaries as I have described,

“ *Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset.*”

But I must confess, that I can conceive no greater or more glaring contrast, than between these lordly prelates, and their “primitive” predecessors. I cannot imagine Peter repairing to his cathedral with a train of six carriages and six; John exhibiting, in a long avenue of wheels and gibbets, the remains of mangled malefactors; Lebbeus absorbed in brag or billiards; whilst Nathanael is intent upon evincing his desire to keep holy the Lord’s day, by superintending a mazourka, or arranging a masquerade. It is, indeed, possible, that Simon the Canaanite might have defrayed the expenses of a traveller at an inn, “taking out twopence (or more) and giving them to the host;” but when his friend came to see “what was in his house,” he could scarcely have exhibited a casket of jewels, of which one was worth 600,000 florins. We no where read that James was a mighty hunter, and a great destroyer of stags and wild boars; that Bartholomew’s cellar was largely stocked with huge tuns of “wine on the lees well refined;” that Matthew’s pages wore green velvet liveries; or that Thomas had in his pay a regiment of horse guards; that Jude invited titled dames and courtly guests to spacious and sumptuous country houses; that Judas Iscariot himself presided over five or six large and lucrative dioceses; or that Philip’s stables were so well supplied with coursers, as to require a master of the horse, and twenty grooms to keep them “according to due order.”

And here, my friends, I cannot refrain from laying before you another very graphic portrait of a “chief pastor,” drawn from the life by a great artist, namely, Sir William Temple; the original having been Bishop of Munster, in the time of Charles II. (*Works*, vol. i., p. 231.) To which of the “twelve” this right reverend and distinguished prelate was enabled to trace his spi-

ritual pedigree, I am unable to say. If from Matthew, I am inclined to think, that his highness more closely resembled the publican "sitting at the receipt of customs" (Matt. ix. 9), than the evangelist who, doubtless, like his colleagues, "provided neither silver, nor gold, nor brass in his purse" (Matt. x. 9); for unless the bishop had derived a much more than apostolic income from "customs" and similar resources, we should not have found the right reverend prelate introduced for the first time to our notice as having "raised his troops to about 18,000 men." "He is" (says Sir W.) "a man of wit, and, what is more, of sense, of great ambition, and properly *un esprit remuant*; but the vigour of his body does not second that of his mind, being, as I guess, about fifty-six or fifty-seven years old, and pursued with the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a soldier in his youth, and seems, in his naturals, rather made for the sword than the cross; he has a mortal hatred to the Dutch for their supporting his city of Munster against him, and is bridling those citizens by a very strong citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken [a sermon, it may be, on temperance, or a homily on humility], or break his head in the attempt, and says he will perform all he has engaged, *fide sincera et Germanica*, which is a word he affects. He speaks the only good Latin that I have yet met with in Germany, and more like a man of court and business than a scholar. He says, if he fails in his enterprise, and should lose his country, he shall esteem his condition not at all the worse; for, in that case, he will go into Italy, and has money enough in the banks of Venice to buy a cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his general's staff, though he has a mind to try this first, and make some noise in the world before he retires. . . . I came to a castle of the bishop's, where there was nothing remarkable but *the most EPISCOPAL way of drinking that could be invented*. As soon as we came

into the great hall, there stood many flagons ready charged. The general called for wine to drink the king's health; they brought him a formal bell of silver gilt, that might hold about two quarts or more. He took it empty; pulled out the clapper and gave it to me, who he intended to drink to; then had the bell filled, drank it off to his majesty's health, then asked me for the clapper, put it in, turned down the bell, and rung it out to show he had played fair, and left nothing in it; took out the clapper, desired me to give it to whom I pleased, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to me. I that was never used to drinking, and seldom would try, had commonly some gentlemen with me that served for that purpose when it was necessary, and so I had the entertainment of seeing his health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more share in it than just what I pleased."

"The next day at noon, about a league from Munster, the bishop met me at the head of 4000 horse, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very fast, came a guard of 100 Heyducks that he had brought from the last campaign in Hungary. They were in short coats and caps, all of a brown colour, every man carrying a sabre by his side, a short pole-axe before him, and a screwed gun hanging from his back by a leather belt that went across his shoulder," &c.—(P. 266). . . .

"Next day, the bishop made a mighty feast among all his chief officers, where we sat for four hours, and in bravery I drank fair like all the rest, and observed, that my Spanish cornet and I, that never used it, came off in better order than any of the company. I was very sick after I came to my lodgings," &c.—(P. 268.) In a "large letter" dated Munster, February 12, 1666, the right reverend prelate says, (in excellent Latin, of course) "I am busy preparing" [a charge? no, but] an *army* (!) against spring, [the right reverend prelate's favourite 'charge' was, probably, one of dragoons]; nor do I doubt but such care is taken of the third payment, that I may

have it altogether ; at least that you have prepared 30,000 dollars at Brussels, and that 25,000 more may be returned with all speed to Cologne," &c.—(P. 469.) I might, my friends, transcribe many other particulars, illustrating the covetousness, perfidy, and worldly-mindedness of this apostolic "man of God;" but these statements may suffice to prove, how few traces there were in his disposition and conduct of that "ascetic simplicity," and disinterested heavenly-mindedness, which my excellent brother the archdeacon so pathetically and so pointedly desiderates in the character of the bishops of Rome.

The chief pastoral vine, when transplanted into Portugal, appears to produce exactly such "wild grapes" or "poisonous berries," as those, which we have seen abounding in more northern climes.

"We went" (says Beckford, ii. p. 169) "by appointment to the archbishop confessor's, and were immediately admitted into his *sanctum sanctorum*, a snug apartment, communicating by a winding staircase with that of the queen, and hung with bright, lively tapestry." If, my friends, we apply to the most reverend prelate the threadbare but truthful adage, *noscitur a sociis*, we shall find, that his grace's chosen companion, by whom the heretical visitor was received, was not exactly the sort of "familiar friend" who would have been "of note among the *apostles*" (Rom. xvi.), however fitted to be the associate of their distinguished successor. "A lay brother, fat, round, buffoonical, and, to the full, as coarse and vulgar as any carter or muleteer in Christendom, entertained us with some very amusing, though not the most decent, palace stories, till his patron came forth. Those, who expect to see the grand inquisitor of Portugal a doleful, meagre figure, with eyes of reproof and malediction, would be disappointed. A pleasanter or more honest countenance than that kind Heaven has blessed him with, one has seldom the comfort of looking upon. We talked about archbishops in England being married. 'Pray,' said the prelate, 'are not your archbishops

strange fellows, consecrated in ale-houses, and good bottle companions? I have been told, that madcap Lord Tyrawley was an archbishop at home.' You may imagine how much I laughed at this inconceivable nonsense; and though I cannot say, speaking of his right reverence, that 'truths divine came mended from his tongue,' it may be allowed, that nonsense itself became more conspicuously nonsensical, flowing from so revered a source." His grace invited his guest "to repair to the Hall of Swans, where all the court were waiting for me," and where "down went half the party upon their knees, some with petitions, and some with memorials, these begging for places and promotions, and these for benedictions, of which my revered conductor was by no means prodigal. He seemed to treat all these eager demonstrations of fawning servility with the most contemptuous composure, and pushed through the crowd, which divided respectfully to give us passage. A table, with three covers, was prepared in the tapestry room, and upon a sofa, in the corner of it, sat the omnipotent prelate, wrapped up in an old snuff-coloured greatcoat, sadly patched and tattered. 'Come,' said he, clapping his hands after the oriental fashion, 'serve up, and let us be merry. Oh, these women! these women above stairs, what a plague it is to settle their differences! [Blessed, my friends, are the peace-makers!] Who knows better than you, Marquis, what enigmas they are to unriddle? I daresay, the Englishman's archbishops have not half such puzzles to get over as I have. Well, let us see what we have got for you.' Entered the lay brother with three roasted pigs, on a huge tray of massive silver, and an enormous pillau, as admirable in quality as in size; and so it had need to have been, for in these two dishes consisted our whole dinner. I am told the fare at the archbishop's table never varies, and roasted pigs succeed roasted pigs, and pillaus, pillaus, throughout all the vicissitudes of the seasons, except on certain peculiar fast-days of supreme meagre.

The simplicity of this part of our entertainment was made up by the profusion and splendour of our dessert, which exceeded, in variety of fruits and sweetmeats, any one of which I had ever partaken. As to the wines, they were admirable—the tribute of every part of the Portuguese dominions offered up at this holy shrine. The Port Company, who are just soliciting the renewal of their charter, had contributed the choicest produce of their happiest vintages; and, as I happened to commend its peculiar excellence, my hospitable entertainer, whose good humour seemed to acquire every instant a livelier glow, insisted upon my accepting several pipes of it, which were punctually sent me the next morning. The archbishop became quite jovial; and supposing I was not more insensible to the joys of convivial potations than many of my countrymen, plied me as often and as waggishly, as if I had been one of his imaginary archbishops, or Lord Tyrawley himself, returned from those cold precincts, where no dinners are given, or bottle circulated.”

If we turn our attention to France, we have already seen how the successors of the apostles were selected during the reign of Francis I. It would be easy to exhibit a series of prelatric portraits, drawn from the life, during several of the subsequent reigns, in which not a single feature corresponded with the scriptural representations of Peter or of Paul. Even Bossuet was a stern abettor of persecution for conscience' sake, and, in his controversy with Fenelon, both parties displayed such a virulence of rancour and animosity, as is seldom witnessed amongst laymen in the *arena* of political gladiatorship. St Simon, in describing an individual of great historical note, after giving a very unprepossessing sketch of his personal appearance, and comparing him to a polecat, tells us, that “all vices combated within him as to which should obtain the mastery. There they made a continual noise, and struggle amongst themselves—perfidy, flattery, subserviency, were

his means—perfect impiety, the opinion, that probity and virtue are chimeras, with which men shew themselves off, and which are never real, was his principle, &c. Debauched, wayward, ignorant as to all business, passionate, always irritable, a blasphemer,” &c.—(Vol. vii. p. 43.) Such are a few of the particulars here recorded as to Dubois, the candidate who was selected to be the next successor but one to Fenelon in the archiepiscopal see of Cambray,—“the richest archbishopric, and one of the greatest posts in the church.”—(Vol. ix. p. 3.) “His admiration, carried to esteem, was for the grand prior (a high ecclesiastical dignitary), because he had never gone to bed for forty years without being drunk, had never ceased to keep mistresses publicly, and make continual avowals of impiety and irreligion.”—(P. 46.) By pretending to have dreamt, that he had obtained this appointment, he prevailed on his facile but wild and wicked patron, the regent, to grant him the nomination. His royal highness’s grand almoner, the Bishop of Nantes, promised to consecrate him. The virtuous Cardinal de Noailles positively refused to take any part in so abominable and impious a proceeding; but the esteemed and respected Archbishop of Rouen (who, “with his brother the marshal, under the guise of frankness, were the basest of courtiers”), agreed to confer the orders of the sub-deaconate, deaconate, and priesthood, all at once. The Bishop of Nantes was soon afterward rewarded by obtaining this very archbishopric of Rouen when it became vacant; and when the Prince de Conti rallied Dubois on getting through these gradations so rapidly, the new chief pastor of Cambray told his royal highness, that, had he been a little better informed as to the usages of canonical antiquity, he would have known, that he (Dubois) had only followed the example of St Ambrose! St Simon “ran to the other end of the room,” when he heard two such names so profanely and so ignominiously conjoined. The infallible vicar of Christ issued the necessary bulls

in behalf of this saintly son of the church ; and the whole court was invited to the consecration. "Every thing there appeared calculated to show the favour of a minister full of pride and ambition, and the most palpable unmeasured servitude, to which he had reduced his master. The Cardinal de Rohan, Bishop of Strasburg, performed the ceremony. Massillon (!) was one of the two assisting prelates ('much blamed by the good and bad of all parties,') and the ceremony was performed in the presence of the regent, with unparalleled splendour. He afterwards became cardinal and prime minister, and died of the effects of an operation (which a shameful malady had rendered necessary), gnashing his teeth, like a demoniac, at the surgeons."—(P. 122.) From this example we learn, my friends, not only that, under the baneful domination of a profligate court, the worst of men may be (and often are) elevated to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and are numbered amongst the representatives and successors of "the twelve," but that its degrading influence upon the minds even of such men as Massillon, and other prelates of minor note, but great respectability, who took part in this foul transaction, is so great, that they can connive at such a nomination to a sacred office, as would not have been sanctioned in the election of a "lay-teacher," by the meanest or most ignorant member of a "schismatical congregation." Massillon, says St Simon, was one of the learned and pious prelates, whom the regent named "sometimes, but rarely, amongst a great number of a different stamp." It is not likely, that, in the striking and emphatic language of my excellent brother, "they leavened with a wholesome and spiritual influence the whole mass of society," nor could much be expected, in that point of view, from such cardinal bishops as Richelieu, Mazarin, or Alberoni. At a later period, Thicknesse, writing from France in 1767, tells us, that "the Archbishop of Paris, and *the whole body of the clergy* are in open war with the Parliament of Paris, and

scarce a meeting passes. that hostilities are not committed," (p. 93); that "the temples are polluted, the clergy are, in general, the most profligate and abandoned, *boys are made bishops*, and the few, very few, pious good men of that [the inferior] order, are *rewarded* with cures of 300 or 400 livres a-year."—(P. 60.) Thus "children were their princes, and babes ruled over them."—(Is. iii. 4.) From about 1660 until 1774, all the "successors of the apostles" in France were appointed by three individuals, Louis XIV., the Regent, and Louis XV., not one of whom, in any "dissenting congregation," would (on account of their immoral and profligate lives) have been allowed to approach the communion table, or have even had a single vote in the election of a "lay-teacher."

I may here advert to another particular, in which Popery and Prelacy bear a striking resemblance to each other, namely, in the aversion which they both entertain to elective assemblies. "Though the decree that prescribed the convocation of a council every ten years was still unrepealed, no absolute monarchs have ever dreaded to meet the representatives of their people more than the Roman pontiffs have abhorred the name of these ecclesiastical synods. Once alone [at Trent] (and that with the utmost reluctance) hath the Catholic Church been convoked since the Council of Basle."—(*Hallam.*) The popes, however, it must be admitted, have acted with perfect consistency, and have not adopted the evasive and anomalous course of gravely issuing a bull every fifth or tenth year during several centuries, summoning a council to meet at Bologna, Mantua, or elsewhere; in virtue of which, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, mitred abbots, generals of orders, &c., have repaired to the appointed place of *rendezvous*, and, after having listened to a Latin harangue from the presiding legate, been summarily dismissed and dispersed. I have before me a most able and temperate charge, addressed to the venerable clergy of Middlesex, by my worthy and respected brother the archdeacon, the title of which might per-

haps startle any anxious inquirer, who was engaged in impartially examining the comparative merits of Episcopal and Presbyterian church government—"Synodal action in the Church of England, unseasonable and perilous." Now, this proposition is, I venture to repeat, somewhat startling, when we remember, that the Anglican Church claims to be ruled according to the apostolic model, and gifted with the privilege of apostolic succession. We are tempted to refer to the annals of the apostolic age, and we there find no traces of the "perils," which my venerable brother anticipates from a meeting of the bishops and clergy, unless, indeed, they are alluded to in the passage where Paul speaks of "perils from false brethren." The archdeacon does not seem to entertain any confident hope, that, in the event of such a "holy convocation" taking place, the prelates and presbyters would be "all filled with the Holy Ghost, and speak the Word of God with boldness" (Acts iv. 31) — or that "the multitude of them that believed would be all of one heart, and of one soul." And this dread is perhaps the more unaccountable, when we bear in mind, that every member of every such synod has subscribed the same articles, acknowledges the same canons, reads the same liturgy, and has received the same ordination. "The functions of the convocation," says my brother, "have now been suspended for upwards of 130 years. During this long period of abeyance, it has only been summoned at the opening of every new Parliament, on which occasion, after voting the customary address to the crown, it has been adjourned from time to time until the dissolution." And yet "its right to be regarded as a constitutional representation of the church, is as strong as that of any political body to represent the state. . . . Its president is the archbishop of the province, and it includes among its members all the suffragan bishops and chief dignitaries, together with representatives, not only elected by the cathedral chapters, but by the collective body of the

provincial clergy." Now, I ask, if there is on record a single instance, in any age or country, of such a solemn, or I had almost said, sacrilegious farce, as the annual meeting, and immediate dispersion (whether the Riot Act is read on the occasion or not, I am unable to say), of a grave assembly, so formally chosen and constituted? and how awful must be the condition of a Christian church, however pre-eminently honoured by the prerogative of "apostolic succession," in which we are told, that there are "lamentable dissensions, not only upon questions of discipline and worship, but also upon the most important articles of faith, which are increasing daily in bitterness?" What more could be said, if "from the sole of the foot, even unto the crown of the head, there were no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores?" And yet the archdeacon justly contends, that "the remedy of a free convocation would only aggravate the disease"—he dreads "associations, platforms, speeches, pamphlets, journals, and reviews," and that "the advocate for synodal action might be led to speak of the church in any terms but those of filial reverence." A number of advantages, which he enumerates as being now actually enjoyed, are also possessed by us, who belong to "dissenting" communions, such as the authorised canon of Holy Scripture, and an admirable translation into the vernacular tongue. We are not, indeed, favoured with a book of common prayer, of which it would be "perilous in the extreme" to undertake the revision, neither have we the "three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons," nor do we possess "large endowments for the support of many thousand parochial clergy, who, living to a great extent independently of voluntary contribution, *may* (?) devote their minds without distraction to the ministry of God's Word and sacraments"—or, "a hierarchy who, associating on equal terms with the higher gentry and nobility of the land, *may* leaven with a wholesome spiritual influence the whole mass of society." But notwithstanding the en-

joyment of all these distinguished blessings on the one hand, and the total absence of them on the other, the general assemblies of the Free Church have, during ten years, taken place with great peace and harmony, much "comfort of love and fellowship of the spirit;" whilst the Episcopal convocation, the *magni nominis umbra*, has, lest its members should "bite and devour one another," been, for more than a century, slumbering and silent. Supposing, my friends, that the same plan had been pursued in reference to the House of Commons, that, in order to prevent debates, heartburnings, and evil surmisings, it only met at the commencement of every parliament to choose a speaker, and was then adjourned *sine die*. Why, there can be no doubt, that either the people of England would have "resisted unto blood," striving against such an act of cruel and ignominious tyranny, or would have insisted upon the total abolition of a degraded assembly, which possessed the form of legislation, whilst the power was denied to it. My brother expresses his, I doubt not, well-founded apprehension that "synodal action," (in a body so constituted as the Church of England), "would lead to an increase of wars and fightings instead of peace," and "he knows not which of the three to regard with most apprehension—synodal elections, synodal debates, or synodal decrees." Now, we Free Churchmen dread none of the three—our elections are uniformly peaceable, and our debates, though sometimes warm, are never fierce or heady; whereas my brother assures us, that, in the Episcopal Church, where all is unity in respect both to doctrine and government, "it is appalling to contemplate the scenes of uncharitableness and violence that would ensue." He derives small comfort *indeed*, from any security afforded by "the dignified and sedate character of Christian BISHOPS and ministers;" and no wonder, when, on appealing "to the experience of ALL AGES," he is "shocked at the representations given by contemporary authorities of the proceedings of those

synods, which we hold in highest estimation, and whose dogmatic decisions we receive." I experience a cordial emotion of fraternal sympathy, with the "regret" which he expresses, that even the fathers of the first general council would have broken up "in hopeless discord at Nice, but for the intervention of the Emperor Constantine," (which timely imperial intervention is, I presume, one of the arguments or precedents in favour of acknowledging her Majesty as supreme head of the church, whose authority alone can convene or dismiss its convocations *ad libitum*.) And it is very remarkable that, (I think), in every instance quoted by my brother, "the BISHOPS" appear to have been most to blame. "The BISHOPS," says Rufinus, "being assembled here from almost all quarters, and, as usual, bringing with them their quarrels about various matters, all resorted to the emperor with petitions exposing each other's faults, and were more intent upon these mutual recriminations, than upon the business they were sent for." What encouragement does such a passage afford to us, for introducing Prelacy into the Free Church, with a view to healing divisions, and increasing harmony? Nor are our doubts at all likely to be removed by "the bitter language of despondency made use of by St Gregory of Nazianzen, president of the second general council," who, having declared his intention, after long and sad experience, "to fly from all synods of BISHOPS," assigns as a reason, that "he had never seen the result of any council to be happy and propitious, nor one, which did not contribute rather to the increase of evils, than to their removal." When a thorough-paced Puseyite shrugs up his shoulders, and, dwelling with good-humoured contempt upon the dangerous and democratic constitution of a Presbyterian "kirk," ascribes whatever may seem faulty in our procedure to the want of a holy and apostolic hierarchy, we should direct his attention to the severe remonstrance, addressed by the Emperor Theodosius to the assembled BISHOPS at Ephesus—"God is my witness, that I am not

the author of this confusion, but Providence will discover and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair *the mischief and scandal of your meeting.*" We should also remind him, that "the representations of later councils by Romanist authorities are not less disparaging." One of these is thus described by an eye-witness—"Satan is most certainly known to excite in the congregation at Constance wars and quarrels, lest those, on whom the burden and work of a holy reformation seem to rest, should be able to agree among themselves. For there are clamours, quarrels, contumelious speeches of one against the other, which could not take place without a diabolical impulse." A French divine writes with respect to the Council of Trent:—"My Lord, the Spirit never imparted to you a better suggestion, than when he warned you not to come here, for I believe, that you would have died, if you had seen the unworthy acts resorted to here, to impede the Reformation. . . . There is not one of us, who would not wish to be at the Sorbonne, even at the risk of his life. It is impossible for me to particularize all the acts, which I have heard and seen in this council.—Trent, 15th June 1563." My brother, unwilling, no doubt, to speak of his church "in any terms but those of filial reverence," excuses himself from "enlarging upon the stormy debates and unseemly acts of our own convocation, previously to its suspension." No wonder that "good Queen Anne" (25th February 1705) should be "surprised at this unhappy state of things," and was "concerned, that the differences in convocation were rather increased than abated."

In order, however, that I may observe a strict and becoming impartiality, my friends, I shall here insert an extract from a speech, delivered by a zealous high-churchman, who traces all the evils now existing in the Anglican Church to the *absence* of that synodal action, of which my respected brother so much deprecates and dreads the recurrence. "Convocation was suspended, and

through the apathy of the eighteenth century, it has continued to the present day. The effect of the apathy which prevailed during the last century was, that *the episcopal character deteriorated, and every act partook of nepotism and jobbery*, and the conduct of the rulers became assimilated with the low and debauched morals of the time, while the forms of the church became vapid, formal, and unedifying. Sacraments and spiritual exercises decayed, piety languished, dissent spread throughout the land, and struck its root deep into the wounded feelings of an outraged laity." My brother finds "his confidence"—(I wonder he had any left)—in the decorum of synodal proceedings much shaken by "the very questionable temper betrayed during the discussions he heard and witnessed as a casual spectator in the General Assembly of the Scottish Establishment—discussions which, although conducted by men of talent and reputation, accustomed to public business, terminated sadly, but very naturally, in a deplorable and irremediable Disruption." "Deplorable," however, as the Disruption was, in some respects, it seems, I think, far more wise, more creditable, and more orderly, that two great parties should separate and form themselves into distinct convocations, than that, as in the Anglican "Establishment," the dead should be chained to the living, the Puseyite to the evangelical, the advocate for reform to the abettor of abuses. When there was "a strife between the herdmen of Abraham's cattle, and the herdmen of Lot's cattle" (Gen. xiii. 7), Abraham did not propose, that they should continue to bite and devour one another, but said, "Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me." The most eminent "lay teachers" of the Scottish Kirk, when they found, that principles, to which they attached the highest importance, were trampled under foot, resolved honourably and manfully to shake off the "unequal yoke," for the endurance of which the "carnal things" provided by the state afforded no adequate indemnity.

In addition to the "talents, reputation, and business habits," for which my excellent brother gives them credit, their hearts glowed with a lofty and disinterested PIETY, which enabled them "to count all things but loss," in comparison with the maintenance of their glorious Master's crown and kingdom. Encouraged by the zeal and attachment of her ministers and members, acknowledged and honoured by deputations from the most venerable and evangelical churches on the continent, the writers of the Free Church's latest Monthly Record are enabled to say on her behalf, "We humbly think, that there is not another church on earth that is so loaded with mercies." "We have much to be thankful for in the state of our church, as brought out in the late proceedings of her General Assembly. Her prayers were graciously answered by the preservation of a solid peace. The church generally is in a happy state; the state of congregations is blessed." There is here nothing said about the "peril or unseasonableness" of synodal action; nor is it necessary, for the maintenance of a hollow and rather ostensible than real peace, that a silence of one hundred and thirty years should be imposed by royal authority. I question whether, within the precincts of the Free Church, there is one pastor, who, if a minister of his own communion, though personally a stranger, were to knock unexpectedly at his door, would hesitate to open to him both his pulpit and his heart. There is here a complete unity both of purpose, and of conviction. How different is the case, where there is, no doubt, an outward unity, so far as subscription to articles, and the simultaneous use of precisely the same prayers and lessons is concerned, but where every possible variety of conflicting opinions is professed and promulgated!

I may illustrate this view, by an allusion to the case of Henry Martyn, of whom it is justly said by *Stephen*, (ii. 336) that his is "the only heroic name which adorns the annals of the Church of England from the days of

Elizabeth to our own. *Her apostolic men, the Wesleys, and Elliotts, and Brainerds of other times, either quitted, or were cast out of, her communion. Her ACTA SANCTORUM may be read from end to end with a dry eye, and an unquickened pulse.*" This eminent and truly apostolic man of God informs us (*Journals*, i. 464) that, when he repaired to the (Episcopal) church, he "expected to have a personal attack from the pulpit. Mr L. preached from 2 Pet. i. 13, and spoke with sufficient plainness against me and my doctrines; called them inconsistent, extravagant, and absurd. He drew a vast variety of false inferences from the doctrines, and thence argued against the doctrines themselves. To say, that repentance is the gift of God, was to induce men to sit still, and wait for God; to teach, that nature was wholly corrupt, was to lead men to despair; that men thinking the righteousness of Christ sufficient to justify, will account it unnecessary to have any of their own. This last assertion moved me considerably, as I started at hearing *such downright heresy*. He spoke of me as one of those, who understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm, and as speaking only to gratify self-sufficiency, pride, and uncharitableness. I rejoiced at having the sacrament of the Lord's supper afterwards, as the solemnities of that blessed ordinance sweetly tended to soothe the asperities, and dissipate the contempt, which were rising; and I think I administered the cup to — and — with sincere good-will." It is not, I must own, without feelings of deep concern that I transcribe the concluding sentence of this passage, because it appears to me neither more nor less than a solemn mockery and awful profanation, that men should administer a sacred rite to each other, as a pledge of fraternal unity in Jesus, who evidently are, in their mutual estimation "heretics," whom the apostle would "after the first or second admonition, have rejected." And yet, according to the Anglican system of doctrine and polity, Henry Martyn, whilst bound to regard as a Christian

brother the man from whom he "dissented" on almost every tenet of importance, could hold no fraternal communion with Carey or Marshman, (on the ground of their being "dissenters"), who agreed with him on every point, which Mr L. had so bitterly controverted.

I do not think, that full justice has ever been done to the unrivalled ingenuity, with which the framers of the Articles, and the compilers of the Liturgy, have so felicitously achieved the very ticklish task assigned to them, so that theologians holding the most opposite dogmas can subscribe them with equal alacrity; and thus a *concordia discors* has, during several centuries, adroitly been kept together. We learn, from a recent and very able article in the *Times*, that this was the basis, on which the Anglican Church was intentionally founded. "Moulded into her present shape—not by her own internal energy acting from within, but by Parliament pressing on her from without—she possesses every attribute, every advantage of a compromise. Her articles and authorised formularies are so drawn as to admit within her pale persons differing as widely as it is possible for the professors of the Christian religion to differ from each other. Unity was neither sought nor obtained, but comprehension was aimed at and accomplished. Therefore we have within the pale of the Church of England *persons differing not merely in their particular tenets, but in the rule and ground of their belief*,—the one party seeking religion in the Bible with the help of the Spirit, the other in the Church by the means of tradition. This being the true state of the case, what would be gained by calling together an assembly in which these irreconcilable differences would meet each other face to face?" The Articles may, I think, not inaptly be compared to

" A salad—for in them we see
Oil, vinegar, sugar, and saltiness agree."

When Abbot was primate, his palate was gratified by the flavour of Calvinistic saltiness. But no sooner

was his successor Laud arrayed in the archiepiscopal mitre, than he could perceive no taste in the very same aromatic juice, but that of saccharine Arminianism. Bishop Tomline, in our own day, did not detect, in this well-seasoned preparation, the slightest admixture of Calvinistic vinegar; whilst righteous Thomas Scott, who had the kindness to reprove his lordship, asserted roundly, that it did not contain one particle of "the excellent Arminian oil," which the bishop regarded as the staple ingredient. The ancient sages, so far as my limited reading extends, were never so fortunate as to accomplish this most desirable object. Neither Diogenes Laertius, nor Aulus Gellius, have preserved a single fragment of any philosophical *Irenicon*, which could be signed conjointly, and *ex animo*, by the followers of Zeno and Epicurus—of Aristotle and Carneades. The nearest approach to such a "lucky hit," (so far, at least, as I am aware of) is that of the celebrated artist, who, when painting a human head, blended the colours with such marvellous dexterity, that, whilst one *connoisseur* declared that it represented a Negro, another maintained that the original must have been an Albino, and a third offered to lay any wager that he was a Quadroon. Will any one venture to say, that, as often as right reverend prelates accomplish their triennial visitations, they succeed, notwithstanding all their talent, learning, influence, and dexterity, in so adjusting their logic, and balancing their lucubrations, as, when they come, to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay, but rather division. Is it not true that, even amongst themselves, there is more of uniformity than of unity? And that, when divisions take place in the House of Lords, there are often three against two, and two against three? It would be well, if their lordships could concur in framing a suitable form of address, stereotyped for the use of the entire bench, and from which every allusion to debateable matters should be strictly and sedulously excluded.

It was in order to keep such discordant elements to-

gether, that the prelates of a former century were often obliged to steer a dubious and uncertain course. They might perhaps be compared to the bishops on the chess-board, whose movements are never rectilinear, but always diagonal. Being four in number, two are on the white squares, and two on the black; and thus it has often happened, that, if you fell in with four distinguished dignitaries, two would recommend that their clergy should preach in the black gown, whilst two would prefer the white surplice. I presume that they are described as the king's and queen's bishops, in order to show from what authority their appointment emanates, and are placed between their majesties and the knights (of the shire), to indicate their connection with the court, and their place in the House of Peers, between Majesty and the Lower House of Parliament. Of our Presbyterian "lay teachers," on the other hand, it may be predicated, that "they went every one straight forward: whither the spirit was to go, they went; and they turned not when they went."—(Ezek. i. 12.) How difficult it would be to frame a charge, sufficiently filled with plausible ambiguities to satisfy Henry Martyn, and yet not give offence to Mr L.! How inevitably would a bishop kindle the flames of acrimonious controversy in the divided minds of his clergy, if he ventured to "use great plainness of speech," and pronounce a decided opinion, upon any topic of grave importance! It was, I suppose, this consideration, which gave rise to the remark, that charging the clergy on any disputed doctrine, in a firm and faithful tone, would occasion far more heat and animosity, than charging the glasses at a mixed political entertainment. "What chemistry," says Hallam (ii. 33), speaking of general councils, "could have kept united such heterogeneous masses, furnished with every principle of mutual repulsion?" and it is equally true, in reference to diocesan visitations, that schism and secession would be inevitable, if they were not, generally, regarded as neutral

ground, on which, during a brief truce, conflicting opinions might remain in abeyance. Nor is, perhaps, the important hint, suggested by my worthy brother, altogether without its weight—"Let us consider what our condition would be, if our churches and endowments were withdrawn, and no resources were left us, but the voluntary offerings of our people."

These endowments, in fact, constitute the leading feature of distinction between "*Dissenting bodies*" and the "*Anglican establishment*"—two terms, to both of which I must confess that I entertain a decided aversion. Why should the invidious appellation of "Dissenter" be applied to any one, who cordially adopts all the doctrines of salvation, as propounded by the apostles and evangelists? The other expression is, no doubt, very appropriate, when applied to Miss Furlong's "establishment" for young ladies, Dr Monro's "establishment" for lunatics, or Messrs Howel and James's "establishment" for the newest fashions; and I daresay, that our English friends, though, in order to avoid acknowledging the "kirk" as a church, they generally speak of the "Scottish establishment," would feel aggrieved if their own "establishment" were not designated as the "*Established Church*." But, in truth, the ministers and members of any communion endowed by the state, are apt, on account of their independent position in regard to income, to think of themselves and of their dignity above what they ought to think; and to look down upon "dissenting teachers," such as Carey, Brainerd, Robert Hall, Andrew Fuller, or M'Crie, as belonging to a very inferior "order" indeed. High-churchmen will not acknowledge them as at all entitled to be ranked amongst the servants of Christ; and I know, from undoubted authority, that a very learned and respectable clergyman, who had received from the author a copy of one of Dr Pye Smith's admirable works, after writing a letter of thanks, felt perplexed how to address it. To omit the usual prefix, "the Reverend," would have been uncourteous; to

employ it, would have been equivalent to admitting the validity of his orders. By way, therefore, of solving the difficulty, he put his note into the fire, called at the Doctor's house, and left his card, with thanks for his valuable present. Even such members of the Established Church as go so far as to admit, that dissenting ministers *are* the servants of Jesus Christ, seem to look upon themselves as the *upper servants*—the stewards, valets, butlers, and grooms of the chamber; whilst the others are only to be regarded as the footmen, stable-boys, porters, and jacks-of-all-trade. Their own wages must be large, and provided for life, whether their duties be, or be not, either onerous, or faithfully discharged; and this constitutes another ground, on which they keep their “second-class” fellow-labourers at arm's-length, because their pay is proportioned to the amount of work which they perform, and would be withdrawn, if they acted dishonestly. The reverend churchman “enlarges the borders of his garments, and loves the uppermost rooms at feasts.” He would not deign to admit dissenting teachers into his pulpit, or condescend to enter theirs. They are considered as only fit, at best, to “go and sit down in the lowest room.”

Many pious inquirers have of late years been constrained to suspect, that, in the case of an Established Church, a plausible case might be made out in favour of the proposition, that the *primary* object is to secure the incomes of a certain number of snug and sleek stipendiaries, whilst the efficient discharge of their functions is a very subordinate or secondary consideration. Nothing can be more stringent or summary than the legal procedure adopted for enforcing the payment of tithes or episcopal fines, even in the case of non-resident, careless, or heretical prelates or incumbents. But as to the interests of the “precious and immortal souls” committed to their oversight, it is well known how difficult it is even to procure a hearing for any charge of unfaithfulness or heterodoxy, and that to

obtain redress in a court of law is rendered as difficult, as intricate, as tedious, and as expensive as possible. A late excellent prelate, to whom I introduced a very dear friend of mine as a candidate for holy orders, could only offer him a curacy, for which he was to receive nothing but the surplice fees—the vicar being a quarrelsome drunkard, who often mounted the pulpit with a black eye, but who had condescended to accept a curate, upon condition that he himself should retain the entire emoluments of the vicarage.

It is, I think, painful to contemplate the polemical *batrachomyomachia*, which at present rages in the Anglican Church. Our differences in Scotland, if keen, are at least open. The antagonist armies are ranged in distinct and separate camps. But the contest in England is *plus quam civile*—as, indeed, the *odium theologicum* never fails to be. Bishop is at loggerheads with bishop, to the no small scandal and amusement of unbelieving lookers-on. “White-sark” (or surplice) big-endianism, and black-gown small-endianism, continue to wage a war, which seems to be both internecine and interminable. My right reverend friend, the Bishop of Exeter, who is not less brave than bland, is equally ready to wield his well-tempered blade against the Trojan or the Tyrian—against the evangelical rector, the Presbyterian lay-teacher, or the Romish *pseudo*-prelate. At one time, he breaks an amicable lance with a doughty and dispassionate archdeacon; at another, he takes the field against rebellious vicars, or refractory curates, and transfixes

“*Alcandrumque, Haliumque, Noemonaque, Prytanimque.*”

More than one of the latest numbers of the *Times* concurs with my worthy brother in deprecating the meeting of convocation for the transaction of business. “What result” (it is there observed, *inter alia*) “can we expect, except that differences will be embittered and magnified by argument and juxtaposition, and a compromise, always more defensible in practice than in

theory, and rather commendable for its good fruits than for its speculative and logical perfection, be cast to the winds. *The same power of freely meeting and deliberating, of discussing and altering, which is essential to the existence of a voluntary church, is destructive to a compromise entered into and carried out under the sanction, and by the authority of the state.* It is the nature of a compromise, not that people should agree in opinion, but agree to avoid the discussion of points on which they differ. Thus, in America, North and South cannot agree on the slave question, and so they agree not to discuss it at all. To violate this understanding would be fatal to the union, and *to discuss the DISCORDANT CREEDS included within the Church of England would be to destroy the church.*"

Here, however, I must touch upon one subject, which is of great importance, and which I omitted to notice in its proper place. I think I can not only point out the sole source of all the dissensions and heartburnings, which unhappily distract the Church of England, but suggest an easy and adequate remedy. If all bishops and curates would be satisfied with seeing "sermons in stones," and concur in relinquishing authorship, there would at once prevail, throughout the length and breadth of the land, amongst all congregations committed to their charge, the most unbroken and healthful tranquillity. The convocation might meet with perfect impunity, if speeches, as well as sermons, were suppressed. That venerable assembly would at once constitute a "happy family." Bishop might meet bishop without any tug or tocsin of war—the high-church wolf might dwell with the evangelical lamb—Dr Pusey and Mr Gorham might feed, and their disciples lie down, together—and they would all know, how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. I repeat my axiom in other words—my dear friends, the love of preaching is the root of all evil. Abolish sermons, or let the milies be read on Lord's days in regular succession, in

every cathedral, church, and chapel in England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, and then, as all would speak the same thing, there would be no divisions amongst them, and they would be "perfectly joined together" (at least to all appearance) "in the same mind, and in the same judgment." In every other respect, there is the most entire and harmonious uniformity. On every Lord's day throughout the year, the same prayers, the same lessons, the same psalms are already used in every episcopal place of worship. The same articles are cheerfully subscribed and assented to by persons of every possible shade and grade of theological opinion; the Divine authority of Episcopacy is every where acknowledged and approved of. The reading-desk is the centre of unity—there is no voice of dissonance at the communion-table. It is only in the pulpit that the *drum ecclesiastic* of controversy is sounded, and the wide differences of sentiment made manifest, which would otherwise remain unnoticed and unknown. The pulpit, I repeat, is the source, from whence flow the waters of Marah and Meribah, which disunite and exasperate apostolic men of God. I am really inclined to believe, that Peleg was the original inventor of sermons, because, in his days, (and not before), the earth (which, in this passage, probably means the church) was divided. At present, if my revered friend, the Bishop of Exeter, were sentenced, as a punishment for denouncing Lambeth heresies, to attend a sermon preached by Mr Gorham, his lordship would deem it worse than martyrdom to hear him out. Boileau, speaking of a nobleman who "sat with sad civility" during the commencement of a dull and tiresome play, tells us, that "*Le vicomte indigné, sortit au second acte*;" and so it would be in the case of the bishop, when (or before) the champion of heterodoxy reached his second head; nor, probably, would the Bishop of Norwich feel less impatient and uncomfortable, if, as ill luck would have it, his lordship entered a strange church by mis-

take, and found Dr Pusey in the pulpit. What would either or both of their lordships have said, if they had heard, as I did, the late admirable William Howels once enumerate in a sermon, amongst the signs of the times, "Even our bishops are now beginning to lisp the gospel?" For all these evils there is no cure, but one or both of the alternatives which I have ventured to recommend—read homilies, or abolish preaching. This position may be illustrated by what takes place in England at convivial meetings, where (next to the church) it is of the greatest moment that peace and good-fellowship should prevail. One mode of accomplishing this object is, to abstain altogether from singing, just as I propose to suppress sermons. The other, and, perhaps, preferable mode, is to chaunt certain conventional airs, which give satisfaction to all, and offence to none. I, of course, allude to "God save the Queen," and "Rule Britannia," which may be considered as the antitypes of the homilies. These truly national anthems are cheerfully sung—or, at least, joined in—by politicians of all grades and descriptions—by Whigs and Tories, Free-Traders and Protectionists, High-Churchmen and Dissenters. But if you allowed, on such occasions, Mr D'Israeli and Mr Newdegate to introduce certain stanzas in favour of a fixed duty, or Mr Cobden, and my friend Joseph Hume, to stand forward and sing an ode in praise of the ballot, the feelings of many of the audience in any mixed company would be hurt, just as the sermons of high or low-churchmen are any thing but music to the ears of many of their auditors in mixed congregations. For my own part, although I considered the Disruption in our Presbyterian Establishment a great calamity, I am not sure whether it is not more grievous, as well as more discreditable, to see Christian pastors and teachers subscribing the same articles, and associated in ecclesiastical fellowship, who brand each other as heretics, insomuch that the rector of one parish would not admit his nearest clerical neighbour

into a pulpit, from which he has the power of excluding him.

I repeat, therefore, that a commutation of sermons for homilies would be at least as conducive to the peace and prosperity of the church, as a commutation of tithes; and it would be a happy and glorious day (which, however, I do not expect to live long enough to witness) if the many prelates, deans, canons, archdeacons, rectors, vicars, and curates, who have "used curious arts" for transmuting the pure and solid metal of their Calvinistic articles into the more ductile ore of Arminianism, and not they only, but all Anglican sermon-writers and sermon-borrowers without exception, brought their books together (whether printed or in manuscript), and burnt them before all men.

How thankful ought we to be, my dear friends, for our exemption from the galling yoke of patronage, as it exists in the Popish Church and in all "established" communions! Think of the humiliation, to which our country was exposed during the ages of mediæval darkness, when a profane and sacrilegious Italian priest nominated to its highest ecclesiastical dignities the base and profligate hirelings of his own corrupt court, who were wholly ignorant of the very language of the people, over whom, in solemn mockery, they were appointed overseers! The anomaly is, however, if possible, still more glaring at the present moment, when the successors of Peter and John, and a large proportion of the pastors and teachers of the "Scottish Kirk," are appointed by the female head of an apostolic church, and that, too, entirely by the fiat of the minister for the time being, who is so often influenced by political or personal considerations. Mr Haldane, in his admirable life of his two late revered uncles, informs us, that, when his own near connection, Mr Burdon, was appointed Secretary of Presentations to the Lord Chancellor, he obtained "such a view of the abuse of patronage in the establishment, for political objects, as unhappily (?) led to the resignation of

his office, his prospects, and his churchmanship." Reflect, too, for a moment, on the ignominious position of the "deans and chapters" in whom the choice is nominally vested, but who are liable to condign punishment if they refuse to elect a candidate nominated under royal or ministerial dictation, of whose unfitness they are thoroughly convinced, or to whose merits they are entirely strangers! Their lot is far more abject and degrading than that of the Popish chapters in Germany, who appointed one of their own number to a bishopric without any imperial mandate or recommendation. How is it possible to justify, on Scripture grounds or primitive usage, the sale of ecclesiastical offices to the highest bidder? a flagrant instance of which occurred only a few weeks ago, when a "fat living" having become vacant, a superannuated incumbent, aged 80, was appointed, in order that the patron might be enabled to dispose with impunity and advantage of the reversion!

The *Times* of August 5 contains an advertisement headed, "Next Presentation to a valuable Living in Dorsetshire," "a most highly desirable living," situation "salubrious," "annual value upwards of £700 per annum, with a capital residence, garden and pleasure grounds most tastefully laid out," "population 1000," "*present incumbent eighty years of age.*" It is added to the above description, that "there are two churches, two dissenting places of worship, two resident Roman Catholic priests, and a very large nunnery."

To any opulent trafficker in the cure of souls, can a more enticing speculation be offered? By the by, the advertisement adds, "the rent-charge is easily collected." I must again, however, protest against the course, which has been pursued, for ensuring this amount of temptation—i. e., "the putting in, a very short time since, this old man of eighty, who for many years past, on his own petition to the bishop, was declared incapable of performing duty, had a dispensation from residence on his then living, and was not instituted

to this living with the least expectation that he would reside on it. The patron, wise in his generation, has done the best the law allows him to do to make the article suddenly thrown on his hands of the utmost saleable value; the church, to her shame, has, *per fas aut nefas*, become a party consenting to the transaction."

Is it possible for the ingenuity of man to invent a more striking illustration of the base and barefaced *non-chalance*, with which souls of men are made an object of barter, and subjected to the hammer of the auctioneer, in a "primitive and apostolic church," which claims the monopoly of the entire Christianity of the land? A purblind yellow admiral would not be selected by any First Lord, whether Whig or Tory, as a fit champion to take the command of a seventy-four, and engage in an unequal combat with three or four well-equipped French frigates, and a very large fire-ship to boot.

A few days after this gross and glaring case had been published in the *Times*, appears the following statement in the same distinguished and influential journal:—"In the month of April 1850, a clergyman was presented to a living not many miles from the town of Dorchester; about three months afterwards, he went abroad as tutor in the family of the patron of the living, and has remained abroad until now. . . . The living to which I allude is in the same diocese as that of Spettisbury. . . . I ask, how came the bishop to institute the clergyman to whom I allude (as I am informed his lordship did) with the understanding that he was to go abroad for eighteen months as tutor to the children of the patron (he has been absent nearly two years)? What! can the bishop possibly consider the education of the patron's children of more importance than the souls of four hundred parishioners; and would his lordship allow any of his clergy, on asking permission, to be absent from their cures for eighteen months? I trow not. How, then, came he to sanction the absence of the clergyman to whom I allude? 'S. G. O.' says

the patron of Spettisbury, is an M.P.; so is the patron of this living."

The notorious case of Mr Bennett at Frome is, if possible, still more at variance with every principle, divine or human. "Mr Bennett's first public act" (says Mr Horsman, the eloquent and fearless denouncer of flagrant and inveterate abuses) "was to dismiss the popular curate, whom he had found established at Frome. But what was the condition in which the parishioners of Frome now stood? The clergy had memorialized; the laity had protested; the Nonconformists in the town had held a public meeting, at which they had raised their voices in behalf of Protestantism and against what they termed this 'new Papal aggression.' It was a question that the Dissenters of England had as strong an interest in as the members of the established church. They might not be amenable to the discipline of the established church, but who could say, that the Protestantism of England had not been deeply indebted to the Dissenters? Too often had we found, that the church establishment had become the instrument for conversions to another faith, but among Dissenters those conversions had been rare, and the time might yet come, when among the Dissenters of England might be found the best bulwark against any aggressions upon the Protestantism of the country. In consequence of these proceedings, many respectable families in the town of Frome had absented themselves from the parish church. The people of Frome knew what had occurred in the diocese of London. They knew, that two of Mr Bennett's curates had gone over to the Church of Rome, even while they were ministering in the Church of England, and that, until the last moment of their departure, they were making use of every opportunity, which their official position in the Church of England gave them, to make converts to that church to which they were hastening so fast. They knew, that nearly every one of the Sisters of Mercy had gone over to the Church of Rome, and that many others of his congregation, influential

both as to numbers and position, had followed their example. The people of Frome knew all this, and they felt, that they were not safe from the repetition of a similar occurrence. But the case of those, who had joined Rome, was not the worst. Those, who had left one faith, and embraced another, had found some resting-place for their consciences, but many there were, who had gone to the verge of the precipice, but had not passed beyond it; who had gone too far, and yet had not advanced far enough; who had been unsettled in one faith, without being established in another. The misery that had been created in families by proceedings of that description was not to be told. He was speaking in the presence of those, who could bear fatal testimony to the truth of what he was stating—who knew the family feuds, the domestic sorrows, the social distrust, that had been created—who had heard of the parental anguish—who had been told even of broken hearts."

"What shall we say," exclaims the *Times*, "of a system, which left the bishop, from whose diocese Mr Bennett came, and who had to sign his testimonial, the bishop called on to institute him, and the parish called on to induct him and sit under him, wholly without choice in the matter? Nobody is a free agent in the whole transaction except Mr Bennett and the Marchioness of Bath. *The patroness and the presentee are the Alpha and Omega of the affair. Bishops and people are equally out of the question.* That this is the true state of the case is so obvious, that no select committee could make it clearer. We are told, that, where there is a wrong, there is a remedy; but, in this case, a wrong is very widely felt, and no remedy exists. What, then, is to be done for the future? Various remedies have been suggested, such as that the parishioners should have a real voice in the matter, or that the bishop should have some discretionary power, or that there should be some accessible court competent to decide between the parishioners and the bishop, should they happen to dis-

agree. But there is the rub. *We have a legislature of patrons.* The Queen is a large patron; the Lord Chancellor and the Premier have an immense amount of patronage. Nearly all the House of Lords, and no small part of the House of Commons, have livings in their gift. Our aristocracy possess innumerable good livings, and younger sons to present to them. *But none of these patrons, royal, official, noble, or parliamentary, will give up one jot of their rights, or yield one inch to either prelate or people.* A living is a freehold; a presentation is a conveyance; institution and induction are only forms of taking possession; and *the parishioners are only the live stock on the property.* Unless parliament is prepared to take a patriotic view of church patronage, we know not how it can mend the matter. Some emendation, however, is inevitable, unless we are to see the church's 'seamless robe' so dragged and torn, that emendation shall come at last too rude and too late. Law—actual law—would have cost the parishioners thousands of pounds, and most certainly would have ended in their defeat. It is needless to say how these duties were met and discharged, or how completely the cause of the patroness triumphed over that of the people and the church."

I may here mention one circumstance connected with prelatial consecration, which, especially during the preceding century, attracted considerable attention. It was observed, that the sanctifying influence of that august and imposing ceremony was by no means confined to the fortunate recipients of the mitre, but that it indirectly communicated a large share of fitness for the discharge of spiritual functions *within that diocese only* (but seldom beyond it) to his kindred,—sons, brothers, nephews, sons-in-law, brothers-in-law, and cousins-german, as well as to the brothers, nephews, cousins-german, or more distant connections, of his amiable partner in life; in consequence of which they generally, and, I daresay, very properly, monopolized in a great measure all the most lucrative prizes in their revered relative's

ecclesiastical manor. But, alas! it not less generally happened, that their superior fitness (at least, for further promotion) expired along with their mitred relative himself, and that the qualities essential for holding the best livings within the precincts of the see, devolved, *pro hac vice*, upon the sons, nephews, first-cousins and connections by marriage, of the defunct prelate's right reverend successor.

In fact, during the holy and happy days of the Second and Third Georges, when prelatic leviathans amassed colossal fortunes, and kept back nothing that was profitable from their families, and seem rather to have been "right reverend fathers in Mammon" than in God, the head (I mean the earthly head) of the church did indeed enrich them with great riches, (1 Sam. xvi. 25), when obsequious chapters named them at his royal behest to succeed the inspired fishermen, who had been in their own day the offscourings of all things, and possessed no certain dwelling-place; and if the fortunate holders of these grand and goodly prizes were blessed with a numerous offspring, their descendants in one sense resembled the three patriarchal sons of Noah (Gen. ix. 19), for of them was the whole "earth overspread" in the one case, and the whole diocese in the other. We learn from the book of Numbers (xxxii. 33) what were the districts which were at one time occupied by the children of Gad, the children of Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh; and it is probable, that some yet unborn Strype may inform the curious in ecclesiastical lore when and how long the children of Sparke were located at Ely, and the children of Moore flourished in Canterbury, and half the tribe of Prettyman were settled in Winchester, the other half having been quartered on Lincoln, of which he was the overseer "before he was translated." It was then a "proverb of the ancients," (1 Sam. x. 12), that Canterbury had the highest rack, but Winchester the fullest manger,—a comparison which, so far as I know, has not been instituted by any of the apos-

tolic fathers, between the dioceses of Crete and Colosse, or of Ephesus and Thyatira. This was also the halcyon era of divorce and polygamy, not in the fashionable but in the episcopal world. A bishop, who had been wedded to the chaste spouse of Hereford, never scrupled to write her a bill of divorcement, and transfer his affections first perhaps to Ely, and finally to Winchester. We read in 1 Sam. xxv. 42, that Abigail became David's wife, and it had been previously intimated, that she was "a woman of good understanding, and of a beautiful countenance." It is difficult to avoid being surprised, when we learn in the very next verse, that David also took Ahinoam of Jezreel, and they were both of them his wives. In conformity with this precedent, a few months, it may be, after the morning on which the successor of Simon the Canaanite had led to the hymeneal altar at Lambeth his blushing Llandaff Leah, the banns of a second marriage (without any necessity either for divorce or separation with respect to the first) were published (and no one ever ventured to forbid the banns) between the happy and holy bridegroom, and the wealthy Rachel of St Paul's. This, too, is entirely a Popish usage, (Scotland, my friends, "has no such custom.") We have seen that in Germany, (and the case was the same in France, Spain, and Italy), primates and prelates were often in this respect rank Mahometans; and, in addition to two or three lawfully wedded diocesan consorts, supplied themselves with a large super-added seraglio, in which deaneries, priories, and mitred abbacies, were most harmoniously congregated together.

Bigamy, or the holding of two large livings by one consecrated husband, was also common amongst the saintly men of the second order, "who sought out many inventions" for accomplishing this object. Even trigamometry seems to have been diligently studied by graduates at the universities, and some even squared the circle of their usefulness by becoming tetraogamists, and combining a *partie quarrée* of well-endowed eccle-

siastical brides. Had an order, not of knighthood, but of sainthood been instituted, for being enrolled in which, it was necessary to hold three livings, the appropriate coat of arms might have been, on a field (*or*), a cormorant (*gules*) with three surplices (*argent*) pendant by a string from his beak, the crest Judas (*sable*), holding three money-bags in his right hand, the supporters two horse-leeches *rampant*, and the motto "GIVE, GIVE." If the Hales and Horsmans of those days had instituted a trigamometrical survey of England and Ireland, they would have been astonished at the extent to which this system was carried, and have "doubted whereunto it would grow." In not a few cases, also, *per contra*, a spiritual wife had two husbands, a rector and his curate, who, however, did not always make a very fair division, either of the dues or of the duties. Curate Adams "went down to the battle" (1 Sam. xxx. 24) against Satan and the world, and was "instant in season and out of season." Whilst the rectorial pluralist, "*pinguisfentusomaso*" Trulliber, "tarried by the stuff" (*ibid.*), and gave himself little or no concern as to the parishioners, provided they were very punctual (even at the price of fasting twice a-week) in giving tithes of all that they possessed. After all, however, they did not follow out the royal Psalmist's golden rule, by "parting alike;" for the man of God who did the work, received, it may be, a tenth of the tithes, and if you asked, "Where are the nine?" why, the answer would be, in the pockets of the worldly-minded absentee.

The following extract, abridged from the *Times*, (Aug. 14, 1852), affords a striking illustration of the many abuses and anomalies, which prevailed in the Anglican Church, during the reign of George III., and even, I regret to say, until a later period; and which have so long been a stumbling to every infidel, and a rock of offence to every believer. Can it be credited, that the most reverend and right reverend heads of an apostolic church have been tenacious upholders of the most revolting system of sinecurism, and have been in the

habit of conferring such offices as had large salaries and few if any duties, not only when vacant, but even in reversion, upon the juvenile members of their own families?

"We have not many sinecurists left in comparison with olden times; but the few who remain are determined that the good old cause of rapacity and idleness shall not suffer in their hands. It is natural enough to turn to the Ecclesiastical Courts and to Doctors'-Commons, when we would unearth some fine specimens of the class. Mr Robert Moore is attached to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the character of Registrar, and in such character receives £9000 per annum in fees of office. Mr Moore does nothing, but pockets £9000 per annum for his labour of looking on." [A bystander who "looks on," when four eager and skilful gamesters are playing a well-contested rubber at whist, is not so fortunate, as he receives no remuneration, but the privilege of "killing time," which might otherwise hang heavy on his hands.] "It would, however, be wrong to suppose, that the reverend gentleman—for reverend he is—has trusted his fortunes entirely to one boat. In addition to the profits of his sinecure, he is in possession of two good livings, and of a canonry at Canterbury. He is prepared against all emergencies. Such is the nature of this reverend gentleman's pecuniary position!"

The real efficient officers of the establishment having had their salaries cut off by certain new parliamentary regulations, "they are left without pay, and the public without servants;" "their four chiefs, who do little or nothing, are well paid, and their great chief, who does absolutely nothing at all, receives £9000 a-year for his strenuous inactivity." In vain has he been asked to contribute something from his vast and unearned wealth to the restoration of the department to a more healthy condition. . . . "Mr Moore has got the money, and the money he will keep—all justice or proper feeling to the contrary notwithstanding. He disclaims all respon-

sibility but one—the responsibility of receiving £9000 a-year.

“If there is any thing which could add to the unfortunate position in which we are placed, with regard to this over-gorged pluralist, it would be found in the fact, that when death has delivered us of Mr Moore, the reversion of the place is secured to Lord Canterbury. We bring the matter before the public, not that it is in our power to suggest a remedy adequate to the occasion, but simply because it is not right that so great a scandal should be perpetrated without some mark of public indignation. It certainly is not at the feet of Mr Moore we would willingly sit to hear lessons of justice, probity, and self-denial. The profession of Mr Moore is a heavy aggravation of conduct which would be intolerable even in a layman.

“Mr Moore is well aware of a powerful reason why the archbishop of the province should have made no complaint against his administration. Had that administration been as faulty as, owing to circumstances, for which we have not to thank Mr Moore, it was satisfactory, still it is not probable that the archbishop would have invited public attention to the sinecure which, with its enormous emoluments, is at his unlimited disposal. Why seek to render the do-nothing post one of hard labour and responsibility, when his own nearest and dearest relative must in the end reap the fruit of so churlish an agitation? Let us look at the recent history of this office. Archbishop Moore named his two sons to the reversion of it—we are unable to say in return for what public services—and the second of these is now in possession. Archbishop Sutton, his successor, similarly bestowed the reversion upon the present Lord Canterbury, who, as we are informed, has anticipated his fruition of the costly gift, and mortgaged the reversion to the Globe Insurance Office. The present archbishop follows in the steps of his predecessors, and saddles the public with a nominee of his own family.”

It is no doubt true, and also highly satisfactory, that the nomination of the *second* reversionist has taken place, and that this rule holds good as to every future appointment in this or any other ecclesiastical court, subject to such alterations as Parliament may think fit to make, as regards emolument, or in any other respect; but there is one question to which I, at least, am unable to suggest even a plausible, and far less an adequate reply. Three successive monarchs of Great Britain, although heads of the Anglican Church, have no power, by signing patents, to designate their chaplains, or the sons of their grooms of the stole, to be reversionary archbishops of Canterbury, or to name the three peers who shall succeed to the three next vacant garters or green ribbons. Three consecutive commanders-in-chief cannot name their nephews or *aides-de-camp* to be in rotation the future governors of Gibraltar; nor can the electors of any shire or city choose the candidates who shall, according to due order, represent the constituencies in three successive Parliaments. Why, then, should the reversionary appointment to lucrative offices, which so scandalized the country when exercised by lay ministers of the crown, have been abolished by an act of the legislature, and the sole exception have been made in the case of apostolic dignitaries, who, according to our vulgar Presbyterian notions, should have no concern in such nominations, whether immediate or eventual? I can only account for this arrangement by supposing that there is some provision in the ancient "apostolic constitutions," from which it appears, that Thomas, Matthew, and John had followed each other as chief pastors of Pergamos and Thessalonica, and that each had in succession appointed his son or nephew to discharge the duties of registrar in the diocese, either in person or by deputy.

I remember hearing the story of a titled sharper, who had eluded detection for many years, and amassed considerable wealth. At length a sufferer by his frauds,

who had watched him narrowly for a long time, perceived him in the act of secreting a card, upon which he struck a fork through his fist, and nailing it to the table, exclaimed, "If the ace of spades is not under your hand, I beg your pardon." The *Times* may "beg pardon" of the reverend gentleman, if this sad and scandalous tale be unfounded; but if it be true, what language can be too strong—(how strong would that of Paul or Peter have been!)—in reprobation of the most reverend dignitaries, who, instead of exonerating their consciences by imploring the legislature to abolish this offensive sinecure, could set public opinion at defiance by bestowing it upon their children! There is every reason to hope, that there is now far less of this unprincipled profligacy; but it is not, I assure you, a Presbyterian or a "Dissenter," but a highly-gifted and devoted member of the Anglican communion, who thus expresses himself as to the episcopal distribution of church-patronage in the present day:—"As for my lords the bishops, it is wholly out of the question to expect any thing from their attention, their sense of diligence, or their remembrance of exertions. They will talk; but the next thing they have to give goes to a cousin or a chaplain. . . . The ways of Providence are right, but it is perfectly justifiable to inculcate the nepotism, the injustice, the sullen selfishness of man."

That some of the dignitaries who worthily preside over the Anglican Church, and a large proportion of its laborious priests and deacons, sigh over such abominations, I not only believe, but contend. At a time, however, when Presbyterian and "Dissenting" churches are denounced as destitute of order and authority, and when such of their members as join the Episcopal communion are rebaptized, or, if ministers, are reordained, as if they all had been previously heathens, it behoves every champion of the rights and privileges of these respectable communions, to point out the defects and delinquencies of the Popish and Prelatic churches, by which their

sacraments and their orders are repudiated and degraded.

The atrocity of these intolerable public nuisances, the Ecclesiastical Courts, as exemplified in this case, is thus forcibly and feelingly portrayed in a late number of that very able and high-minded paper the *Britannia*, the editor of which seems to be a staunch partisan of Episcopacy, but for that very reason lifts up the voice of honest indignation against a system, which so manifestly tends (although I am not aware that its delinquencies are ever denounced in a visitation sermon, or an episcopal charge) to weaken the attachment of the friends of the Anglican Church, to aggravate the alienation of its antagonists, and to harden the infidel in his contemptuous hatred of the gospel, when church rulers tolerate or connive at such iniquities:—

“The Ecclesiastical Courts, more than any other portion of the legal institutions of the country, call for an immediate and sweeping reform. The corruptions and abuses of the Courts of Chancery, and of Common Law, and even of the defunct Palace Court itself, sink into comparative insignificance, when contrasted with the festering iniquities of these disgraceful institutions. A remnant of the worst times of Popish supremacy in these realms, they escaped the vigilance of the early reformers of Papal abuses, and although successive governments and parliaments for the last three centuries have endeavoured either to abolish them altogether, or to remedy their defects, they continue with unblushing effrontery to batten on the proceeds of fraud and injustice. . . . Tories and Whigs, Conservatives and Radicals, have been unanimous in their condemnation of their constitution and their functions; but they seem to have borne a charmed existence, against which the artillery of reform has hitherto played in vain. Lord Stowell, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Sir Robert Peel, and almost every political leader of eminence, whether in or out of office, have in turn attempted

to cleanse this Augean stable. Even speeches from the throne have denounced these courts as public nuisances, and recommended their abolition. The most popular writers of the day have held up to universal odium and ridicule the filthy orgies of these polluted temples ; but no change has been effected in their administration, no remedies applied to the inherent vices of their system. The truth is, that the numerous sinecure recipients of salaries and fees, who, under the name of registrars, deputy-registrars, clerks, &c., &c., in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury alone, have, during the last ten years, received no less an income than £150,000 per annum, are too powerful and united to be easily dislodged. In offices where such forgeries, substitutions, and interpolations are permitted, the salaries paid to the presiding and responsible functionaries are, if we may judge from those of which we have positive returns, enormous. The registrar at Chester, in the Prerogative Court of York, returned his income to Parliament in 1842, at £7041, and the total amount of fees at £11,530." [You see, my friends, that all these heavenly-minded "*beneficiaries*" of the "second order," are "perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment ;" not one of them seems inclined to employ, in the way of self-application, the Horatian maxim,

"Segnis ego indignus qui tantum possideam."]

"The corruption of these courts is too general, pervading, and constitutional, to admit of any remedial measures. They are rotten at the core, and we fear incapable of producing, under any treatment, untainted fruit.

"The late controversy between the *Times* and Mr Moore, the registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and therefore, by virtue of archidiocesan rule, of one half of England, is only another instance of the disgraceful condition of these courts, and dishonest views of their officials. For years Mr Moore, vicar of Hunton, and holder of other valuable ecclesiastical benefices, has enjoyed £9000 a-year as registrar, for

which he has not only not done a stroke of work, but actually left his ill-paid deputies unremunerated. The alteration in the Stamp Acts has deprived these latter parties of their small incomes, which originally arose from a slight per centage on the stamps used in the office. The salaries thus lost, Mr. Moore declines to supply; and the probability is, that the Registrar's Office of London, the great registry of the wills of half England, will soon be without a working official. In defence of his conduct, Mr. Moore cites the patent by which his office was granted; has the reverend gentleman also a patent for the non-performance of the duty which his office is presumed to enjoin? How hard it is on true friends of the church and religion to have to number such men as Mr. Moore of Hunton amongst those whom, as priests, they ought and desire to respect."

This case, however, depicts in such strong and striking colours the remorseless recklessness, with which the revenues of an "apostolic" church are apportioned and administered, that I shall lay before you other details, extracted from the same authorities, in reference to what "the twelve" would have denounced as a flagrant and flagitious job, although not only sanctioned but perpetrated by those who claim to be their only successors in these lands.

"It appears, that Mr. Moore, who receives upwards of £10,000 a-year as the Registrar of Wills within the diocese of Canterbury, but performs no duties for that enormous income, holds six other church livings, and has drawn altogether of public money, and the revenues of the church, upwards of £700,000."

"Mr. Moore was appointed registrar by his father, Archbishop Moore, on the 6th of December 1799. He is then described as of Christ Church, Oxford—he was probably a minor at the time; he is nominated in conjunction with two other relatives of the same name, one of whom was a prebendary of Canterbury, and the other M.P. for Woodstock. The fees received by the

registrar in 1848 amounted to £10,894, 6s. 6d. Taking this sum as an average for the 53 years since the date of the appointment, Mr Moore and his relatives have received from the public, who have been compelled to prove the wills of their relatives in this office, no less than £577,799, 4s. 6d. There is not any exaggeration in this; neither is there any misrepresentation. How much duty he has done for these sums, it would be difficult to define. But to return to the Prerogative Office. Mr Moore is not the only sinecurist. The office abounds with those happy people: neither is he the only one of his name. He has a nephew whom he appointed 'clerk of a seat,' the Rev. G. B. Moore, and he received, in 1848, £2040 for doing nothing—paying a deputy. Mr G. B. Moore has also the living of Tunstall, near Sittingbourne, worth about £600 per annum, from which living he has received about £9000, having been appointed in 1837. There are four other 'seats,' as they are called in the office; one, worth £1725, 6s. 10d., is held by the three deputy-registrars, and the duty is done by deputy; another, worth £3251, 2s. 3d., is held by two Messrs Abbot, one of whom performs the duty, the other doing nothing; and it would be an endless task to detail the enormities of abuses in this Prerogative Court."

"SIR,—Much and well as you and your correspondents have written about Mr Moore, you have not yet done full justice to the tenacious acquisitiveness of the son, or the provident solicitude of his archiepiscopal father. Allow me, then, to state a few further particulars connected with his clerical labours, and his receipts for them. First of all, there is Hunton Rectory, with tithes commuted at £907, 10s., and as there may be glebe, and there are certainly a house and fees, the value must be £1000 a-year. The population is 740, and cannot, therefore, impose much duty, though perhaps an individual who has had £10,894, 6s. 6d. a-year, 'regulated by act of Parliament,' from an office without

any duty, may think £1000 a-year very bad pay for overlooking 740 people. Next comes Latchingdon-cum-Lawling, with tithes commuted at £910, and population 372. This also cannot be worth less than £1000 a-year. Then there is Eynesford, with tithes commuted at £600, and Hollingbourne, with tithes commuted at £647, 10s., both 'payable to the sinecure rector' (Mr Moore) 'and lessee.' Now, I will assume that Mr Moore has only made £750 a-year out of this £1247, 10s., and the whole account will stand thus:—

Hunton, 50 years,	£50,000
Latchingdon, 48 years,	48,000
Eynesford and Hollingbourne, 50 and 51 years,	38,000
Stall, at Canterbury, 48 years,	48,000
	£184,000

This calculation assumes (for which there is official authority) that the canonry or stall has been worth £1000 a-year. Its duties are what might be expected, considering who has to perform them. To be sure there has been, and there is, one sermon on a Sunday in the cathedral, and daily prayers are 'said or sung;' but then there have been 1 dean and 12 canons for the Sunday sermons—and 13 in 52 goes four times, and none over—and there are 6 preachers for extra preaching, and 4 minor canons to read the prayers, and 12 lay clerks, with 10 choristers, for the rest of the service. Possibly, then, Mr Moore may have preached 4 times 48, or 48 times 4 sermons for his £48,000. If so, you have not much exaggerated his receipts or understated his labours; and the insertion of what follows will, I trust, afford him another 'occasion to admire your sense of impartial justice.' When Henry VIII. founded Canterbury Cathedral, 'for the glory of God and the common welfare of the subjects of the realm,' he assigned to each of 12 minor canons £10, to each lay clerk £8, to each of 50 boys £4 (viz., £1, 8s. 4d. for stipend, 8s. 4d. for vestments, and £2, 3s. 4d. for com-

mons), to the grammar-masters £30, and to each of 12 canons £40; 2s. 11d. Well, for four sermons, and 'taking charge of the cathedral duties' for two months, the £40 has grown into £1000 to Canon Moore; while, till a certain pamphlet appeared, the poor lay clerks for twice a-day duty—365 times in the year—received only £40. In harmonious conformity with all this, the two Canons Moore and their brother canons, in 1836, thinking their position was about to be damaged by a scheme of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, thus addressed them in deprecation of it:—'We conclude by solemnly adjuring you to dispose of the church's lands for Jesus' sake as the donors intended; let neither friends nor flatterers beguile you to do otherwise, and put a stop to the approaching ruin of the church, as you expect comfort at the last day.' In such terms did they deprecate the suppression of some of the canonries, and the appropriation of their funds to general church purposes, further intimating, by a delicate circumlocution, that the commissioners would be guilty of *quasi-robbery*, in 'taking from one what was his, and giving it to another whose it was not.' However, Parliament in 1840 ratified the scheme, and, a canonry having been vacated, there were only 1 dean and 11 canons in 1841 for the cathedral duties. Now, one can understand Mr Moore objecting 'on principle' to doing more than the law compelled him; but one cannot understand how even he could accept a sixpence of profit from the working of a scheme, against which he had so solemnly and energetically protested. But we learn the contrary from a return of 'Copies of the applications from the Chapter of Canterbury, for aid in the performance of the additional duties cast upon them by the suspension of the canonries.' This tells us that formerly 'the duty of each canon was to *take charge* of the cathedral duties for two-twelfths of the year, but, by the suspension of one canonry, each one had to take two-elevenths of the year; and, when the number of canons became nine, in

1845, two-ninth parts.' Also, that the chapter having, in 1841, applied for aid, the commissioners allowed £50 a-year until 1844, out of the funds of the suppressed canonry, which was paid to the general chapter fund at Canterbury. Now, this may mean that mysterious *domus*, from which deans and canons get no benefit; and, therefore, we will not say that Mr Moore had £5 extra for these three years. But the return does add, that in 1845-6, £200 was granted in aid to the overworked chapter, of which Canon Spry received £100, and the remainder was divided among the seven canons appointed before 1840. Accordingly, Dr Spry had £114, 5s. 8d., and Mr Moore £14, 5s. 8d., extra in that year. From 1846 to 1849 the return says that £200 extra was divided among the same seven; so that Mr Moore's annual share for these three years was £28, 11s. 5d. besides his canonry of £1000 a-year. The return does not include the last two years; but, if the same system continued, the allowance for 1850 must have been £200, for 1851 about £150, and Mr Moore's share £28, 11s. 5d. for the former year, and about £30 for the latter.

"Now, sir, these are small gains for 'additional duties,' compared with the magnificent achievement of £10,894, 6s. 6d. from an office with no duty at all; but, considering Mr Moore's income of at least £14,000 a-year, and that those duties might have been performed by, and the extra pay shared among, the minor canons, whose income as such was only £80 a-year, surely it is not harsh to say, that while no emoluments seem too inordinately large for his capacity of retention, none are too minutely small to elude the grasp of his selfishness, or too sordidly paltry to be scorned by his self-respect. For, let it be remembered also, that these extra sums come from a scheme which he, the senior canon of Canterbury, had denounced as almost sacrilegious and unhallowed—that while his £40 was raised to £1000, the £8 of the lay clerks (of course, with a due 'sense of of that impartial justice which he has so often admired

in'—other people) was raised to £40, the £230 of the King's School had dwindled down to £182, 2s. 6d., the £4 of the grammar-boys had been reduced to £1, 8s. 4d., and that, when all this was brought before the public, some of the facts were first denied, then all were admitted—with this palliation, however, 'that it was necessary to defend churches cathedral from the sacrilegious avarice of 'the atheist!' Well may you, sir, say, you would not 'willingly sit at the feet of Mr Moore to hear lessons of justice, probity, and self-denial;' but, if you were a citizen of Canterbury, what would you think of the proceeding by which, *until November last*, fifty boys were deprived of the 8s. 4d. which Henry VIII. assigned to them? It was either their right, or it was not. If not their right, why did the chapter restore it in 1851? If their right, what is the moral quality, and what is the legal designation, of the act by which Mr Moore and his brethren withheld it? And if, again, the £1, 8s. 4d. and the 8s. 4d. are both the right of these boys, is not the £2, 3s. 4d. also? and, if it is, wherefore do Mr Moore and his colleagues retain it?

"Nay, sir, to go a step higher, if it is unrighteously withholden, why have the archbishops of Canterbury, past and present, the visitors of the cathedral, sworn to insure the observance of the statutes?—why, I say, have *they* shown so much vigilance and forethought in securing for their own sons and sons-in-law actual and 'reversionary interests,' and yet exhibited so much of wilful indifference or culpable neglect in securing to the children of others those rights which they swore to maintain inviolate when they were inducted into their high and holy office? Truly, sir, all this shows that our spiritual rulers in high places may well take a lesson from so unpretending a personage as Mr Shelby in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, where he thus expresses himself:—'Well, I must say these ministers sometimes carry matters further than we poor sinners would exactly dare to do. We men of the world must wink pretty hard at various things, and

get used to a deal that isn't the exact thing; but we don't quite fancy when women and ministers come out broad and square, and go beyond us in matters of either modesty or morals—that's a fact.' This is, indeed, a fact, sir, and our rulers in church and state will do well to consider it, and *act* before it is too late.—I am, &c.,

"August 27."

"MEMOR.

Should these glaring abuses, and many others of a scarcely less flagrant dye, continue (so far as the church dignitaries are concerned) unarraigned and unredressed, we shall ere long find (as was the case two hundred years ago) "Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a covenant cried up, and a liturgy to be scorned. The town of London, and a world of men, mind to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. Huge things are here in working! ALL HERE ARE WEARY OF BISHOPS." —(*Baillie's Letters* [from London] 1640.)

How far the succession of a beardless reversionary to an enormous patent sinecure may be "apostolic," according to the canons or rubrics of Episcopacy, it is not for me to determine. I can scarcely conceive the introduction of any such anomaly into any non-prelatic "kirk;" but if such an office did exist, and was in the gift of the moderator of our Free Church General Assembly, that Dr Gordon conferred it upon his sons for life, that Dr Guthrie entailed the reversion upon an infant in the cradle, and that Dr Candlish "made haste, and delayed not, to go and do so likewise," the feeling of the whole Presbyterian community would be so much outraged by an act, which they would condemn as flagrant and flagitious, that I believe all the addresses of my reverend friends, however solemn, and all their sermons, however sound, might be carted in uncut reams, by the luckless publishers, to the tallow-chandlers or to the trunk-makers.

Isocrates, like other ancient rhetoricians, occasionally kept his ingenuity in exercise by arguing in behalf of

an unpopular and unpromising cause, in order to see what he could make of it. Either he or Lysias would, I dare say, have furnished to Mr Moore out of the treasures of his fertile imagination, many "things new and old," and advised him to say, "Why should I be selected as a fixed figure for the hand of scorn to point his slow unmoving finger at?" "What do I more than others?" Why should scoffers come in these last days, and, enraged because the lion's share of ecclesiastical "good things" has been for half a century engrossed by me and mine, exclaim, *O tempora, O Moores!* Why, "I shall (as one of our own poets says) enjoy it only all my life." *Après moi, le deluge!* So far as my perhaps somewhat impatient reversionists are concerned, you may make ducks and drakes of the office; "I'm all submission; what you'd have it, make it." Were not my most reverend and very reverend superiors as profanely cavilled and carped at, not many years ago, for acting on precisely the same principle? Admitting, as they did, that a large abstraction from the *gross* amount of their present revenues would leave an amply sufficient income to requite the labours and provide for the comforts of their successors, did they not virtually confess that they themselves enjoy, beyond what their station and services entitle them to, a very large annual surplus, which, as soon as they are gathered to their fathers, will be devoted to the propagation of divine truth, and the salvation of immortal souls? What difference, then, is there, *pro tanto*, between them and me? Dissenters, it is true, declare that they cannot comprehend why the successors and representatives of the apostles are, in many respects, so diametrically different from the apostles themselves; but if bishops are satisfied with assenting to an eventual and posthumous diminution of episcopal incomes, *ego homuncio, non facerem*, why should not each of us say, *Egomet mi ignosco?* Do either they or I repine or murmur, because those who come after us will, though still positively rich, be at

the same time comparatively poor?—Good is the word which has been spoken, for there shall be peace and wealth in our days, till “one generation passeth away, and another generation cometh” (Eccl. i. 4). In regard to pluralities, and sinecures, and overpaid ecclesiastical offices, is there any thing whereof it may be said, “This is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us” (Eccles. i. 10). I am even inclined to believe that, as this much defamed and much deprecated office has flourished so long in an apostolic church, it must itself be also apostolic in its origin. It is probable, that it existed even under the Jewish dispensation. We are told (2 Sam. viii. 16) that “Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud, was *recorder* ;” and this office must have been a very distinguished one, since the same information is twice conveyed to us on subsequent occasions (1 Kings iv. 3, and 1 Chron. xviii. 15). Salmasius and Slawkenbergius, however, have contended that the term translated “recorder” might, with greater propriety, have been rendered “*registrar* ;” and that Seraiah, who in the subsequent verse is denominated “the scribe,” was, in all probability, his deputy. It is by no means impossible, that Ahilud may have himself been a high priest, and that Jehoshaphat obtained the office on his nomination. The only New Testament passage, which contains any allusion to this much maligned department, so long and so tenaciously upheld by an apostolic church, is in Heb. ix. 16, where the phrase, “There must also of necessity be the death of the testator,” seems to indicate that, even where “a testament is,” no dues can be claimed by the registrar, until the will be actually produced for insertion in his books. That the office is one of high importance and deep responsibility, is demonstrated by the following considerations:—first, that the legislature would not intrust the filling of it up to any personage of inferior dignity, than the most reverend head of our apostolic church, for the time being; and, secondly,

that each successive chief pastor, in responding to the confidence thus reposed in him, has been so conscientious in the discharge of the duty, as never to confer it (when possible) on any other than a member of his own family, and especially on a favoured son or grandson, so that with the functions and emoluments of this exalted dignity, no "stranger ever intermeddles." Nay, so anxious has each most reverend dignitary been to guard against the possible contingency of an injudicious appointment, that, like Peter, he has taken care that all should be right "after his decease," so that few have ever left the next nomination "to the man that should be after him; for who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?" (Eccl. ii. 18, 19); and, therefore, not only is the "heir presumptive" named without a moment's delay by the next archbishop, but

"Hæres

Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam,"

and the next chief pastor rarely fails to determine who shall be the successor's successor. In this way the favoured neophyte enjoys ample time, under the auspices of the incumbent in possession, to learn how to show all good fidelity in the discharge of his duties, and how to invest the income to the greatest advantage; so that when, after a lapse of years, *servitio longo curâque levari, et certum vigilans*, he has read the announcement of his venerable and lamented predecessor's decease in the *Times's* supplemental obituary, he may so fulfil his functions and amass his dues, that "his *profiting* may appear unto all!"

In Moore's almanac, (which is probably the authorised *vade-mecum* of all prebendaries and pluralists throughout the empire) whilst the seasons at which the dividends are paid at the bank, or railway directors hold their quarterly meetings, or ecclesiastical windfalls are divided (though not according to the rule of equal proportion), the dominical letter indicates the day on which, during at least the greater portion of the year,

these reverend or very reverend dignitaries, who revel in the fertile Utopia of an opulent cathedral, shall "do no manner of work." It has long since been admitted as a "great fact" by all writers on practical gastronomy, that the elaborate and multiform processes simultaneously carried on in the spacious and savory kitchen of a holy abbot, or a hospitable alderman, are oftener frustrated than facilitated, by the jangling and jarring element of "too many cooks;" and on the principle of a sound analogy, the startling paradox has of late been gaining ground, even in quarters from which "better things might have been expected," that neither the church nor the country derive any advantage (at least to the extent of a fair countervailing equivalent), for this time-honoured misapplication of funds intended to promote the instruction and improvement of the people, from the *dolce é sacro santo far niente* of "too many canons." A chapter, according to our Presbyterian judgment, is a parasitical excrescence, which diverts and eats away the sap from the tree of religious knowledge—it is Popish in its origin, Popish in its functions, Popish in its attire, Popish in its tendencies. Of such an institution it may be said, as of the prophet's vine (Ezek. xv. 3), "Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? Or will men take a pin of it to hang any vessel thereon?" "When it was whole, it was meet for no work" (ver. 5.) "Is it meet for any work?" (ver. 4.)

It is necessary, my friends, to dwell on these time-honoured, but not Scripture-sanctioned abuses, in order to make you more and more thankful for the privilege which you enjoy of working out your salvation in the bosom of a pure, independent, primitive communion, where reversionary sinecures, and pluralities are unwarranted and unknown. These evils are all derived from "the Paip's Kirk," but, in my humble judgment, Prelacy is the "pillar and ground" of Popery, and the mitre the chrysalis of the tiara. It appears to me, that the most genuine Episcopalian is the High Churchman—the

most consistent High Churchman the Puseyite—the honestest Puseyite the converted Romanist. Such inveterate abuses as seem, in a greater or less degree, to constitute essential and indispensable elements in the practical workings of all our state-salaried churches, are far more perilous to vital religion, than all the aggressive hostility of profane or infidel philosophy. If a society were established, whose avowed design was to injure or destroy Christianity, I think they would more effectually accomplish their object, by distributing, in weekly numbers, far and wide, a plain and unvarnished statement (without weakening their case by “note or comment”) of the mode in which ecclesiastical property *was*, and, alas! to no small extent still *is*, distributed and administered, than by disseminating cheap editions of Bolingbroke, or Chubb, or Newman, or Tom Paine. Nothing, I am persuaded, can save the Anglican Church from destruction, but a speedy and searching reform of the glaring abuses, which have been so long festering within its pale; and those are her truest champions, who are most dauntlessly, as well as thanklessly, labouring in furtherance of that object. I remember hearing, many years ago, that a certain worthy alderman, who was present (I know not whether he actually presided) at a literary banquet, called upon the company to drink the three *r*'s—namely, reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic. I should venture to propose a more orthographical, though not, perhaps, altogether orthodox toast at the next entertainment of the sons of the clergy—namely, the three *h*'s, Hall, Hume, and Horsman. This indefatigable triumvirate has, I humbly think, adopted the course best calculated to save the establishment from that impending ruin, which is likely to ensue, from the injudicious and infatuated procedure of her “friends,” by whom the anomalies, which excite such general indignation, are oftener defended than denounced, and even when reluctantly acknowledged, only feebly and partially grappled with or removed.

I have never ceased to regret that, during a recent sojourn in the metropolis, I never found my way to Ludgate Hill, where I might have feasted my eyes at Messrs Rundell and Bridges' with a sight of the massive candlebras, frosted salvers, and elegant *épergnes*, which dioceses and deaneries must have voted by acclamation to the triad of intrepid reformers, who have struggled to emancipate the Anglican branch of the church catholic from obloquy, or, I had almost said, to save it from destruction, by unsparing and unflinching denunciation of invidious and inveterate abuses. I repeat, that a speedy and comprehensive reform is essential to the best interests of the establishment—a reform, distasteful and injurious to a few, but which is anxiously looked for, and eagerly longed for, by the many. It is high time for the friends of piety to “awake out of sleep” (Rom. xiii. 11), and not allow the funds appropriated for the spiritual instruction of the people to be embezzled or misapplied. There is not, in any Christian communion, a larger amount of cordial and munificent affection cherished towards it by its ministers and members than in the Church of England. Proprietary chapels, either wholly or partially unendowed, are springing up in every quarter. Two very dear relatives of my own, and universally respected in their different spheres of active and consistent usefulness (the one at Kensington and the other at Leeds), have stirred up, by their influence and example, the minds of their attached congregations to provide additional accommodation for thousands, who were wandering as sheep without a shepherd; and so much has been achieved, or is in progress, throughout England, that I believe voluntary efforts would do as much as the State itself has accomplished, for the *real* religious benefit of the Episcopal population; but the love of many must wax cold, and their zeal be greatly paralysed, when they see measures of amelioration and reform not only omitted or postponed, but even discouraged or counteracted, in high quarters, for

securing the independence and usefulness of the clergy, and regaining the confidence and affections of the people, whom the pertinacious and infatuated defence and retention of gross and palpable anomalies, in regard to the relation between income and duty, cannot fail to astonish and to estrange.

The preceding disquisitions, my friends, are by no means extraneous or digressive. My chief design has been to show, that, if Popish tares are not entirely eradicated from a Protestant field, they are sure to spring up and bring forth thirty, sixty, or a hundredfold, in the shape of noxious and unwholesome weeds, which, in a greater or less degree (as in the case of the Anglican Church), choke the good seed, and supersede it. Whatever unhallowed and unauthorised additions Popery makes to the purity and simplicity of scriptural Christianity, only tend to mar and mutilate its beauty.

What apology, too, can be offered for the scandalous embezzlement of the property entrusted to deans and chapters, which has been wasted in enriching sinecurists, instead of being applied to the useful and beneficent purposes, for which its donors set it apart? The recent case of Mr Whiston, who has so ably and fearlessly denounced the abuses prevailing at Rochester, is thus commented on by the *Times* :—

“ Upon the monstrous abuses of cathedral trusts we presume no two opinions exist amongst men, who are not directly interested in the misappropriation of the funds. Can any reasonable man doubt for a moment, that their present condition in England is entirely at variance with the intention of the founders? It may or may not be right on public grounds to maintain these institutions in idleness and splendour—it may be politic to divert the funds intended for other purposes to the payment of these great ecclesiastical sinecures. It may be advisable, that additional importance should be conferred on the upper clergy, and that inducements of a worldly character should be blended with purer and loftier mo-

tives for entering upon 'the church' as a profession. Such was the argument urged by the late Sidney Smith in his celebrated letter to the Bishop of Gloucester—let it have what weight it may. But when we are called upon to decide judicially, whether or no the intention of the founder has been carried out in the case of Gloucester Cathedral, for example, we are forced to confess—however unwillingly—that *the maintenance of a very considerable number of ecclesiastics in great splendour does not appear to have been the object in view.* There can be no uncertainty as to what this object was, for we find it in the words of the charter—'That youth might be liberally trained—old age fostered with things necessary for living—and liberal largesses of alms to the poor in Christ—and reparation of roads and bridges, and other offices of piety teeming over from them might thence flow abroad far and wide to all the neighbouring places, to the glory of Almighty God, and the common welfare and happiness of the subjects of these realms.' Now, will the most devoted friend of these institutions, as they at present exist, point out instances, in which the intentions of the founders, as here declared, have been carried out by any capitular body largely, liberally, and in the spirit one might expect from men whose hands should be pure from worldly stain? There can be no hesitation about facts. The compliance with the directions of the founder should be as evident in its results as the sun at noonday, or it exists not. Considering the *enormous amount to which the wealth of the capitular bodies has increased*, we have a right to look for large and well-appointed schools in every cathedral town, for hospitals attached to every cathedral, for institutions of every kind, which should support the helplessness and instruct the ignorance of childhood, assist and alleviate the struggles of middle life, and soothe the declining years of honest poverty. This is no question between £5 and £5, 10s. There is no necessity for special pleading acuteness to esta-

blish a difference between something and nothing at all. If the cathedral trustees of England are in a right path, they can on the instant make out their case to the satisfaction of the most ignorant among us. But if they are wrong, they are enormously wrong. The funds, which had been allocated by the founder of these charities to the purposes of instructing the youth, aiding the poverty, and alleviating the bodily infirmities of the English people, have been diverted to the profit of a few individuals. That is Mr Whiston's case.

"From the moment his pamphlet was given to the press, we have witnessed the struggle of an individual with nothing but what he sincerely believes to be truth on his side—against the wealth and determination of a powerful corporation. The Visitor's Audience-hall, the Court of Chancery, the Queen's Bench, the Ecclesiastical Courts, have all been tried in turn. All the practised ability that money could buy, and all the shifts that the most highly-paid legal ingenuity could suggest, have been tried in turn. Even here the reverend gentleman has shown that, time after time, in season and out of season, he did press the matter privately upon the attention of the governing body at Rochester, but could obtain no redress. It was not until the last resort, and when driven to despair, that he laid the case before the public in a pamphlet which would never have roused the indignation of the dean and chapter to so great a degree, had not its allegations been pointed with ability, and based upon truth."

But, my friends, what matters all this scandalous conduct? "A dean's a dean for a' that."

"The staff of Rochester Cathedral" (I quote from a speech made in Parliament) "consists of the bishop, the dean, five canons called 'live canons,' because they exist, and one dead canon, besides four or five minor canons. Such offices should not be sinecures. 108 sermons were in one year preached in Rochester Cathedral. The bishop, who had £5000 a-year, and a house

of residence, preached three times,—one Sunday twice, and another Sunday once. The dean and canons, who received £4826, preached 50 times; while the minor canons, for preaching 55 times, received only £460 a-year.* The five live canons actually struck work after the death of one of the body, and the ecclesiastical commissioners were obliged, under the seal of the bishop, to make a grant in their favour. That was an abomination, which ought to be put an end to."

Mr Horsman's statement as to the cathedral at Lincoln seems not less irreconcilable with all other canons of apostolicity, except those which are laid down by the successors of the apostles themselves. "There are twenty-seven livings in the patronage of the chapter. Of the eight richest, Mr Horsman says, 'The first was, till lately, held by the son of the late dean; another by Mr Prettyman, who holds two other preferments in the diocese, making four in all; another by a son of this same pluralist; another by another son; and two by an old incumbent, who has connection with the chapter.' These are the richer livings. But now, look how the poorer ones are filled. It is needless to say, the chapter do not present *themselves* to them, and they are indeed in a most melancholy state. Of the whole twenty-seven, only eleven have residences upon them. Of the thirteen poorer ones, only two have residences. Of these thirteen, four are held by minor canons of the cathedral, one of whom holds no less than three; a fifth, by a former master of the grammar school; a sixth, by the present master; of the others, two are held by

* Minor canons seem not to be, at least in all cases, "received in the Lord with all gladness, and held in reputation" (Phil. ii. 29) by their hierarchical superiors. My late friend, Sir Brooke Boothby, told me an anecdote of a contemporary prelate of his, who (not, perhaps, without grudging) gave an annual entertainment to these subordinate members of the chapter. On one such occasion, his lordship complained, that the palace was much annoyed by rats, and that he was quite at a loss how to get rid of them. "I advise your lordship," exclaimed one of the guests, "to make minor canons of them, and then they will only trouble you once a-year."

one individual, and two others in plurality. The result of the whole twenty-seven livings is as follows:—The twenty-seven are held by twenty-one incumbents, of whom twelve are non-resident, and nine have other duties to perform, independent of the livings they hold from the chapter. After this, we are not surprised at the following testimony from a Lincolnshire clergyman, which was read by Mr Horsman to the House:—‘The churches and parishes, where deans and chapters are the appropriators, are, almost without exception, through this country, in a most forlorn, wretched condition, with a starving parson, a falling church, and, for want of schools, a people degraded both morally and intellectually.’—*Eclectic Review*.

When reading Watt’s admirable hymns for children the other day, it occurred to me that some ingenious episcopal bard might employ his leisure hours with great advantage to the community, as well as to himself, by publishing a new edition, intended for the use of churchmen, in the way of accommodation. Some useful hints, for instance, would be furnished, in the event of the convocation awaking from its trance, by the following imperfect adaptation:—

HYMN XVI.

“ Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
 For God hath made them so;
 Let bears and lions growl and fight,
 For ’tis their nature too.
 But, children, you should never let
 Such angry passions rise;
 Your little hands were never made
 To tear each other’s eyes.”

PARAPHRASE.

Let angry statesmen bark and bite—
 Their trade hath made them so:
 Let wrangling lawyers growl and fight—
 ’Tis their profession too.

Grave proctors, you should never let
 Wrath kindle, when you rise ;
 Your rev'rend hands were never made
 To black'n each other's eyes.

The satisfaction, with which we may picture to ourselves a very reverend dignitary affixing his seal to a new lease of church lands, when an old life has at last dropped in, might be thus described—

“ How doth the little busy bee
 Improve each shining hour,
 And gather honey all the day
 From every opening flow'r.

How skilfully she builds her cell!
 How neat she spreads her wax!
 And labours hard to store it well,
 With the sweet food she makes.”

PARAPHRASE.¹

The Dean, as busy as a bee,
 Improves each deathbed hour,
 And gathers money every day,
 Of York's grave flock the flow'r.

In cloister'd dean'ry's gorgeous cell,
 He neatly drops the wax—
 Without hard labour feasting well
 On the huge fine he takes.

The following additional, but not much to be admired, illustration of the system which prevails in regard to the administration of cathedral property, is transcribed from the columns of that able and well-informed journal, the *Morning Advertiser* :—

“ We may relate the following circumstance on reliable authority, as it will present a fair specimen of the state of things which at present obtains, not in St Paul's only, but, more or less, in every cathedral establishment throughout the land :—Last Plough-Monday a minor

canon entered a certain office to receive a small sum which had fallen to him in the shape of a legacy—some two or three pounds—when the official intimated, that a certain prebend of the same cathedral had just left the office, to whom he had paid, on the revenues of his prebendal stall, some £3000. Now, just compare the pecuniary position of these two functionaries of the same cathedral: the minor canon, during a large portion of the year, is regular in his attendance, preaching in the cathedral always when it is his turn, and sometimes stopping a gap when it is not his turn; the prebend rarely attends at all, except at the festival of the Sons of the Clergy, and such-like public occasions. The minor canon has a small city rectory value about £300; the prebend is also a bishop, and has much valuable patronage, as several members of his fortunate family are well able to testify from happy experience; he is also chancellor of another cathedral with an excellent revenue.

“The prebendary is that of Finsbury, originally worth only some £150 or £200, but now, by the increased value of property in that locality, swelled to the enormous sum before mentioned. It includes ground-rents for Finsbury Square, Finsbury Place, &c. &c. His lordship has held the appointment ever since 1816, since which time, as we are informed, it would be egregiously over the mark to state that he had performed service in the cathedral, of any kind or description whatsoever, on an average, half-a-dozen times a-year!”

I am at a loss to discover any Scripture warrant for deans, canons, and prebendaries, unless they ought to be considered (*mutato nomine*) as the representatives of the “helps and governments” mentioned by the apostle (1 Cor. xii. 28). Sir James Stephen enlightens our Presbyterian ignorance and inexperience in regard to the decanal and prebendal ivy, which Prelacy has fostered around the ecclesiastical trunk, by portraying to us (ii. 360) “the laborious idleness of a deanery and a mastership, with their ceaseless round of chapters and

elections, and founders' feasts, and inclosure questions; and questions about new racks for the stables, and new rollers for the garden, and squabbles with contumacious canons, and much-digesting fellows." "At Carlisle, the dean was the life of an otherwise lifeless amalgam of country squires and well-endowed prebendaries" (ii. 361.) It is notorious that, from time immemorial, these ecclesiastical appointments have been chiefly bestowed as provisions for near connections, or rewards for political partisanship. But has not this system prevailed, in an equal degree, in regard to the appointments of the prelates themselves? How few of the men, whose names are pronounced with reverence, and whose writings are perused with edification, by the great mass of earnest Christians throughout the length and breadth of the land, have been themselves honoured with the mitre, or patronised by those who wore it! Patronised! I ought rather to say, that they have almost uniformly been treated with the most marked and supercilious neglect. "He is *not* an evangelical clergyman, but merely a Parson Trulliber, was a successful apology with the dispensers of patronage in the last age." —(*Stephen* ii. 375.) The bishops, I believe, have almost uniformly hated the evangelical or low-church party with a perfect hatred. "Among them" (continues my distinguished and eloquent informant) "was the late Bishop Jebb, who, in his posthumous correspondence, indulges in sneers on the gospeller of Cambridge, as cold and supercilious as if he had himself belonged to the Trulliber school of divinity, instead of being, as he was, an elegant inquirer into the curiosities of theological literature. So great a master of parallelisms and contrasts might have perceived how the splendour of his own mitre waned before that nobler episcopate, to which Charles Simeon had been elevated, as in primitive times, by popular acclamation. His *diocese* embraced almost every city of his native land, and extended to many of the remote dependencies, which then, as now, she held

in subjection. In every ecclesiastical section of the empire, he could point to teachers, who revered him as the guide of their youth, and the counsellor of their later years." Familiar, my dear friends, as many of you are, with the history and writings of Thomas Scott, you will naturally ask what honour and dignity was reserved for him in the opulent and powerful ecclesiastical corporation to which he belonged? "The virtues of Thomas Scott were exhibited in all the domestic relations, as his teaching extended to them all. He was an illustrious example of the great truth, that the sublimest heights of Christian perfection are best scaled by ascending through the deepest and purest of our earthly affections to the love of God himself."—(*Stephens*, p. 149.) "He died neglected, if not despised, by the hierarchy of the Church of England, although IN HIM SHE LOST A TEACHER, WEIGHED AGAINST WHOM THOSE MOST REVEREND, RIGHT REVEREND, VERY REVEREND, AND VENERABLE PERSONAGES, IF ALL THROWN TOGETHER INTO THE OPPOSING SCALE, WOULD AT ONCE HAVE KICKED THE BEAM."—(P. 123.) In vain, too, my friends, should we look into the various episcopal catalogues for such names as John Newton, Whitfield, Venn, Howels, or Bickersteth. Since the days of the "Calvinistic primate, Whitgift," whom my excellent brother so designates, and his immediate successor Abbot (1604), a series of Arminian prelates, beginning with the ominous name of Laud, have watched with a more anxious jealousy against Evangelism than against Arianism. "If you value your friend's prospects in high quarters," wrote a venerable high-churchman to myself many years ago, "beware of mentioning his name in connection with such a man as Legh Richmond." The only question for consideration is, whether such men were unworthy of the mitre, or the mitre unworthy of them. Leighton, indeed, is numbered in the catalogue of our country's archbishops; but *monté sur le faite, il aspire à descendre*. The pomp and secu-

larity of his brethren were a burden to his tender conscience and sanctified heart ; they were " a trouble unto him ; he was weary to bear them."—(Isa. i. 14.) His dread was, to live as chief of pastors in a palace ; his desire was, to die as chief of sinners at an inn. In fact, he was wholly disqualified by his piety, meekness, and spirituality, to take his seat amongst the sanguinary and worldly-minded prelates of such an era, and of such a church. When he contemplated the vice and violence which characterised many of his right reverend coadjutors ; when he foresaw the horrors of the unholy crusade, in which they were preparing to embark, against the civil and religious liberties of the land, and saw them taking to themselves the whole armour of bigotry, and for an helmet the helmet of persecution, he did indeed for a season, " in seeing and hearing, vex his righteous soul with their unlawful deeds ;" but was at last constrained to exclaim, with regard to the mitre and crosier, as David did, in reference to Saul's proffered coat of mail, " I cannot go with these" (1 Sam. xvii. 39) ; not, indeed, because he had not " proved them," but because he found them, on trial, quite unsuited for his own daily conflict with Satan and the world ; and accordingly, he let another take his bishopric, and " put them off." His sagacity enabled him to perceive, that the object of an unprincipled and secretly Popish monarch, in destroying Presbyterianism, was to restore Prelacy in Scotland as a stepping-stone for obtruding Romanism upon an oppressed and subjugated nation. Sharpe being in every respect a contrast to Leighton, was precisely the tool best adapted for furthering the flagitious designs of Charles. When " set on a pinnacle of the temple," and numbered amongst the representatives of the apostles, (though in this case Judas was substituted for Mathias,) his conduct was precisely the reverse of his predecessor Paul's, for he " destroyed the faith which once he preached ;" and as the " creature" of a base and wicked court, was daily at his bloody and

"dirty work again;" "his throat was an open sepulchre, and his feet swift to shed blood." "One principal cause of this revolution," (the restoration of Episcopacy by a royal edict,) says Dr M'Crie, "and of all the confusions, horrors, and crimes which it entailed upon the nation during twenty-eight years, was the base and unparalleled treachery of Sharp, *who having been sent to London by the Presbyterians to watch over their interests, and supported there by their money, deluded them in his letters by the most solemn assurances of his fidelity, and of the security of their cause, while he had betrayed that cause, and sold himself to their adversaries; and who continued to practise the same consummate hypocrisy, until he had no longer any cause of concealment, and he took possession of the archbishopric of St Andrews.*"—(*Misc. Writings*, p. 286). Whatever may have been the relation in which he stood to Peter, James, and John, he was, at all events, a genuine "successor of the apostates"—a distinction, to which every conscientious Puseyite; and every zealous Bennetent, would do well, without delay, and without scruple, to aspire.

Perhaps, however, the greatest contrast between the apostles and their successors is in regard to the amount of their wealth, and the degree of luxury and splendour by which they are surrounded. I believe, that the aggregate revenues of the English and Irish prelates would formerly have much more than equalled the entire incomes derived by all the ministers of the Free Church from the sustentation fund. Sir B. Hall said that, according to a return laid on the table some time ago, one bishop had an income equal to the salaries of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretaries for the Home Office, Foreign Affairs, and the Colonies, and a Commissioner of Customs. Another bishop had an income equal to the salaries of the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Sergeant-at-Arms attending on that house. One may well apply

to such well-paid dignitaries the panegyric which the Scripture applies to a virtuous woman, "Their price is far above rubies."—(Prov. xxxi. 10.) On another occasion it was observed, that "unless the government would introduce a bill for the management of ecclesiastical property by a commission, and payment of those who performed spiritual duties by fixed salaries, instead of the present uncertain incomes, the old abuses would go on. When the act was passed in 1836 for settling the incomes of the bishops, every one expected that the incomes assigned to the sees would be enjoyed, and no more; yet a bishop appointed since 1836 had received by the end of 1850 £79,000 more than the income assigned to his see, and probably it was now nearly £100,000. The cathedral establishments were governed by statutes passed at the time of their foundation, and, in almost every instance, it was provided that the bishop should take an oath to maintain the statutes inviolate, one of those statutes being that he should make at least a triennial visitation of his cathedral. It would be difficult to find an instance where that statute, so sworn to by the bishop, had been kept." If once it be conceded that the bishops are "the angels," I am not prepared to deny that they have also been "the reapers" (Matt. xiii. 39); and although the deans and golden prebendaries are often, by profane schismatics, "esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the (royal) potter" (Lam. iv. 2), it may, with some plausibility, be contended, that they are vessels unto honour, fitted for the church to have her treasure in, "precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold."—(Lam. iv. 2.) The following statement was, in another instance, made with equal force and truth:—"The right hon. gentleman thought, that the bishops should not be paid like other public functionaries, but should have territorial powers and emoluments; but it was nothing derogatory to the judges to be paid by salaries, or even to the crown, having given up its estates, to become the pensioner of the

state. If a bishop were to have an income fixed by act of Parliament, the preferable plan was to pay him as other public functionaries were paid. By the consolidation of the ecclesiastical commission with the other commissions appointed for church purposes, a saving of thousands would be effected; but *the episcopal members of those boards had resisted every attempt at consolidation. There was a strong impression, that reform in the episcopate was wanted more than any thing else; the quality of the episcopate must be improved before increasing it. There was a rock ahead of the government. All other public establishments had been reformed; but ecclesiastical reform had been postponed, because legislation for the church had been left in the hands of the bishops. He gave the right hon. gentleman credit for applying himself to the subject as earnestly as any man could, and he knew how unsatisfactory the right hon. gentleman felt the present state of matters to be. But it had been the fate of every government to find the episcopal body in the House of Lords too strong for them, and so reform in the church was postponed year after year, parliament after parliament, and government after government, till at last the ecclesiastical establishment was in such a state, that the time was not far off, when perhaps one would say that reform was altogether hopeless. That house, the public, and the government, must make up their minds, that, if they were to have reform, they must have it in spite of the episcopal body, because they were not likely to have its concurrence.*

I am not, my friends, presuming to argue whether, in the Anglican Church, these anomalies may not be regarded rather as beauties than as blemishes. A Presbyterian ecclesiastical body might adopt Agur's prayer, and say, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." An Episcopal church, on the other hand, appears desirous of uniting both;—riches for the few, and poverty for the many; riches for the non-resident

pluralist, poverty for the laborious curate, by whom the duties are faithfully performed. The only point for which I am contending is, that the system is not "primitive or apostolic," and especially that it is not so in such a degree, that all who do not acknowledge the chief pastorate of a prelate are liable to the charge of schismatic obstinacy and blindness. "The English Reformers," says Dr M'Crie, "including Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues, were unanimously of opinion, and did not scruple to express their opinion, that bishops and presbyters were *all one*, at the beginning of Christianity;" and "he challenges any one to produce a single writer of the Church of England before Dr Bancroft, who pleaded for the divine institution of episcopacy, or the necessity of the imposition of the hands of a bishop to constitute valid ordination to the ministry."—(*M'Crie's Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 175.) I contend, that the imposition of episcopal hands upon a candidate for the ministerial office, has no more influence upon the head or heart, than the whispering by the priest of the words of consecration upon the elements of bread and wine. The change is as imperceptible (if it take place at all) in the one case as in the other. The learning, the piety, and the eloquence, or the ignorance, the levity, and the obtuseness, continue precisely what they were before. The case is somewhat analogous to that of a sportsman who takes out a licence—with this difference, that, in the latter instance, no proof of proficiency or experience on the part of the applicant is required. He, no doubt, acquires a legal title to shoot, with which he had not been previously invested, and is, in that sense, though in no other, better qualified than before; but I question much whether the possessor of a game certificate ever becomes thereby a better shot, a more skilful rider, or a more indefatigable pedestrian. I do not assert, that this ceremony may not be lawfully resorted to for the purpose of training a person, who, after due examination, is found

to have been previously qualified to exercise the functions of the ministry; but I deny, that the laying on of the hands either of a bishop or of a presbytery imparts any other benefit than that of empowering the candidate to assume the ministerial office. Our Lord, indeed, has declared (Matt. xix. 28), in reference to the apostles themselves, that they shall "sit upon twelve thrones;" but nothing is here said with respect to their successors; we are not told, that although *they* claim to be the representatives of "the twelve," in all points except two, namely, the performance of miracles, and the *non*-possession of gold and silver, they shall participate in any such posthumous honours, and officiate as *puisse* judges, when the twelve tribes stand before the apostles to be judged. The elevation of "the twelve" themselves is also deferred to the day "when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory." We are not informed that, when this solemn announcement was made, the apostles, like their present Popish successors, wore mitres, or were seated on twelve thrones, gorgeously apparelled, whilst their crosiers sparkled with the emerald and the sardius, and their hands were reverently kissed by a devout and adoring multitude—nor were they, like their more moderate and less assuming Protestant successors, addressed by the somewhat startling and unintelligible title of "Right Reverend Fathers in God." Neither Christ himself, nor any of the sacred writers, convey the slightest intimation, that the time should come when the successors of the apostles should occupy places in the senate, or dwell in gorgeous palaces. I have already noted the numerous and splendid retinues, the accumulated tuns of wine and ale, the massive plate, the precious jewels, the messuages, parks, and tenements, possessed throughout Germany by pampered pluralists, during the long hey-day of prelatie pre-eminence. Of all such "appliances and means" to foster simplicity and self-denial, the apostles possessed nothing, and have said nothing. They (as I have

more than once reminded you) "gave themselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word" (Acts vi. 4); and had any one of their number left on record an elaborate defence of pluralities, it must, I think, have proceeded from the pen of Judas Iscariot. The dignitaries of the Church of England do not in general vie with their German Episcopal brethren in regard to splendour and magnificence. There have been, and there are, those amongst them who would condemn, and do not imitate, such excesses. But there is, undoubtedly, a far greater deference exacted by, and paid to them, on the part of the "inferior clergy," than was expected, or would have been tolerated, by the apostles, whom they are supposed to represent. We are twice assured in Holy Writ (Prov. xv. 33 and xviii. 12), that "*before honour is humility.*" Humility, however, it is to be feared, does not always *accompany* or *follow* honour. We are told that the lately appointed Bishop of Nova Scotia applied to the government of that province to allow the soldiers of that garrison to *present arms* to him, which Sir John Harvey permitted until he heard from the commander-in-chief. The great Duke's answer was, "The only attention the soldiers are to pay the bishop is to his sermons." Paul, in his inspired epistles, often couples the names of Silvanus and Timotheus with his own. On his part, or on that of Peter, there is no pretension made to that pre-eminence, for aspiring to which Diotrephes is reproved. We find Paul saying (2 Tim. iv. 13), "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments. Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works: of whom be thou ware also," &c. Now, if Prelacy had prevailed in the apostle's days, and he himself had been "the first Bishop of Bremenium," the cloak might represent the Episcopal rochet and lawn sleeves; "the books" might have alluded to the apostle's cash-account at the ex-

changer's, from which it might have appeared that he had received 70,000 *aurei* more than he was entitled to—by far the smaller proportion of which had been devoted to charitable purposes, and the remainder reserved for his own; “the parchments,” as to which he felt “especially” solicitous, might have comprised first, Queen Boadicea's *congé d'elire*, empowering the chapter to elect Paul (and no one else, under penalty of a *præmunire*) to be “first bishop” of that diocese—Asyncritus being dean, and Hermes and Patrobas minor canons—together with certain title-deeds to various lands, tenements, and messuages, settled on that see under the sign-manual of King Caractacus and Queen Cartismandua; and also sundry leases of extensive domains, granted upon three lives to Paul's sister's son, who had, by his presence of mind, so essentially contributed to save the apostle's life. “Alexander the coppersmith,” again, might not only have been engaged in that trade, but also been extensively employed as a land-valuator—in which latter capacity he rated far below the apostle's own estimate the value of certain estates, on granting a new lease of which he was entitled to receive a fine; in consequence of which Paul very properly warns Timothy (“ordained to be the first bishop of the Ephesians”) to “beware” of ever employing a man in any similar transaction, who had dealt so unfairly by Paul himself, and “greatly withstood” his remonstrances and complaints.

It is necessary at such a crisis as the present, my friends, to warn you against every arbitrary rite, which is Popish in its origin or tendency, and is calculated to engender, on the part of the clergy, a Diotrephesian predilection for unscriptural pre-eminence. “Confirmation” is a ceremony of this description—a ceremony not appointed by our Lord, who only instituted the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, and in support of which only two incidents recorded in Scripture are quoted (Acts viii. 16, 17, and Acts xix. 1–7), in each

of which it is evident, that the imposition of apostolic hands was followed by the bestowal of the *miraculous* gifts of the Holy Ghost. In the first case, which occurred when Peter and John were sent to Samaria, the converts had been "baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus," and yet "the Holy Ghost had fallen upon none of them;" whereas, on Anglican principles, they must all have been "regenerated" when the rite of baptism was administered. I do not, therefore, see how either a Papist or a Prelatist can deny, that the *extraordinary* gifts of the Spirit are here alluded to; for Simon Magus is described as "*seeing*" (v. 18) that, through laying on of the hands of the apostles, the Holy Spirit was given. There must therefore have been some visible evidence of miraculous power having been imparted (which is never even claimed when the rite is performed now), for otherwise he never would have offered money to procure for himself the privilege of imparting it. A man, whose "heart was not right in the sight of God," would not have purchased on the most reasonable terms (if it had been vendible) the privilege of conferring, by the imposition of his hands, the ordinary graces of the Holy Spirit. In the other instance, we are expressly told (Acts xix.), that, when Paul laid his hands upon certain disciples, the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake "with tongues, and prophesied." If such effects follow from the imposition of prelatial hands, these two Scripture cases are, of course, quite sufficient to demonstrate the antiquity of the practice, but not otherwise; and the passage (Heb. vi. 1, 2) in which the "laying on of hands" is expressly mentioned, seems rather to refer to such miraculous instances as we have just been considering, or to the laying on of hands for healing the sick, as was the custom of our Lord, and enjoined by him, just before his ascension, to be practised by "them that believe" (Mark xvi. 18.) The instances in which the apostles, or (in one case) the "prophets," are said to "confirm"

the churches, the brethren, or the souls of the disciples, are not even quoted by Papists or Prelatists themselves as scriptural attestations in favour of this rite ; and all the inferences and illustrations, which are alleged to prove its obligatory character, seem greatly to "require confirmation." "It is," says Barnes (p. 165), "one of the devices adopted to give an unscriptural pre-eminence to the office of the episcopal bishop ;" and again (p. 167), "It is an institution adapted, and probably intended, in the progress of corruption in the church, to humble the pastor and exalt the prelate. . . . Perhaps there is no device in the hierarchy better fitted to foster a sense of superiority in ministerial rank and dignity, and to nourish the worst feelings of ambition in the human heart, than the consciousness of possessing this power to displace the pastors from their office periodically, from an extended circle of churches, and to make an annual journey, where every step is a practical proclamation of their superior rank, and where every church becomes a *memento* of this dominion."

If Papists and Episcopalians admitted, that this rite was merely one of human origin—a solemnity devised by themselves for admitting baptised adults to certain Christian privileges—there could be no more objection to such an institution, than to any mode adopted by other churches for accomplishing a similar object. But whenever a cardinal or prelate insists, that this ceremony is of *divine* appointment, the members of any other communion are entitled to exclaim, "So saying, thou reproachest us also" with neglecting a positive ordinance of the Lord or of his apostles ; and we thus "receive damage" in no ordinary degree, since it necessarily follows, from the Popish view of the question, that "virtue must go out" (Mark v. 30) from the hands of the officiating dignitary (as from those of the qualified electro-biologist in the case of mesmeric manipulations)—a "virtue" in reference to which the Presbyterian "lay teacher" must exclaim, with a sigh like "the depth,"

(Job xxviii. 14) "It is not in me," and even the most holy Popish priest, or the most pompous and portly Protestant dean, *very* reverend though he be, yet not being greeted as *right* reverend or *most* reverend, must respond, as the "sea saith" in the same verse, "It is not in me!"

Whilst these sheets were passing through the press, I had the good fortune to obtain a copy of Albert Barnes's "Inquiry into the Organization and Government of the Apostolic Church,"—a work so logical, so clear, and, as it appears to me, so unanswerable, that I earnestly recommend it to the perusal of every impartial and intelligent inquirer. We there learn, that his very respectable Episcopal opponent, Bishop Onderdonk, makes the two following important concessions:—(1.) That "the claim of Episcopacy to be of divine institution, and therefore *obligatory on the church*, rests fundamentally on the one question—has it the authority of Scripture? If it has not, it is not necessarily binding. . . . This one point should be kept in view, in every discussion of the subject; no argument is worth taking into the account that has not a palpable bearing on the clear and naked topic, the *scriptural* evidence of Episcopacy." (2.) The term bishop, in the New Testament, does not, *in a single instance*, designate any such officer as now claims exclusively that title. "That name," says Bishop Onderdonk, "is there given to the middle order, or presbyters; and all that we read in the New Testament concerning bishops (including, of course, the words overseers and oversights, which have the same derivation) is to be regarded as pertaining to that middle grade. *It was after the apostolic age that the name bishop was taken from the second order, and appropriated to the first.*" "This admission," says Barnes, "is of inestimable value; so we believe, and so we teach. We insist, therefore, that the name bishop should be restored to its primitive standing. If men lay claim to a higher rank than is properly expressed in the New Testament

by this word, *we insist, that they should assume the name apostles.* I venture to say, that if the name 'apostles' were assumed by those who claim to be their successors, the Christian world would soon disabuse itself of the belief of the scriptural authority of any such class of men."—(P. 129). By all means, my friends, if the apostolic powers and prerogatives appertain to a certain class of high functionaries, let there be also *eadem magistratum vocabula*. "Cranmer," as is remarked by Barnes, p. 269, "by no means entertained the modern views of the scriptural authority of bishops; he maintained, (says his learned Episcopal biographer Le Bas,) that the appointment to spiritual offices belongs indifferently to bishops, to princes, or to the people, according to the pressure of existing circumstances. He affirmed *the original identity of bishops and presbyters*, and contended, that nothing more than mere election or appointment is essential to the sacerdotal office, without consecration, or any other solemnity." On the other hand, as Barnes remarks in combating its modern champions, "Episcopacy is a religion of claims. It is not an argument on the part of the Episcopalian drawn from expediency, or human prudence, or a conventional arrangement among men; *nor is it an argument, which can admit other churches to be on the same basis as themselves, or other ministers to be the commissioned servants of God.* The regular result of the claim is, that the Episcopal is the only true church, and all other churches of human origin."—(P. 36). "The burden of the proof lies wholly on the friends of Episcopacy. They set up a claim—a claim which they affirm to be binding on all the churches of every age. It is a claim which is specific, and which must be made out, or their whole pretensions fall" (p. 37); and yet "there is no intimation in the counsels or instructions of the Saviour, that he ever designed that the peculiarity of the apostolic office should be transmitted to a body of men, who should be their successors."—(P. 66). "The

first claim urged on behalf of prelates is the right of ordination; a second, that of confirmation; a third, that of general supervision; a fourth, that of general administration of discipline.”—(P. 39). With respect to the first, “the evangelists have given three separate and full accounts of the appointment of the apostles, Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi.—they were selected from the other disciples, and set apart for their work with great solemnity (Luke vi.). . . . The directions given to them on the occasion occupy, in one part of the record (Matt.), the entire chapter of forty-two verses. . . . They refer to times which would follow the death of the Lord Jesus, and were designed to embrace the whole period of their peculiar work. Now, on the supposition of the Episcopalian, that the peculiarity of their work was to *ordain*, or that they were distinguished from the elders, because they were superior to them in ministerial power and rights, it cannot but be unaccountable that we find not one word of this here (p. 45), nor is it afterwards hinted to the LXX., when they were sent forth, that they were to be inferior to the apostles in the power of ordaining or superintending the churches; nor does the slightest hint occur of any exclusive authority or superintendence, by any of the three evangelists, who have recorded the parting instructions given to the apostles after our Lord’s decease (p. 46); nor is there any where else in the New Testament a statement, that this was the peculiarity of their apostolic office” (p. 47). “The only declaration in the New Testament, that has any resemblance to any such position, or that is ever even remotely referred to by Episcopalians on this point, is the promise of the Saviour in Matt. xxviii. 20, ‘Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world’—a promise adapted to all authorised preachers of the gospel, whatever rank or order they may sustain,” (pp. 60, 61). Surely, my friends, it “exceeds all power of face” to contend, that this promise is only addressed to such archiepiscopal “jolly fellows” as Mr Wilberforce

saw in France—to such lordly and luxurious, such warlike and worldly-minded “chief pastors,” as those with whom Temple and Pollnitz quaffed hock and champagne in Germany—or to such supple and ambitious mitred courtiers and politicians, as have not unfrequently scandalized all true believers in every Protestant country in which Episcopacy has prevailed; and not to be vouchsafed to the self-denying and self-sacrificing ministers, whether Presbyterian or Independent, who have established their claim to be the genuine successors of “the twelve,” by not unnecessarily entangling themselves with the affairs of this life, but (Acts vi. 4) “giving themselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word?” If bishops are indeed the exclusive depositaries of any peculiar and inherent sanctifying and ordaining grace, the concentrated quintessence of that “virtue” must, I presume, have resided in each of the German prelates who was “*bellua multorum capitum*,” or in other words, was invested, like Archbishop Clement of Cologne, with half-a-dozen sees at once, so as to have a “six-mitre power” at his disposal? It has never been started, as an objection against the right of Queen Victoria to exercise the functions of royalty, that her Majesty is unable to trace back her descent to Galgacus or Boadicea.

We are indebted to the high authority of that most enlightened and acute prelate, Archbishop Whately, for the following important admissions, or, I would rather say, facts:—1. “THERE IS NOT A MINISTER IN ALL CHRISTENDOM, WHO IS ABLE TO TRACE UP, WITH ANY APPROACH TO CERTAINTY, HIS OWN SPIRITUAL PEDIGREE.” “We read of bishops consecrated when mere children—of men officiating, who barely knew their letters—of prelates expelled, and others put in their places by violence—of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to holy orders—and, in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder, and reckless disregard of the decency which the apostle enjoins. It is inconceivable, that any one, even moderately

acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that, amidst all this confusion and corruption, every requisite form was, in every instance, strictly adhered to by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion, through the gross ignorance of the population among whom they lived, and that no one not duly consecrated or ordained was admitted to holy orders." (2.) "SUCCESSORS, IN THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE, THE APOSTLES HAVE NONE. As witnesses of the resurrection, as dispensers of miraculous gifts, as inspired oracles of divine revelation, THEY HAVE NO SUCCESSORS. But as members, as ministers, as governors of Christian communities, their successors are the regularly admitted members, the lawfully ordained ministers, the regular and recognised governors of a regularly subsisting Christian church." (3.) "From the absence of any full and systematic description of the formation and regulations of Christian communities, we may plainly infer the design of the Holy Spirit, that those details, concerning which no precise directions, accompanied with strict injunctions, are to be found in Scripture, were meant to be left to the regulation of each church in each age and country."

I have not met with a single passage from Archbishop Whately's writings, in reference to this subject, which is not profound, luminous, and convincing; but I shall only farther quote the subjoined most striking and apposite illustration, in which he points out "the fallacy of confounding together *the unbroken apostolical succession of a Christian ministry generally*, and the same succession, in an unbroken line, of this or that individual minister. The existence of *such an order of men as Christian ministers* continuously, from the time of the apostles to this day, is perhaps as complete a moral certainty, as any historical fact can be; because, independently of the various incidental notices by historians of such a class of persons, it is plain, that if, at the present day—or a century ago, or ten centuries ago—a

number of men had appeared in the world, professing (as our clergy do now) to hold a recognised office in a Christian church, to which they had been regularly appointed as successors to others, whose predecessors, in like manner, had held the same, and so on, from the times of the apostles; if, I say, such a pretence had been put forth by a set of men assuming an office, which no one had ever heard of before, it is plain, that they would at once have been refuted and exposed. And as this will apply equally to each successive generation of Christian ministers, till we come up to the time when the succession was confessedly new,—that is, to the time when Christian ministers were appointed by the apostles, who professed themselves eye-witnesses of the resurrection,—we have (as Leslie has remarked) a standing monument, in the Christian ministry, of the fact of that event as having been proclaimed immediately after the time when it was said to have occurred. This, therefore, is fairly brought forward as an evidence of its truth."

A marquis, in one of Regnard's plays, exclaims, by way of asserting the antiquity of his lineage, when asked, whether he was a noble,

"Je le suis du déluge!"

And this, no doubt, is, in a literal sense, true of every human being, who has existed since that period. All are equally descended from Noah, whether it be John Smith the carpenter, who could not tell the name of his great-grandfather, or the proudest descendant of the Hapsburgs or the Howards. But although the Duke of Norfolk can trace his pedigree some centuries farther back than John Smith, his grace must at length reach a progenitor, of whose father the very name is unknown. And thus it is also with respect to the spiritual lineage of bishops, priests, and deacons. Not one of these (the Pope, perhaps, excepted; and he not without considerable ambiguity as to some of the earlier links) can boast of

an "endless genealogy." What prelate can establish his connection with Lebbeus, Jude, Matthias, or Nathaniel? As well might some ancient Welsh squire pretend to deduce, in the direct line, his descent from Shem or Japheth. All "who wear the human form" have Noah's blood in their veins; and all true preachers of Christ's gospel have Christ's grace in their hearts, though they may not be able to demonstrate, in the one case, with which of the Lord's apostles, or, in the other, with which of Noah's sons, they stand connected. It appears, moreover, from Bede, that, "at the request of Oswald, king of Northumberland, certain *presbyters* came (in the seventh century) from Scotland into England, and *ordained bishops*; that the abbot and other *presbyters* of the Island of Ily sent Aydan for this express purpose, declaring him to be worthy of the office of bishop, and that he ought to be sent to instruct the unbelieving and the unlearned. Bede also informs us, that these *presbyters* ordained him, and sent him to England on this errand; and that Finan, sent from the same monastery in the same island, succeeded him in the episcopal office, after having been ordained by the Scottish *presbyters*."—(*Barnes*, p. 134.) "You will find," says Baxter, "*that the English had a succession of bishops by the Scottish presbyter's ordination*; and there is no mention in Bede of any dislike or scruple of the lawfulness of this course. The learned Dr Doddridge refers us to Bede and Jones to substantiate the fact, that the ordination of English bishops cannot be traced up to the Church of Rome as its original; that in the year 668, the successors of Austin, the monk (who came over an. 596), being almost extinct, *by far the greater part of the bishops were of Scottish ordination, by Aydan and Finan*, who came out of the Culdee monastery of Columbaus, and were no more than *presbyters*."—(*Ibid.*, p. 135.) Then it is verily a fact, that Presbyterian ordination is one of the sturdiest pillars that support the vast fabric of the church of God. "I tremble," con-

tinues Baxter, "for all Protestant-Episcopal churches on both continents, if Presbyterian ordination be not valid and scriptural."—(*Ibid.*) And well he might, my friends; since it is almost impossible that any clergyman in any Episcopal church, if he could trace back his descent to the earliest era, should not find in some of its links the debasing "*bend sinister*" of ordination by a bishop, who himself, or some of his predecessors, has been ordained by a presbyter. He may, however, derive some consolation from reflecting, that the gift, which Timothy was exhorted not to "neglect," was obtained through "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."—(1 Tim. iv. 14.) "A Presbyterian," says Barnes, p. 229, "would choose these very words to give an account of an ordination in his church; an Episcopalian would not. The former speaks of ordination by a *presbytery*; the latter, of ordination by a bishop. The former can use the account of the Apostle Paul here, as applicable to ordination, without explanations, comments, new versions, or criticisms; the latter cannot." "The arguments employed by Bishop Onderdonk, in refutation of this view, are," as Barnes observes, "such as a man always employs, when he is pressed by difficulties which he cannot meet, and when he throws himself into a labyrinth, in the hope that, amidst its numerous passages, he may escape detection and evade pursuit."—(P. 233.) He had previously observed, that "all Protestant denominations, with the single exception of the comparatively small sect of Episcopals, are agreed in maintaining the doctrine of the parity of the clergy; and the maintenance of this is the essential feature, in which they differ from the advocates of Prelacy" (p. 223); and, my friends, what the latter describe as the "*gradation*," amounts, in our view, to the "*de-gradation*" introduced into the clerical order, by unduly exalting the few, and unjustly lowering the many. But, "even in the Episcopal church," says Barnes, p. 131, "ordination is never performed by the 'bishop' alone. In the form and manner of 'ordering

priests,' the following direction is given:—'The bishop, with the priests [presbyters] present, shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood—the receiver humbly kneeling, and the bishop saying, Receive the Holy Ghost (!) for the office and work of a priest now committed unto thee by the imposition of OUR hands.' "

I must refer you to Barnes' own masterly work for the arguments employed to controvert the other claims advanced on behalf of Prelacy by its learned and able advocates; showing, that Barnabas is only once denominated an apostle (though often mentioned on other occasions) when sent on a special "mission" with Paul, by the command of the Holy Ghost; and that no statement is made of his having been ordained to the office, as Matthias was, (so that he, my friends, and some others seem, if I may so express myself, to have only held *brevet* rank as apostles, which is temporary, and confined to certain districts only); that Timothy and Titus were entrusted with peculiar functions during Paul's absence from Ephesus and Crete; and that there is no evidence (but the very reverse) of their having permanently resided as diocesan prelates at either place. I shall, however, conclude by transcribing four very impressive and important passages, which every Presbyterian would do well to commit to his memory and to his heart. In speaking of the expression "angel" in the Apocalypse (which seems rather applicable to the pastor of a "church," than to the bishop of a diocese), Bishop Onderdonk observed, that "the angel is, in each case, identified with his church, and his church with him." "Now," says Barnes, "to whom does this remark best apply? to the tender, intimate, endearing relations of a pastor with his people—to the pleading of sympathy, interest, and affection, where he is with them continually, meets them each week in the sanctuary, administers to them the bread of life, goes into their abodes when they are afflicted, and attends their kindred to the grave?"

or does it best apply to the union subsisting between the people of an extended *diocese* and a prelate—to the formal, unfrequent, and, in many instances, stately and pompous visitations of a diocesan bishop—to the cold and distant connection between a people scattered into many churches, who are visited at intervals of a year or more by one claiming ‘a superiority in ministerial rights and powers,’ robed in lawn, and with the crosier and mitre, as emblematical of office, state, and power, and one who must be a stranger to the ten thousand ties of endearment, which bind the hearts of a pastor and his people together?’—(P. 126.)

In respect to the claim of the prelate to the exclusive power of administering the rite of confirmation to adults, in preference to the pastor of the congregation, it is observed, that the latter “is to be set aside as disqualified from performing the duty of admitting them to the church, and the work is committed to the hands of a stranger—a prelatical bishop. The man, who was deemed qualified to teach them from childhood, and to guide them, under the Great Shepherd, beside the living waters of salvation, and who is not disqualified to break unto them the bread of life—the man bound to them by the tender ties of the pastoral relations, and by all the associations and intimacies resulting from such a charge, is to be set aside, and to give place—to whom?—to a man, in relation to whom none of those associations exist—a man, whom they may never have seen before, and whom they may never see again—a man with no possible *claim* to take any supervision over them, except the abstract claim of office—and a man who, when the rite is performed, is never to perform towards them any pastoral supervision whatever. POSSIBLY, TOO—FOR SUCH CASES ARE NOT UNCOMMON—HE MAY BE A MAN FAR INFERIOR IN MORAL WORTH, IN SPIRITUALITY OF MIND, IN TALENT, AGE, ELOQUENCE, AND LEARNING, TO THE PASTOR HIMSELF—A MAN OF VITALLY DIFFERENT VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF SPIRITUAL CHRISTIANITY FROM HIM—AND A MAN

WHOSE COMING IS BARELY TOLERATED BY THE PASTOR OF THE CHURCH, AND THAT ONLY IN VIRTUE OF HIS OFFICE."—(P. 168.)

On the subject of the claim, that prelates *only* have the power of administering discipline, "Episcopacy affirms, that the churches are prohibited from exercising it on their own members; that those appointed to preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, and to be pastors of the flocks, and who may therefore be supposed to understand the cases of discipline, and best qualified to administer it, have no right to exercise this act of government over their own members; but that this exclusive prerogative belongs to a stranger and a foreigner, a prelatical bishop, whom the churches seldom see, and who must be in a great degree unacquainted with their peculiar wants and character. All power of discipline in an entire diocese of some hundreds of churches is to be taken away from the churches themselves, and from the pastors, and committed to a solitary independent man, who, from the nature of the circumstances, can have little acquaintance with the case, and possess few of the qualifications requisite for the intelligent performance of this duty. And does the reader ask, What is the authority for this assumption of power? Why are the churches and their pastors disrobed of this office, and reduced to the condition of humble dependents at the feet of the prelate? Let him, in astonishment, learn! It is not because there is any command to this effect in the New Testament—it is not because there is any declaration implying that it *could* be so—it is not by any affirmation that it ever was so;—this is the reason, and this is all: The Apostle Paul, in two cases, and in both instances over the heads of presbyters (and over the head of 'Bishop Timothy' too), delivered men 'to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that they might learn not to blaspheme;' and, THEREFORE, 'Bishop' Onderdonk, and 'Bishop' Doane, and 'Bishop' M'Ilvain *only*, have power to administer discipline in

all the churches in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and in Ohio; and, THEREFORE, all the acts of discipline exercised by Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio, are null and void."—(P. 196.)

The last passage, which I shall cite, presents the following graphic description of the "fruits" resulting to the world and to the church from the introduction and predominance of prelacy. "The world, for ages, has been summoned to submit to various modifications of the episcopal power. The world, with the single exception of the Waldenses and Albigenses, *did* for ages submit to its authority. The prelatical domination rose on the ruins of the liberties of cities, states, and nations, till the power of the whole Christian world was concentrated in the hands of one man—the *servant of the servants of God*!! The exercise of this power in his hands is well known: equally arrogant have been its claims in other modifications. That power was felt in the days when Puritan piety rose to bless mankind, and to advance just notions of civil and religious liberty. Streams of blood have flowed, and tears of anguish have been shed, and thousands of holy men have been doomed to poverty, want, and imprisonment, as the result of those claims to supremacy in the church of God."—(P. 132.)

"The attachment of a soldier to a particular company or squadron, need not diminish his respect for the armies of his country, or extinguish his love of her liberty. His being joined to a company of infantry, need not make him feel, that cavalry is useless, or involve him in a controversy with the artillery. We ask only that Episcopacy should not assume arrogant claims; that she should be willing to take her place among other denominations of Christians, entitled, like them, to all the tender and sympathetic affections of the Christian brotherhood, and willing that they should walk in the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free. We ask, that, while we cheerfully concede this, *she* should

also concede to all those, who 'love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,' the right to be accredited as being true churches of the Lord Jesus, and as having a valid ministry and valid ordinances. We shall have no contest with our Episcopal brethren for loving the church of their choice, and the church in which they seek to prepare themselves for heaven. . . . But the moment they cross this line, the moment they make any advances, which resemble those of the Papacy, the moment they set up claims of being the only 'primitive and apostolic church,' and the moment they speak of the 'invalid ministry,' and the 'invalid ordinances' of other churches, and regard them as 'left to the uncovenanted mercies of God,' THAT MOMENT THE LANGUAGE OF ARGUMENT AND OF CHRISTIAN REBUKE SHOULD BE HEARD FROM EVERY OTHER DENOMINATION. There are minds which can investigate the Bible, as well as the advocates for Episcopacy; there are pens, which can compete with any found in the Episcopal church; and there are men, who will not be slow to rebuke the first appearance of arrogance and of lordly assumption, and who will remind them that the time is gone by, when an appeal to the infallible church will answer in this controversy."— (P. 265.)

According, then, to the rash, unsound, and dogmatical axioms of Presbyterian church polity, my friends, all such men, and such men only, are the acknowledged and accredited representatives of "the twelve," as, after an impartial and solemn investigation of their "doctrine, manner of life, purpose, and faith," on the part of such ordained authorities as were in Christ before them, have been solemnly set apart for the sacred office as being "able to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii. 2). I would even presume to contend, that the *most* genuine successors of Paul or Peter are those devoted servants of the most high God, who, like Schwartz and Carey, or Brainerd and Judson, or Duff and Wingate, have counted all earthly comforts and worldly prospects but as loss, that

they might preach among distant Jews and demoralised Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. Such honoured champions of the cross have been in "deaths oft," and never shrunk from passing "a night and day in the deep, in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils in the city, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, and in the care of all the churches."—(2 Cor. xi. 25–28.) And yet, according to the canons of prelati apostolicity, these are the very unbaptized and unordained lay teachers, who, forsooth, must be shunned and stigmatised as schismatics or heretics; and many a strict high-churchman, when plodding his way homewards from Lablache's benefit, or a white-bait feast at Greenwich, would exclaim, with uplifted hands, in all the ardour of emphatic expostulation, "Come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly be not thou united."—(Gen. xlix. 6.) "From such turn away."—(2 Tim. iii. 5.) "Admit them not into the pulpit, and set not with them on the platform." On the other hand, all the arrogant, persecuting, and voluptuous bishops of Rome—all licentious, intriguing, or infidel cardinals, of whom, indeed, not a few "gave themselves wholly to the ministry" of the sword, and, like Richelieu and Fleury, or Ximenes and Granvelle, were "addicted to the ministry" of the state—all the mitred "jolly fellows" in France, and Spain, and Portugal, "princes of the assembly, who were famous in the congregation, men of renown" (Numb. xvi. 2) at billiards or at basset—all the sovereign bishops and archbishops in Germany, whose beds were of gold and silver, who drank royal wine in abundance" (Esther i. 6), and each of whom, like Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 27–28) "committed shields unto the hands of the chief of the guard, which kept the door of his palace, and when he went into the house of the Lord, the guard bare them, and brought them back into the guard chamber"—and all the worldly-minded and luxurious prelates and pluralists, who, ever

since the Reformation, have, in bygone days, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (though not in Berwick-upon-Tweed), rejoiced in "flattering titles," and lorded it over God's heritage,—all these dignitaries, however hateful may have been their characters, or however heinous may have been their crimes, were the legitimate and indefeasible successors of the holy and humble fishermen who were first commissioned to evangelise the world! Had a summary of their "acts" been epitomised by a sacred historian, the astonished reader might, indeed, have been told, that they were "in deaths oft," from surfeiting and indigestion—that they often devoted "a night and a day to deep potations"—that they were "in junketings" often, in perils from tokay, in perils from truffleepies, in perils from maccaroni, in perils from maraschino, in perils from French cooks, in perils from "jolly" brethren, in perils from lobsters, in perils from lampreys, in perils from schnaps, in perils from *salmi*, in perils from curaçoa, in perils from cherrybrandy," in weariness from hunting the wild boar, in painfulness whilst stalking the deer, in "watchings often" at lansquenets or loo; and, besides this daily and uninterrupted routine of primitive pastimes, and apostolic engrossments, the care of as many gorgeous, amply endowed, and far apart cathedrals, as the venality of corrupt and obsequious chapters enabled them to monopolise and accumulate.

It may be added, that the chief distinction (which scarcely amounts to a difference) between the pompous German prelate, with his triad of independent principalities, and the portly Irish prebendary, with his "not quickly broken threefold cord" of "*fat livings*," was, that the one resembled the huge giant, who, having

"Sat upon a rock, and bobb'd for whale,"

could bolt three or four bulky behemoths at a meal; whilst the other was typified by the shrewd and sharp-sighted angler, of ordinary stature and dimensions, whose

capacious gullet, without any straining, could gulp down an "amalgamated society" of three plump and ponderous grilses at his breakfast.

I believe, my friends, that the pretensions either of Popery or of Prelacy would never have been carried to such extravagant lengths, had they not been fostered by the enormous increase and unequal distribution of that wealth, which has been poured into the lap of the church since she contracted espousals with the state. In fact, the history of every communion, which has entered into this connection, affords many sad and irrefragable proofs, in how many instances freedom and spirituality have been bartered for protection and emolument. The Anglican "establishment," (as we have already seen), in exchange for the "big loaf" of hierarchical splendour, and clerical independence of their flocks in regard to income, has been gagged, during 130 years, by the padlock of royal supremacy; her feet, like Jeremiah's (chap. xx. 2), are "put into the stocks" of civil control, so that she cannot take a single step towards checking heresy, or eliminating error. She is as impotent to open her convocation, as an arena for the display of episcopal humility and clerical subordination, without a royal license, as are the managers of the theatres to act "Much ado about Nothing," or any other "histrionic" performance, at Covent Garden, or at Sadler's Wells. Of her "mute inglorious" representatives she is, no doubt, annually in travail; and the pious bishop implores, with much emphasis, not in Greek or Hebrew, but in Latin, the guidance of the Holy Spirit upon deliberations, which are never destined to begin, and which, if once fairly commenced, would not very easily, or very harmoniously, be brought to a close. I have sometimes thought that an appropriate exordium, at each solemn and ceremonious inauguration, would be to reverse a time-honoured "wise saw," and say,

"Happy to part—and, if we must meet, happy to part again."

For, alas! after the regular pangs of gestation, the children are all "still-born;" and it would not, I think, be an unfair question, after 130 years of annual miscarriages, to ask (especially as they are, in general, "very dry"), "CAN these bones live?"—(Ezek. xxxvii. 3.) Alas! they must hear the word, not of the Lord, but of the Queen. Her Majesty must "put breath into them," and then they will "stand up upon their feet, an exceeding great army;" but, instead of uniting in a common effort against the Popish "evil occurrent," "they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour" (Isa. xix. 2); bishop against bishop, dean against dean, diocese against diocese. In one cathedral, a lawn-clad successor of Paul anathematises the Calvinistic doctrines of Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, and Abbot, as immoral and absurd; whilst the palace is at no great distance, in which a right reverend brother may haply denounce and repudiate Arminian heterodoxy (professed by a majority of his mitred coadjutors), in the presence of the assembled candidates for holy orders; and widely as these right reverend fathers in God differ from each other, their metropolitan exercises no jurisdiction over either, and welcomes both with equal blandness. On both sides of the Tweed, each established clergyman preaches what he pleases; and neither bishop, in the one case, nor presbytery in the other, would attend to the complaints of a reclaiming congregation. I remember, many years ago, remarking, at the corner of Spring Gardens, two pastrycooks' shops in immediate juxtaposition. It appeared to me, at the moment, that this was a most fortunate coincidence; that the parties had, very probably, served their apprenticeship together, and would harmoniously play into each other's hands; that, if Mrs Farrance's "establishment" ran short of custards, or cranberry tarts, or Mrs Monnet's stock of jellies or giblet soup should be exhausted, or either of them should wish to take a holiday, it may be, at Bagnigge Wells

or the Toy at Hampton Court, the one would, with neighbourly kindness and courtesy, occupy the place, or supply the wants, of the other. But, alas! this pleasing vision was soon dispelled, when I drew a little nearer, and perceived, in large letters upon the windows of both shops, "*No connection with next door!*" And how often may a similar want of confidence and co-operation be met with in contiguous rectories or manses! The reverend divines may have been educated at the same college, and have, of course, both subscribed the same articles; but neither, alas! would "covet his neighbour's" sermon, or admit him into his pulpit: each would, in England, rather send forty miles for a "safe and like-minded" incumbent to take his place during a temporary absence at the spring assizes, or a journey to Pau or the Pyramids, than accept the services of a next-door "brother" who is too evangelical in the one case, or too high-church in the other. If the fabric, in which Mr Bennet officiates, were under repair, he would no more dream of advising his hearers to attend Dr Hawker's sermons (if that reverend Calvinist ministered in the nearest church), than Mrs Monnet would have advised her customers to feast upon Mrs Farrance's sillabubs or sausages. The salaries of both are also precisely the same, whether they fill the churches by their zeal, or empty them by their sloth; whether they while away their week-day hours in devouring novels and newspapers, or devote them to the instruction of their flocks; whether the sick are frequently, or rarely, or never, the objects of their solicitude. In all ecclesiastical establishments, there is little or no discipline; and the minister, however neglectful of his duties, can, with impunity, laugh his parishioners to scorn. Their case is like that of two noblemen, who thought they should infallibly ensure to themselves a set of faithful, zealous, and efficient servants, by settling upon them large wages for life, of which they should only be deprived by a jury of their own number, and which should be aug-

mented at the discretion of judges, who bore no share of any exorbitant and uncalled-for augmentation, and never, in awarding it, took into account the degree of fidelity and exactness, with which these privileged and well-fed liferenters discharged their duties; the consequence of which was, that the misguided and imprudent "centurions," whose servants had been very assiduous and respectful, whilst the amount and continuance of their salaries were under their own control, soon found, that their valets rarely, if ever, brushed their coats, but (in the one case) transferred that duty to a deputy, to whom, out of his high wages, he awarded two shillings per week; the gardeners often absented themselves without leave, and allowed the grounds to be choked with weeds; the butler, who was invested with the power of the keys, acted consistently upon the principle, that it was his primary duty, and should be his chief employment, to help himself liberally to the choicest wine and the strongest ale; whilst the cook took every day less pains in regard to dressing the dinner. In vain did his master complain, that the soup was singed, the fish under-done, and the beef roasted to rags. Our culinary Gallio cared for none of these things, and contented himself with handing over to his master a stamped receipt for the last half-year's wages, without condescending to notice his complaints,—quite certain that, if called to account before a quorum of his fellow-servants, he would be honourably acquitted; and if he appealed to the "delegates of Cæsar" for an increase of his income, the manner in which he discharged his functions would not be so much as named or noticed, when the case came to be decided.

I am very far from maintaining, that, even in a princely establishment, where the wages were settled on all its members for life, subject to periodical augmentations, without any reference to the amount of duty, or the manner in which it was performed, and where the master might be braved and bearded with impunity,

and without any possibility of obtaining redress, many faithful and conscientious aspirants might not seek admission into such a household, and, in despite of all the inducements to be slothful, dishonest, or insolent, might abstain from purloining or answering again, and show all good fidelity. But it surely must be obvious, that every pert, conceited, and slothful varlet would rather seek to enter such a service, than accept a corresponding place in a family where his wages were commensurate with his work, and his mistress could discharge him for misconduct. The same rule applies to the Christian ministry. There can be no doubt, that there will be found amongst the candidates for holy orders in established churches, many exemplary, zealous, and devoted men of God; but it is not less obvious, that selfish, worldly-minded, and apathetic mediocrity will invariably seek shelter within its pale, where the emoluments are certain, the discipline lax, the responsibility to congregations a nullity, the goodwill of a minister of state, a titled patron, or a lady of the bedchamber, at least as sure a passport to preferment, as unprotected talent and piety, rather than betake itself to a non-endowed church, where the congregations, on whom the minister depends for his support, will not hearken to the voice of charmers, "charming never so wisely," in regard to the choice of their spiritual guide, nor continue to pay his salary, or attend his ministrations, if he falls from his first love, and forgets his first works, as has been so frequently the case in every established church, whether Popish or Protestant, from the time of Constantine until the present time.

If two theatres were open on the same days, and at the same hour, and that tickets of admission must be paid for at the one, whilst all comers were, without money and without price, made welcome to enter the other, it is obvious, that, even if the performers at the latter were greatly inferior in point of merit, and the dramas dull and ill-selected, all the "lewd fellows of the

baser sort," who had wasted their substance in tippling or in tobacco, would repair to the place where they had nothing to pay; and if the actors were wholly independent of their audience, and received a large salary, the amount of which in no degree depended either upon their industry or their popularity, it would be a matter of indifference to them whether their hearers were few or many, or whether they were pleased or dissatisfied, and they would therefore become careless and slovenly in the discharge of their "professional" avocations. A manager, when his income and that of the performers is derived from a public fund, may,

"After a well graced actor leaves the stage,"

fill his place by engaging a second-rate strolling player; and will not "suffer loss" even if the whole audience should concur in

"Thinking his prattle to be tedious;"

and a patron may also, with equal impunity, inflict a stupid brother, or a selfish hireling, upon a congregation, which, by the demise of his beloved predecessor, has seen the desire of their eyes taken from them at a stroke; for as I once heard my celebrated kinsman, the late Earl Dudley, remark at his worthy father's table, "Men act very differently with respect to the health of their bodies and the welfare of their souls. No invalid, in a case of dangerous sickness, will employ an unskilful doctor, because he is his cousin or his friend; but the very same individual will intrust the charge of his own soul, and those of thousands besides, to a clergyman devoid of talents or piety, if possessed of his own friendship, or recommended by powerful influence." There is precisely the same difference between a state-paid and a congregation-paid place of worship, as between two theatres, one of which is free to all comers, whilst admission must be paid for at the other. Although it is no doubt true, that many pious, intelligent, and respectable persons will be regular attenders at the "*established*" church,

it is also obvious, that all the idle, all the dissolute, all the profane and hypocritical mockers at feasts, who may think it decent to make their appearance occasionally at a *church*, will go by preference where they go for nothing; whilst no one will repair to a "dissenting" meeting-house (where he must assist in supporting the minister, and keeping up the fabric), if the preacher be dull and diffuse in his style, and heterodox in his doctrine, or supercilious and worldly-minded in his demeanour and conversation. But in ecclesiastical "establishments" it is not so. A congregation often pays very dearly (so far as the salvation of their souls and the spirituality of their families are concerned) for the gratuitous ministrations of its proud and pampered incumbent, who may preach what he pleases, and live as he pleases; so that if a hearer, whose conscience is wounded by the defectiveness or latitudinarianism of his doctrine, presumes to address to his superiors the language of respectful expostulation, they may reply with a contemptuous frown, "What is that to us? see thou to that." There can be no doubt, in the mind of any dispassionate inquirer, that the prevalence of dissent, both in England and in Scotland, has been mainly owing to a criminal deviation from the very standards which they had solemnly subscribed, on the part of careless and unsanctified hirelings, whom the certainty of a family living, or the prospect of powerful patronage, have induced to become candidates for holy orders; nor were the same influences less instrumental, during earlier periods of the church's history, in facilitating the irruptions of Popish error, as well as secularity and profaneness, into every portion of the gospel vineyard. I do not believe, that in any country, in which there is an established church, whose formularies are based on true Reformation principles, the origin of dissenting congregations can be ascribed to the strict and faithful preaching, on the part of the clergy, of its peculiar and fundamental doctrines.

I do not, of course, deny that, "according to the Scriptures," the churches were "established" (Acts xvi. 5) even in apostolic times; but then it was not in tithes and fines and moduses, in palaces and rectories and manses, bestowed with indiscriminating impartiality upon the learned or the ignorant, the pious or the careless, but "in the faith;" and the consequence was, that they "increased in number daily."

I am convinced, by experience and observation, that no solecism in ecclesiastical arrangements is so injurious to the cause of divine truth, as when, in any district, whether Popish or Protestant, a large proportion of the inhabitants (especially if most distinguished by their zeal and piety) contribute, with much self-sacrifice and self-denial, even far beyond their ability, to erect a church and dwelling-house for a devoted pastor, who is "the man of their counsel," and the venerated "guide of their youth," and at the same time see in the midst of them a stranger, with whom they have no sympathy, and in whom they have no confidence, obtruded by a chancellor, a chapter, a prelate, or a patron, into a parish which he has never seen, vainly puffed up in his fleshly mind, enjoying every day a feast of fat things in a mansion far more elegant and commodious, than that of their own pious and popular minister, reciting every Lord's day one or two meagre discourses to a scanty congregation, in a spacious place of worship, where the hearers are "few and far between," and yet enforcing the payment of his tithes with as much rigour, or insisting as peremptorily and as successfully upon an increase of income, as if all the souls in the parish were the objects of his daily solicitude. They cannot but be scandalised, when, in order that he may manufacture half-a-dozen bricks in the course of the year, an hundred loads of straw are gratuitously carted to his door. If nine-tenths of the inhabitants abhor or abandon his ministrations, there is no falling off in his dues, or in his demands; so that 1000—900=1000, is a state-

church equation, which might indeed have puzzled Cocker or Bonnycastle, but passes current in every court of law, and is recognised as gospel by every prelate and every presbytery.

Herodotus tells us (lib. iii. sect. 99), of two Indian nations, one of which subsisted entirely on flesh, whilst the other ate nothing but herbs. The former might probably think, that their misguided neighbours had adopted an unwholesome and inadequate system of diet. It might be both wise and benevolent on their part to despatch, at their own charges, a few zealous *creophagist* missionaries, to indoctrinate these poor vegetarians in the mysteries of dressing and eating meat; and this plan would probably excite less jealousy and alarm, and be more likely to answer, than if they "established" a butcher's shop in every parish, who received large salaries, either from the public purse, or (still worse) from the herb-consuming population (amongst whom there were only a few isolated and "dissenting" beef-eaters to be met with here and there), whether their viands were or were not disposed of and consumed. Let us again suppose, that, in this flesh-devouring land itself, there was a similar well-paid "stall" to supply every district with beef and mutton, but that these privileged dealers in meat lost the confidence of most of the inhabitants, who alleged, that they had greatly degenerated from the honest habits of their predecessors, and, instead of selecting (as formerly) the choicest sheep and fattest cattle, imposed upon their customers the carcasses of kine, "poor, and very ill-favoured, and lean-fleshed, such as had never been seen in all the land for badness" (Gen. xli. 19), so that when the consumers "had eaten them up, it could not be known that they *had* eaten them up;" on which account, in almost every town and hamlet, the people had ceased to deal with the government guildry, and set up for themselves purveyors of their own. It would scarcely have been deemed judicious (and still less essential) on the part of the civil

authorities to keep up the same staff of "official fleshers," either in urban or rural districts, where, however regularly the licensed shops might be open, and however gratuitously tendered the accumulated legs of mutton, fillets of veal, and barons of beef, the most respectable cooks and thriftiest housewives passed by on the other side, and preferred supplying themselves and families at their own expense, with what they considered to be wholesomer and better-flavoured food.

It is obvious that, in districts where there are many respectable Quaker families, who kill their own mutton, and scores of fastidious and self-willed epicures, who have induced experienced butchers and poulterers to settle amongst them, by signing a round robin, and pledging themselves to "exclusive dealing," the privileged traders, although they might retain certain few and far between customers, would prudently shut up shop, and leave off business, or establish themselves elsewhere, or soon find their way into the gazette, were it not for the "retaining fee" of a public salary, which each enjoys irrespective of his honesty or his usefulness. In vain would one announce to the public, on a flaming sign, in gilt letters, that *his* shop was under the immediate "patronage" of her Majesty; another, that he had been regularly installed by license from the Lord Chancellor; and a third, that his pork and poultry were supplied by his Grace the Duke of Richmond from Goodwood Park and Gordon Castle. Whatsoever meat was sold in the royal or aristocratic "shambles," however savoury, would be rejected, even when offered at the tempting prime cost of gratuitous distribution.

It is, I think, very difficult to determine, whether this principle of apostolic succession, in virtue of which it is contended, that, by the imposition of prelatie hands, and through this channel only, the grace and unction are imparted to every candidate for the ministry, without which he can neither legitimately nor usefully discharge his sacred functions, savours most of dogmatic arrogance

or of preposterous absurdity. The only parallel case with which I am acquainted, is that which occurred at Constantinople, in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, when a mortal rivalry, in reference to the horses of the Hippodrome, subsisted between two factions, the greens and the blues. The former plumed themselves upon the allegation, that all their horses were lineally descended from Bucephalus, the celebrated steed of Alexander the Great, and they contended, that no courser could possess either strength or agility, which could not make out his title to this illustrious and enviable pedigree, or even had any right to obtain admission into the race-course. All the descendants of this far-famed progenitor, even when spavined, lame, or broken-winded, were regarded by the *clique*, to which they belonged, as far superior in beauty, health, and fleetness, to such horses in the rival stud as were allowed, on all hands, to be pre-eminent in point both of symmetry and of swiftness; and if the latter left their competitors, in spite of their endless genealogies, far behind in the career of emulation, the *Bucephalites* were filled with indignation, and asserted, that no horses but their own were entitled to have part or lot in the burden and heat of the day, or in the feats and honours of the field.

How strong and striking the arguments are against the possibility of demonstrating a direct and unbroken line of succession from Peter, Thomas, or Simon the Canaanite, to the bishops of Grenoble, Edinburgh, Oporto, or Sodor and Man, may be sufficiently demonstrated by the two following extracts,—the first from the most distinguished of living historians, the second from the most acute and sagacious controversialist of a former age :—

“Whether [a bishop] be really a successor of the apostles depends on an immense number of contingencies, such as these,—whether, under King Ethelwolf, a stupid priest might not, while baptizing several scores of Danish prisoners, who had just made their option be-

tween the font and the gallows, inadvertently omit to perform the rite on one of these graceless impostors; whether, in the seventh century, an impostor, who has never received consecration, might not have passed himself off as a bishop on a rude tribe of Scots; whether a lad of twelve did really, by a ceremony huddled over when he was too drunk to know what he was about, convey the episcopal character to a lad of ten.”—(*Macaulay.*) “That of 10,000 probables, no one should be false; that of 10,000 requisites, whereof any may fail, not one should be wanting, this to me is extremely improbable, and even cousin-german to impossible. So that the assurance hereof is like a machine composed of an innumerable multitude of pieces, of which it is strangely unlikely but some will be out of order, and yet if any one be so, the whole fabric falls of necessity to the ground; and he that shall put them together, and maturely consider all the possible ways of lapsing and nullifying a priesthood in the Church of Rome, will be very inclinable to think, that it is 100 to 1 that, among 100 seeming priests, there is not 1 true; nay, that it is not a thing very improbable, that amongst those many millions which make up the Romish hierarchy, there are not 20 true.”—(*Chillingworth.*)

It is, my friends, a startling and melancholy fact, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to point out at this moment, any established church, of which an earnest, zealous, and soberminded believer can admire the condition, or pray for the stability. My much respected friend, the Bishop of Exeter, has expressly admitted, or rather declared, that although he and his clergy “believe that a national church is in full accordance with the gracious will of God, carrying out, under his direction, his great views, yet still it is not appointed to us in Scripture. I look upon that as a human institution, as upon our diocesan church as a divine institution.” I as heartily assent to the former proposition as I humbly dissent from the latter. The nearest approxi-

mation that I can find in Scripture to any thing in the shape of what my right reverend friend describes as "a COMPLETE church, and, in some respects, more to be recognised as such than a national church, because we all KNOW that a diocesan church is the appointment of God himself," is to be met with in Acts xx. 17, where Paul "sent and called the presbyters of the church." The right reverend father in God exercised on this occasion, I presume, the same authority, on which the Bishop of Exeter himself acted, when he lately convened his clergy; Miletus being, of course, the residence of the chief pastor in the one case, and Exeter in the other. The only consideration, which weakens the force of this precedent is, that these presbyters are all denominated "bishops" (without any specification of their respective dioceses), and it is probable, that "translations" to a "more enlarged sphere of usefulness" may receive some sanction from apostolic example; for, as Paul assures his chapter and clergy (ver. 25), that "they shall see his face no more," he had perhaps received an appointment to a primacy or patriarchate. It does, however, appear to me as if the bishop's theory that "every diocese constitutes a church," destroys every vestige of Christian unity, and favours the introduction and triumph of schism and heresy. I can understand the Romish system perfectly well, and can see many advantages connected with it, inasmuch as it presents to us a centre of unity, and court of appeal, through which all the subordinate branches cohere harmoniously together. But the Anglican Episcopacy is now in a state of isolation, and has ceased to "hold the head," whose whole body is "fitly joined and compacted together;" and thus (so far as I can judge) the Roman pontiff is quite justified, on what are called church principles, in excommunicating the rebellious prelates who forsook the "centre of unity," and regarding them as so many withered branches which have separated themselves from "the true vine." Our own course, my dear friends,

as Presbyterians, is intelligible and consistent, inasmuch as we abjure Prelacy as heartily as Popery. But I must own that, if I were led to adopt Puseyite, or even high-church principles, I should never think of halting there, but should follow out these views to their legitimate conclusion; and, instead of connecting myself with a mere national church, with its handful of bishops, each independent of the rest, and entitled to "give his little senate laws," should prefer the monarchical rule of Popery to the anarchical system of the Anglican Church, where "every prelate does that which is right in his own eyes," and where one bishop would reject a candidate on the very grounds which would be sufficient, and, at the same time, indispensable, for obtaining ordination from his nearest colleague in the chief-pastorate.

The experience of past ages seems to justify the assertion, that, wherever an ecclesiastical body has accepted patronage and emoluments from the state, it may, indeed, derive sundry temporal, and, perhaps, some spiritual advantages from thus becoming a privileged "human institution;" but these benefits are in some degree neutralised and counterbalanced by the gradual declension, which seldom fails to supervene, in regard to purity of doctrine and strictness of discipline; and I may add, that the most eminent rulers, and most zealous partisans, of the "establishment," have too frequently proved the most unscrupulous advocates of every abuse, the most violent opposers of every reform, and the most relentless and implacable persecutors of every honest and intrepid champion, who has ventured to embark in the ungracious task of denouncing what is erroneous, and removing what is indefensible. Our Lord himself, and his apostles, experienced in no quarter such determined hatred and hostility, as on the part of chief-priests, Scribes, and Pharisees, of the "Jewish establishment," who had to so fearful an extent made void the law of God by their traditions. Every attempt to meliorate the condition of the Church of Rome, from

the age of Constantine to that of Charles V., was crushed by the popes and their hierarchical coadjutors and satellites, through the medium of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments, confiscations and death. When that munificent and devoted champion of evangelical religion, Robert Haldane, first visited the continent in 1816, he found the "Genevese establishment" so entirely estranged from the faith of Calvin, the illustrious founder of their church, that any modification of Christianity might have been preached with greater impunity and acceptance, than that which was embodied in their own creeds and formularies. It was through his persevering and enlightened instrumentality that the embers of the almost extinguished fire of divine truth were rekindled; but, instead of being seconded by the state-salaried pastors and professors, they made every possible effort to obstruct his progress, and expelled from their communion all who were led to preach the doctrines, which they themselves had solemnly engaged to countenance and to promulgate. Even in Denmark, the Popish spirit of state-church intolerance has been lately displayed in a very remarkable and most reprehensible degree.

"*The Moravians in Greenland.*—The missionaries of the Moravians, or United Brethren, are subjected to many grievous and harassing restrictions through the intolerance of the Danish government. The following is one of the most recent and striking instances of this:—'They have been debarred from receiving into their communion any additional converts from heathenism in those districts where there is a clergyman or missionary of the Danish church,' and have been ordered to 'direct all such heathen Greenlanders as may come to them with that desire to betake themselves to the Danish mission.' What renders this mandate all the more lamentable is, that Greenland is made the receptacle of those ministers, whose character and qualifications are so low, that they cannot be allowed to remain in Den-

mark. It may excite surprise, that these men should feel any desire for the conversion of the heathen. Nor do they. But it is said that, after serving in Greenland for a certain term of years, and producing a certain number of names in his adult baptism list, the Danish missionary may claim, not only a recall from his exile, but also a respectable *living* in his native land."

The standard of ecclesiastical reform has, however, been vigorously unfurled in Sweden and Denmark, amidst the wonted amount of inveterate hostility on the part of "those in authority." "On the 20th July, at Helsinborg, on the Swedish coast, a conference of the clergy and laity was held," and it is remarked, that "the event itself is a sign. It could not have happened five years ago. Now it is only the prelude to still greater events. . . . The foolish government functionaries were dreadfully alarmed. They thought some disturbance would break out. *The bishop of the diocese actually sent a spy to watch what took place. But of course people only laughed at all this, and went on as if nothing had happened.* . . . The old Cæsaro-Papistical leaven is still so strong, even in the minds of those who are most active for change, that they creep very slowly towards their mark."—(*Free Church Magazine for September.*) The most brotherly feelings were expressed towards other Protestant churches, and the position and doings of the Free Church seem to have been regarded with affection.

That a great and growing decay and declension pervaded the Dutch "establishment" is equally apparent, from the recent letters of Dr Capadose of Amsterdam. "In Holland, too," says that pious and intelligent minister, "a mighty revival, in regard to the knowledge of the truth, and the life of faith, was highly desirable, amidst the sad effects of the semi-rationalist or accommodating theology of so many ministers and professors in the reformed and other churches. . . . Our true Protestant faith in Holland has to oppose infidelity in

the numerous forms wherein it multiplies itself in our days on many sides. We have particularly to struggle with that enemy on the field of theology, *as taught in our universities.*"

In regard to France, also, we read of the *complete erastianism of the established, state-paid, reformed churches*—a recent law, of March 26, having swept away the last vestiges of the Presbyterian form of these churches, and placed them in the hands of a *central committee of fifteen members, in Paris, all named arbitrarily by government—and all this without the least interference of the churches themselves.*—(*Free Church Record.*)

I pass over many other instances, which might be adduced, in confirmation of the proposition which we are now considering, and shall content myself with reminding you of the state of heterodoxy and ungodliness, which had, by degrees, been stealthily undermining sound doctrine, in both of our own established churches, until each, before the middle of last century, had almost reached the *nadir* of heterodoxy and worldly-mindedness. In respect to the clergy of the Scottish establishment, the late excellent Dr Hamilton of Strathblane (quoted by Haldane, p. 128) informs us, that "many of them were genuine Socinians. Many of them were ignorant of theology as a system, and utterly careless about the merits of any creed or confession. They seemed miserable in the discharge of every ministerial duty. They eagerly seized on the services of any stray preacher, who came within their reach. When they preached, their sermons generally turned on honesty, good neighbourhood, and kindness. To deliver a gospel sermon, or preach to the hearts and consciences of dying sinners, was as completely beyond their power as to speak in the language of angels. And, while their discourses were destitute of every thing which a dying sinner needs, they were, at the same time, the most feeble, empty, and insipid things, that ever disgraced

the venerated name of sermons. The coldness and indifference of the minister, while they proclaimed his own aversion to his employment, were seldom lost on the people. The congregations rarely amounted to a tenth of the parishioners, and the one-half of this small number were generally, during the half hour's soporific harangue, fast asleep. They were free from hypocrisy. They had no more religion in private than in public. They were loud and obstreperous in declaiming against enthusiasm and fanaticism, faith and religious zeal. Their family worship was often confined to the Sabbath, or, if observed during the week, rarely extended to more than a prayer of five or three minutes. But, though frightfully impatient of every thing which bore the semblance of seriousness and sober reflections, the elevation of brow, the expansion of feature, the glistening of the eye, the fluency and warmth of speech at convivial parties, showed that their heart and soul were there, and that the pleasures of the table, and the hilarity of the light-hearted and gay, constituted their paradise, and furnished them with the perfections of their joy." Such was what my revered friend, Principal Cunningham, has justly described as "one of the most deplorable periods of the church's history;" when David Hume said, that the Scottish Church was more favourable to Deism, than any other religion; and when the leaven of impiety and intolerance had so completely leavened the whole lump, that, during the progress of Mr James Haldane and his apostolic associates throughout Scotland, about the close of last century, they rarely met with a faithful preacher, or with a congregation not sunk in ignorance or indifference. Never did the leading men in any establishment more zealously set their faces against the revival of sound doctrine—never was more deadly hostility to the heralds of evangelical truth more universally displayed throughout any nominally Christian land. The Erskines, Gillespies, and other witnesses for Christ's cause and crown, of

whom such a church was unworthy, had already been extruded from her pale ; and during a dark and dreary period, the " true light " chiefly shone in the Secession congregations, which were unconnected with the state ; and it was by the enlightened and unceasing efforts of that great and good man, James Haldane, whose work of faith and labour of love extended from Shetland throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, that the trumpet of evangelical doctrine once more gave a loud and not uncertain sound, when state-fostered stipendiaries were proclaiming Arminian and Pelagian heresies from their pulpits, screening in church courts from punishment the avowed deniers of our Lord's divinity, and reserving their hostility for foreign missions and Sabbath-schools.

It seems obvious, that, in the case of the Free Church, or any other " dissenting " and unendowed communion, no young man will enter their seminaries, or go through a long and laborious initiation into their peculiar system of theology, unless he really believes, and intends really to inculcate, the doctrines which the members of that denomination expect, and are accustomed to hear. He must be fully aware, that if, after he obtained a cure of souls, he were to preach " another gospel," should he not leave his congregation, his congregation would abandon him. Any student, on the other hand, who qualifies himself, either at Oxford or Aberdeen, to become a licentiate of the Established Church, and learns its dogmas by rote (whether he himself fully credits them or not), may encourage himself in his lord the patron. If he can make shift to pass through the indulgent ordeal of Prelatic or Presbyterian scrutiny, the parishioners, in the event of any vacancy, need neither be consulted nor consenting parties ; and if his uncle has been a wise and faithful steward, or his father and brother have given useful votes at an election, he knows that, by calling at the baronial castle, he may " hear something much to his advantage," though not per-

equally so to that of the congregation. It thus appears as if, in many instances, the stipend of the shepherd is deemed far more important than the safety of the sheep—who would be glad to dispense with having any pastor, rather than be handed over to a careless hireling, or blind guide, who, whilst straining at a gnat of additional duty, would swallow a whole camel of additional emolument, and, as they think, land them in a ditch. Although, by calling in the aid of the constituted authorities, he may be provided with a manse or a rectory, furnished with such a capacious “upper room” as might afford ample space to accommodate his hearers of every age and degree, he never would be able, by taking thought, to add one cubit to the stature of his congregation. I have thought it necessary to touch on the subject of patronage, when addressing my Presbyterian countrymen, because our most pious and high-minded ancestors have, in all ages, abhorred that unscriptural innovation, and traced it to the “Paip’s Kirk,” the true source of all the evils which have disturbed the peace and disfigured the purity of the Christian church.

With respect to the actual condition of the Established Church in Scotland, I published six letters a few years ago, in which I endeavoured faithfully to portray its decayed and dilapidated condition. Many of you, my friends, are aware, with what rancorous virulence I was on that account vituperated and assailed. My crime, however, consisted, not in having uttered unsupported falsehoods, but in having promulgated unpalatable truths. It is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction that I now lay before you, in corroboration of my rather calumniated than controverted statements, the following extract from a communication addressed to me by the most enlightened, eloquent, and devoted “successor of the apostles” in our land and in our generation:—

“The present wrecked and shattered state of the establishment in these northern regions has been forced

upon me by obtrusive memorials in all directions. No previous description—not even the vivid portraiture of your own inimitable letters on the subject—had brought home to my mind a sufficiently realising view of the stern and naked realities of the case. So far from having, by one jot or tittle, exaggerated the amount of desertion and helplessness, on the part of the establishment, I am now prepared to say, that the bare scarped reality of the thing exceeds the dreariness of your representations of it. In what you have done, the cause of truth has been mightily subverted. What a desolation, and sheer, utter, desert sterility in Sutherland and Caithness generally! in Skye and the outer Hebrides! Really, to feel the thing, one must visit these regions, and see with one's own eyes. In Lewis, I saw one of the churches (a Parliamentary one), which greatly flourished up to the Disruption, not only abandoned, but dozens of panes broken in the windows, the doors fallen off the hinges, portions of the roof gone, &c.—while already the unoccupied manse was fast assuming the dilapidated form of a recent ruin. Through all the islands, all the Established churches (though, unlike this one, still kept in repair) might as well be left to totter into rubbish. On these islands, almost all the people are with us decidedly, yea, with a peculiarity of devotedness, scarcely to be met with on the mainland. Having just now returned from visiting Lewis, Harris, North and South Uist, Benbecula, and the Barras and Skye, my heart is full of the appalling realities.”

The condition of the Church of England during the last century was equally awful and lamentable. Very few bishops, priests, deacons, or congregations, evinced any regard for evangelical truth; Arminianism of the lowest kind prevailed in almost every quarter. At length, the standard of sound doctrine was raised by that illustrious man, George Whitefield, who was indeed a genuine successor of the apostles,

and by a few intrepid and devoted fellow-labourers, of whom the church, as well as the world, was unworthy. "In the compass of a single week, and that for years, he spoke in general forty hours, and in very many sixty, and that to thousands; and after his labours, instead of taking any rest, he was engaged in offering up prayers and intercessions, with hymns and spiritual songs, as his manner was, in every house to which he was invited. He possessed the power of fascinating the attention of hearers of every rank of life, and of every variety of understanding. Not only were the loom, the forge, the plough, the collieries, and the workshops deserted at his approach, but the spell was acknowledged by Hume and Franklin, by Pulteney, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, by maids of honour, and lords of the bedchamber. Such, indeed, was its force, that, when the scandal could be concealed behind a well-adjusted curtain, even mitred 'auditors' would nod the head."—(*Stephen*, ii. 74, 75.) And yet, my friends, this is the very man, whose unwearied labours of love were, in every possible way, denounced, derided, and discountenanced by the dignitaries of the church. On this occasion, I believe, that, for once, the bench was unanimous—they seemed to "doubt whereunto it would grow." He was rudely assailed by Warburton, as well as by the Bishops of London, Lichfield, and Exeter, although he confirmed every tenet which he taught, not only by triumphant references to Scripture, but by ample and unequivocal citations from the liturgy and articles of the church. In illustration of the enmity cherished not only against this holy and indefatigable servant of Christ, but against the great and fundamental doctrines which he strove to resuscitate, I quote a passage from his letters (ii. 277), in which he expresses himself as follows:—"Alas! to what a heaven are they strangers, who deny the influence of the blessed Spirit, and cry down the felt and abiding joys of the Holy Ghost as fancy, enthusiasm, and delusion! Ye

poor, dry rationalists! I honour your parts in other respects, but pity your ignorance in the things of God. By this time I suppose your ladyship has seen the Bishop [of Exeter's] second performance; I think it an original, and so very scurrilous, unchristian, and profane, that I cannot think it will be worth my while to answer him again. O honoured madam, what a happy thing it is to be despised for the sake of Jesus! When John Huss was burnt, the Bishop of Constance painted devils upon paper and put them round his head—how soon were they exchanged for a crown of glory!”

It has often, and with too much justice, been remarked, that the divisions, dissensions, and “strifes of words,” which have in every age distracted the professing Christian community, have proved a very serious impediment to the progress of the Christian faith. But it seems to me, that this “rock of offence” assumes a far more serious and hurtful character, when unseemly disputations and angry logomachies take place amongst the ministers and members of the same church, who have subscribed with equal solemnity, and invoked with equal confidence, in favour of their respective and entirely antagonistic opinions, the very same creeds and formularies. I believe, that this painful spectacle has nowhere been ever exhibited to such an extent as in the Church of England. Dr Pusey, Dr Arnold, and Mr Simeon, Rowland Hill, Mr Froude, and Bishop Hampden, all claim the articles and liturgy as their warrant for the views which, in diametrical opposition to each other, they have severally adopted and proclaimed. If you peruse the history of any particular see (for instance, that of Canterbury), you will find Calvinism enthroned at one time, and Arminianism or Pelagianism at another. A reverend prebendary and pluralist, in 1744, charged Whitefield with “having revived the old Calvinistical disputes concerning predestination, and which had happily slept for so many years.”

To which he (who professed to be guided by the same standards which his antagonist acknowledged) replies, "If this be my shame, I glory in it. For what is this but reviving the essential articles of the Church of England, which *undoubtedly* are Calvinistical, and which, by your own confession, have happily slept for so many years? This is too true. But however you may count this a happiness, yet, in my opinion, it is one of the greatest judgments that has befallen our nation."—(iv. 115.) Gibson, Bishop of London, one of the bishops who compassed the champion of Calvinism about like bees, exhorted his clergy "so to explain the doctrine of justification by faith alone, as not to exclude good works from being a condition of our justification." "Free justification," on the other hand, says Mr Eaton of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1642, as quoted by Whitefield, "was first enjoined to be diligently taught for the reformation of the church by King Henry VIII., but was by King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth principally established by parliament, and singled out from all the rest of the established articles of religion, and reduced into sermons and homilies, to be (after the people's sight of their lost estate and woful misery by sin) principally taught and chiefly known and understood by all the subjects and commons of the land," &c.; and yet, says Whitefield, "we are looked upon as erroneous, and are accordingly denied the churches; and what for? Even for preaching up the doctrine of justification by faith alone, for which the glorious martyrs of the Church of England burnt in Smithfield. If this be not like Nero's setting Rome on fire, and then charging it upon the Christians, I know not what it is." "The generality of the present incumbents depart from the good old doctrines that were preached in the more early days of the reformation; and notwithstanding their liberal education, make no other use of their learning but to explain away the articles and homilies, which they have subscribed in the grammatical and literal sense."—(iv. 146.)

At a later period, my friends, we find Bishop Tomline publishing a "Refutation of Calvinism;" and this prelate's writings were recommended, together with Clarke and Grotius, to Bickersteth at his ordination; whilst the latter holy and eminent minister (of whom the mitre was not worthy) declares, that "there are no books, beyond the Book of books, more profitable than Milner's Church History, with Scott's Continuation, Scott's Essays, and Newton's Cardiphonia and Omicron" (ii. 249),—Scott being the very author by whom Bishop Tomline was triumphantly refuted; and John Newton, a writer as little esteemed by prelates and high-churchmen as he is venerated by the friends and preachers of evangelical practice and principles. Whilst Bishops Gibson, Warburton, Lavington, and others, were, if not gnashing their teeth, at least levelling their anathemas at Whitefield for proclaiming, far and wide, the truth as it is in Jesus, "after the way which they called heresy," what say the Homilies?—how readest thou in reference to the matters in controversy between them? "Justification is not the office of man, but of God; for man cannot make himself righteous by his own works, neither in part nor in whole. . . . This doctrine adorneth and setteth forth the glory of Christ, and beateth down the glory of man. *This whosoever denieth, is not to be counted for a Christian man*, nor for a setter forth of Christ's glory, but for an adversary of Christ and his gospel, and for a setter forth of man's vain glory." And yet these prelates arraigned this "mighty and eloquent" man of God for boldly setting forth this very doctrine, and insisting on the necessity of the teaching of the Holy Spirit, although they scrupled not to say at every ordination, "Receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of my hands!"

It is with great concern and deep reluctance that, when investigating more carefully than I had ever done before the abuses and anomalies of Popery, I have found not a few of them (although in a much inferior

degree) engrafted as so many elements into the practice of every denomination connected with the state. It would seem as if a church, as well as an individual believer, is more likely to suffer loss than do good, by joining affinity with the secularities of time, and that the more closely it is linked with the powers that be, the less it has uniformly tasted of the powers of the world to come. One striking point of resemblance between every state church and that of Rome is, that they all are equally inclined to undervalue or ignore the piety, the zeal, and the usefulness of every "dissenting" communion, on the very same principle which prompts the Romanist to ignore or undervalue theirs. The most conscientious members, whether lay or clerical, of an ecclesiastical "establishment" take no interest in the prosperity of any unendowed non-conformist congregation. Is there a bishop in England who, if an extensive parish were inadequately provided with church accommodation, would view without jealousy or dislike the erection of a meeting-house, supposing even that it enjoyed the ministry of a Candlish or a Wardlaw; or who would not think it less "perilous" and more "expedient" that the entire population should attend the preaching of the most careless or incompetent hireling who had received the Holy Ghost by the imposition of episcopal hands, than be edified by the piety and eloquence of such good shepherds as Albert Barnes, Thomas Guthrie, or Lindsay Alexander? With what coldness and distrust do high-churchmen contemplate the efforts of a non-prelatic missionary to reclaim the ignorant, or convert the heathen! We, my friends, who are stigmatised as "dissenters," do rejoice, and will rejoice, in the triumphs effected on behalf of the cross by such intrepid and disinterested episcopal champions as a Nangle or a Martyn; but amid the achievements chronicled by the organs of the established communions, is any mention ever made of the Marshmans or the Brannigans? Would not my invaluable and indefatigable friend, Dr

Duff, require to be rebaptized and reordained, if he became connected with the Anglican communion, just as if, instead of having for years been engaged in preaching Christ crucified, and turning many from idols, he had officiated as a high-priest at Benares, or driven the car of Juggernaut? The admission of a dissenter into the Church of England would be hailed as a more auspicious event, than the conversion, by that very dissenter, of an idolater to the church of Christ. If a dean and a "noble army" of canons and prebendaries intone a few psalms, and recite a few prayers every morning within the spacious precincts of a chilly cathedral, to a thinly-scattered congregation (just as if a field-marshal and twenty brigadiers were kept on full pay, besides large extra allowances, for employing some spare hour each day in reviewing an awkward squad of twenty or thirty raw recruits), they are thought to do better service to God than Rowland Hill, when faithfully and fervently proclaiming, in the open air, to assembled thousands, "all the words of this life." There is even much *quasi*-Popery in our Scottish "kirk." A large falling off in the amount of the Free Church Sustentation Fund would give more satisfaction to many of its ministers and elders, than the withdrawal by the East India Company of the funds set apart for the support of idolatrous worship. The ruinous edifice at Lewes, so graphically described by my revered correspondent, is an emblem of the general condition of the establishment itself in many parts of Scotland; the office-bearers of which would rather see a place of worship shut up or pulled down, than handed over to a faithful preacher of another denomination, whom the people would be willing to hear; and yet the vigour and pertinacity, with which the erection and enlargement of churches is enforced, are as palpable, as ardent, and as insatiable (even where well-paid incumbents who were once "rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds," are now "rulers of fifties, or rulers of

tens" (Exod. xviii. 11), or never exceed units when the muster-roll of their adherents is called over), as the sorrow and dissatisfaction, which the same parties experience and avow, when, in these very districts, the Free Church congregations are enabled, by dint of much personal sacrifice and self-denial, to build plain but commodious places of worship, and enjoy the ministrations of "able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness."

Is there not much that is "Popish" in the display of such monopolising uncharitableness? and are not both the churches, by the present interference of the crown, the legislature, and the courts of law, with their proceedings and immunities, compelled, like the ox, to "know their owner," and reminded that they are nourished at "their master's crib?" We regard our Free Church as an apostolic communion, because it is based and conducted, as to doctrine, discipline, and income, precisely on such principles as the apostles laid down and acted on. One is *our* Master, even Christ; but an establishment is joined in the bonds of a parliamentary wedlock with the state; and whenever she becomes restive or refractory, the law (from which we are emancipated) is open, and there are deputies, who will not fail to "see that she reverence her husband."

But the consideration in reference to the Church of England, which alarms and grieves me most at the present moment, is, that it proves, to so fearful an extent, a half-way house to Popery, and that so many of its distinguished members, both lay and clerical, have become the votaries and worshippers of the Man of Sin. It cannot, I think, be denied by its most devoted sons and warmest admirers, that, even at the Reformation period, as much of the Popish leaven remained unpurged, as could with decency be retained. "From the papal to the royal supremacy, from the legatine to the archiepiscopal power, from the Roman misal to the Anglican liturgy, the transition was easy, and,

in many respects, not very perceptible.”—(*Stephen*, ii. 37.) The retrogressive movement from Prelacy to Popery is, I think, not more difficult, nor (in my judgment) more unnatural. Submission to the male and spiritual head of a church, acknowledged by millions throughout divers nations, in lieu of a supremacy vested in a lay female, and confined to a single realm and its dependencies, does not appear to me either marvellous or irrational. The doctrine of the real presence, as held by the Church of England, is almost, if not altogether, as unintelligible as the tenet of transubstantiation. “After the minister of the holy mysteries has rightly prayed, and blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, in a spiritual, real manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of his passion. The wicked receive not Christ, but the bare symbols only, but yet to their hurt, because the offer of Christ is rejected, and they pollute the blood of the covenant by using it as an unholy thing. The result of which doctrine is this:—It is bread, and it is Christ’s body. It is bread in substance, Christ in the sacrament; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed as the symbols are. Each as they can; Christ as Christ can be given—the bread and wine as they can, and to the same real purpose to which they are designed; and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul as the elements do the body.”—(*Jeremy Taylor*.) What the learned prelate means by a “*sacramental*” sense, is to me quite unintelligible. It seems to resemble the phrase, “a *parliamentary* sense,” which is often used in the House of Commons to explain away some awkward expression, and wholly divest it of signification. I cannot think it extraordinary, that any zealous sticklers for Prelacy, who have been trained up in a hereditary dread of dissenters, and fixed aversion to their services or co-operation, should

be desirous to escape the reproach of being themselves schismatics, by passing over to that compact episcopal phalanx, from whence, within the brief period of little more than three centuries, their ancestors became deserters. I subjoin the following extract, in order to show, that even a most enlightened, accomplished, and honest bishop considers himself bound to decline all Christian fellowship or alliance, in furtherance of Christian objects, with those who do not submit to episcopal government and jurisdiction:—"The sermon for the city mission was undertaken under circumstances which involved some self-denial and moral courage. The society was still in its infancy, and its mixed constitution, with a committee half of churchmen and half of dissenters, exposed it to much odium from high-churchmen, and considerable suspicion and fear from many of the evangelical clergy. It added much to the difficulty of the task, that his diocesan, since the last anniversary, following, no doubt, his own sincere conviction respecting his official duty, had forbidden sermons to be preached for it in any of the parochial churches of his diocese. Mr Bickersteth was fully alive to the weight of these reasons, which might have deterred him from pleading its cause. He had a deep and habitual respect for episcopal authority—not the less sincere and practical, because it was ever made subordinate to the claims of divine truth, and never prompted him to speak of bishops with flattering words, as inspired apostles, with a miraculous halo around their brows."—(*Life*, ii. 163.)

In one very numerous and powerful section of the church, the rituals of medieval superstition, and the ecclesiastical dogmas of Laud, are revived with a zeal, an urgency, and a success, which all, who hold fast the Protestant doctrines and discipline, must contemplate with alarm and anxiety. Hume observes, in describing the state of the Anglican Church in 1630, that "Laud and the other prelates who embraced his measures, were generally well instructed in

sacred antiquity, and had adopted many of those religious ceremonies, which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Christian church, as is well known, was already sunk into those superstitions, which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the Catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Men also were apt to think, that, without some secret purpose, such insignificant observances would not be imposed with such unrelenting zeal on the refractory nation, and that Laud's scheme was to lead back the English, by gradual steps, to the religion of their ancestors. Nor was the resemblance to the Romish ritual any objection, but rather a merit, with Laud and his brethren, *who bore a much greater kindness to the mother church, as they called her, than to the sectaries and presbyterians, and frequently recommended her as a true Christian church*—an appellation which they refused, or at least scrupled, to give to others. So openly were these tenets espoused, that not merely the discontented puritans believed the Church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition."

Had the most eloquent and statesmanlike of living historians undertaken to describe the procedure and motives of the Tractarian party at Oxford in the present era, he could not have employed language more strikingly appropriate. The hopes excited in the minds of the head and hierarchy of the great apostasy in both cases, were manifested, in Laud's time, by the tender of a cardinal's hat to that astute and arbitrary prelate, and, in our own day, by the daring usurpation of the Queen's prerogative, and the parcelling out of England into dioceses, bestowed upon the satellites and nominees of Rome. It is, therefore, my friends, our bounden duty, as Protestants and Presbyterians, to re-

sist, if needs be, even unto the death, every attempt to fasten upon Scotland the galling and ignominious manacles, which fettered, during so many ages, the minds and consciences of our progenitors, and to denounce every attempt, whether secret or open, in other quarters, to abet or pave the way for the success of any such sinister and nefarious conspiracy.

It is a source of deep thankfulness, my dear friends, that, so far as I am informed, not one minister of any Presbyterian denomination has fallen from his steadfastness, and submitted to the antichristian yoke of the Popish priesthood, whilst so many Episcopalian clergymen have been carried away by their dissimulation. We owe this mainly to the courage and wisdom of our ancestors, who not only delivered us from the more palpable superstitions of Popery, but kept clear of surplices and saints' days, of chantings and chapters, and of all those meretricious and arbitrary appliances, by which the truths and usages of primitive Christianity have been diluted and degraded.

And, my friends, you must permit one, who had the honour, in 1838, to preside in Edinburgh at the bicentenary anniversary of our glorious second Reformation, to record his deliberate and daily strengthened conviction, that it is only by a close, and jealous, and watchful adherence to the principles and doctrines of that memorable epoch, that we can maintain the liberties of the Scottish people against the insidious inroads of Popish encroachment, and stand fast in the liberty, with which the great and only Head of the Church made our honest and intrepid predecessors free indeed.

The recent more startling and unequivocal development of the multiform and glaring anomalies and abuses, which mar the beauty and impair the usefulness of all wealthily-endowed and state-coerced "churches" (the predominance of which evils, in a greater or less degree, seems borne out by the invariable experience of past ages), has, no doubt, greatly impaired my confidence

in the soundness of the "Establishment" principle, though I still fondly cling to the pious theory of a national church,

. "Qualem nequeo monstrare, ac sentio tantum,"

such as presented itself to the minds of our wise and virtuous reformers, or as it is delineated in the confession of Knox, or the covenant of Henderson. I am far from acquiescing in the sentiments of many acute and able controversialists, who, as I think, carry to excess their notions of free-trade and non-interference, on the part of the state, in reference to a nation's religion and morality. Even if the element of endowments were wholly annihilated, there remains a wide and important field, including, for instance, the protection of the sanctity of the Lord's day against Popish or infidel aggression, within which the Christian ruler may exert the power and influence of his station, without undertaking the duty of providing for the sustentation of the pastor, or exercising any interference in respect to the rights and liberties of the congregations. I am, however, at a loss to form (as matters now stand), a definite conception of any fair and feasible scheme, through the agency of which, in the distracted and dislocated condition of the religious world, an endowed establishment could give general satisfaction. The answer to Pilate's interrogatory, "What is truth?" is, perhaps, in no case so little susceptible of a decisive solution, as when applied to the conflicting claims of rival churches for state patronage and state emolument. When there is only one claimant for the honour of maternity, it is easy to decide who is the legitimate mother; and so it is also in respect of an ecclesiastical provision,—if the whole or nearly the whole of a community are of one accord and of one mind, and may be justly regarded as an unit. Where, however, there are two aspirants, we learn that it was not difficult for Solomon to judge righteous judgment in the case of a disputed crown. There would have been

perplexed, and almost in despair, had he been chosen umpire between two contending sects, in regard to a national endowment. If his Majesty had propounded the sentence, "Divide it in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other" (1 Kings iii. 25), I feel confident, that neither party would have exclaimed, "Let it be neither mine, nor thine, but divide it;" for the bowels of both would equally "yearn upon" the "dearly beloved and longed-for prize, and instead of entering into the feelings of the mother "whose the living child was," and who said, "Give her the living child, and in nowise slay it," my firm conviction is that, in the case of any two communions on either side of the Tweed, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, the one, which could not succeed in securing the state-provision for itself, would rather see it suppressed, than conferred upon its rival. It is, I think, also, by no means easy to determine whether a ruler, in selecting the church which shall receive state support, must be guided by his own views, or by those of a majority of his subjects. If there is a difference in opinion between the parties, he must either provide for the support of a system, which he himself considers to be heretical and injurious, or he must, in obedience to the dictates of his own conscience, endow, for the instruction of the people, a church which *they* regard as useless, pernicious, or schismatical; nor is it by any means a problem of easy solution to decide under what circumstances the state endowment should be transferred from one sect to another, when a change takes place in the religious sentiments of the governing authorities on the one hand, or of the great mass of the subjects on the other. No verdict can ever be unanimously arrived at for determining which is "THE TRUE CHURCH," when the national grand jury is so widely "divided against itself." The expression conveys as different meanings to different minds as did the national anthem, "God save the King," in the days of George II. and James VIII. When Alexander bequeathed his ring and his royal

diadem to "the worthiest," the definition was, no doubt, a specious one, but was most perplexing in its application; nor was there less dispute or difficulty in the case of Martin, King of Arragon, when he left his dominions, in 1411, to the claimant who should make out the best title to inherit them. If we take the case of Scotland, by way of illustration, when the brethren, with whom I stand ecclesiastically connected, say, "God save the true church," or when we speak of the church "most worthy" to receive state support, or which "can make out the best title" to it, we, of course, very naturally conclude, that all these tests and principles appertain exclusively to ourselves—and we blame the legislature for not giving effect to our claims and to our wishes. The "Establishment" is just as convinced that (besides the title founded on possession) all these rules apply strictly to herself; and the state, from which the endowment flows, is quite satisfied to leave matters on their present footing, to the no small dissatisfaction of our powerful and influential body; whilst the numerous class of our fellow-citizens, who belong to neither communion, are inclined to exclaim, so far as public support is concerned, "A plague on both your churches!" and I believe that, whilst they put forth no claim, on their own part, to any public provision, they think it a matter of perfect indifference to which of the two parties it is awarded; nay, it seems as if a vast majority of them are of opinion that, of the two, the "Establishment" possesses the better right, because its adherents very consistently submit to the only terms on which statesmen or voluntaries contend that the union between the church and state either can, or ought to be maintained. To say the truth, I believe that the British legislature's relation towards us may be compared to the case of a certain Elkanah, a descendant, in the ninth degree, from "the son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu" (1 Sam. i. 1), who, like his far-famed progenitor, was blessed with two wives, also

named Hannah and Peninnah, who, however amiable, accomplished, and well-favoured, were always "at daggers drawn" with one another, and often scarcely upon speaking terms. The former, though distinguished by straightforwardness and intelligence, was thought, in some quarters, rather inclined to have every thing her own way, and would "play second fiddle" to no one. She would only "obey her husband" in such things as she herself considered lawful. Elkanah, honest man, often sat upon thorns, when his voluble "better half," on befitting occasions, "*flared up*" in defence of the "rights of women." The arguments with which she then never failed to "fill her mouth," were "as vinegar to his teeth, and as smoke to his eyes" (Prov. x. 26), and when he presumed to hint that, after all was said and done, still the wife was the "weaker vessel," the result of so unwelcome an *argumentum ad fœminam* often forcibly reminded him of "a continual dropping in a very rainy day" (Prov. xxvii. 15). Peninnah, on the other hand, was far more pliant and passive—her language resembled that which the "mother of all living" addressed to her conjugal lord and master,—

"My author and disposer, what thou wilt,
Unargued I obey—so fate ordains—
God is thy law, thou mine."

After the husband had for a long time been "at his wit's end," in consequence of their continual bickerings and buffetings, he felt at least as much relieved as afflicted, when the most alert and notable of his partners, thinking that she had been unduly thwarted in regard to the management of the household economy, wrote out, of her own accord, "a bill of divorcement," made a formal renunciation of her pin-money, and of all claim to either jointure or separate maintenance, and announced her determination to live by her own honest industry, and the voluntary oblations of her numerous and re-

spectable friends. The husband, whose experience rather belied the "ancient saying," that "two are better than one," enjoyed, after this unexpected divorce (or God-send), a peace, to which he had long been a stranger; and I apprehend that, if the self-discarded spouse were to go unto him at midnight, and say, "Friend—or husband—lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him"—the answer "from within" would be, "Trouble me not, *the door is now shut*, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee."—(Luke xi. 5.) Nor do I believe, that "because of her importunity," however urgent, the cold and callous churl would "rise and give her as many as she needed." I am quite aware that Hannah, after having voluntarily abandoned her astonished husband's dwelling, is animated by too strong a feeling of self-respect, to "stand at the door and knock," like a distressed needlewoman, "*in formâ pauperis*." It must be taken for granted, that she had counted the cost, and adopted measures for ensuring an adequate supply of oil for her children's lamps, before she cast herself upon the wide world. Peninnah's family, who remained snugly at home, are far from thinking they have enough of oil, and still less that they have any to spare. Before the domestic disruption, no doubt, both parties had a joint interest in the husband's abundant stores—but now, if the "tarriers behind" were asked to renew the dissolved copartnery, they would say, "Not so, lest there be not enough for us and you; but go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves."—(Matt. xxv. 9.) It is probable that, if Hannah drew near to the conjugal mansion, she would be rather mortified than pleased, if she "heard music and dancing" (Luke xv. 25), and learnt that her "adversary, who had often provoked her sore, for to make her fret" (1 Sam. i. 6), having the bridegroom with her, was quite happy and contented. "The good man of the house" and his like-minded partner lived so harmoniously together,

that they had earned an annual fitch of bacon during the tranquil current of their decennial monogamy; whilst she herself had "departed without being desired."—(2 Chron. xxi. 20). Elkanah, when he recognised her well-remembered rap at the knocker, would "rejoice with trembling" (if indeed he rejoiced at all), being convinced that, had Hannah retained her position, there would have been another "ten years' conflict" from the jealousies and ganglings of the "rival queens." Instead of ordering the porter to open the door, he would "look forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice" (Cant. ii. 5), and exclaim, "Remember, my good woman, that, if you are standing at the portal, instead of sitting in the parlour, you have yourself to blame, and not me. '*Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin.*' There was, indeed, a strife between us, which should be the greatest, and we differed as to the import of certain terms in our marriage-contract; but the law was open, and there were deputies, who gave judgment, not in your favour, but in mine. My kind and prudent Peninnah, on the other hand, is a perfect treasure. She is all submission to my behests. I, who 'exercise authority upon her, am called her benefactor' (Luke xxii. 25), 'her moderation is known to all men' (Phil. iv. 5), and full well is she entitled to a 'worthy portion;' but as she is ever present with me, and all that I have is hers, I really cannot venture to establish an additional *tariff* for your behoof, either on the principle of a fixed duty, or on that of a sliding scale. I can't be expected to quarrel on your account with a spouse who (Eph. v. 22) submits herself unto her own husband, as unto the Lord—and who, because she is faithful and beloved, was once a *partaker* of the benefit, and has now a vested interest in the whole. If I were to smite her on her right cheek, she would assuredly turn to me the other also, and exclaim, 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest I will go, and

where thou lodgest I will lodge. If I be an offender, I am nothing loath to stand to Cæsar's judgment-seat; and (provided I be not put out of the synagogue) that which thou puttest on me I will bear, even if for not having at once prepared myself and done according to thy will, I should be beaten with many stripes; but forget not that lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment.' She, of course, must, under any circumstances, have the lion's share of the fatted calf, though I might now and then indulge you with a few scraps from the scrag end, and have no objection to your picking the bones, besides now and then giving you a 'kid, that you may make merry with your friends.' But, as a preliminary concession, I must insist upon your declaring (and that *ex animo*), 'Husband, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy wife; make me as one of thy hired servants.' As I expressly told thee at the time, the Lord judge between thee and me. I have done thee no wrong. Did I treat thee as Abraham served Hagar? Did I rise up early in the morning, and take bread and a bottle of water, and send thee away to wander in the wilderness, without caring what might become of thee, when the water was spent in the bottle? As long as it was thy pleasure to dwell with me according to knowledge, thou receivedst thy good things, and even the rich among people intreated thy favour. I kept back no part of the price, but made an hedge about thee, and about thine house, and about all that thou hadst on every side; and thy substance increased in the land; thy glebes brought forth grass and herb yielding seed after his kind, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain. Thou possessedst great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not, and houses full of good things, which thou filledst not, and wells digged, which thou diggedst not; and because it seemed good to thee, I gave thee the worth of thy services in money. Was not all this thine own?

Was it not in thine own power? Did I not say to thy children, go ye into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right, I will give you? Did they not receive every man his penny? and when any son (even if he had wrought but one hour), came forward to murmur against me, the goodman of the house, and supposed he should have received more, was it lawful for me to do what I would with mine own? Didst thou not (although he had agreed with me for a penny) hale me to the judge, who, if that had been too little, would moreover have given him such and such things? If payment was not made in due time, and I presumed to say, have patience with me and I will pay thee all, did there not 'stand up a raiser of taxes' who might cast me into prison, until I should discharge the debt, and did he not insist on receiving the full amount with usury? Could he not command my furniture to be sold, and all that I had, and payment to be made? Did I not, so far as my limits and jurisdiction extended, desire that all the world should be taxed for thy behoof? and did not all go to be taxed, every one in his own city? Were not all constrained (if needs be) to regard the crying of the ex-actor? And was any debtor ever allowed to depart, until he had paid the very last mite? When thou didst say, I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord the most high God, that I will not take from a thread to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, I then, and not till then (by way of a requital for their reasonable service, whilst accomplishing as hirelings their day, and earnestly looking for the reward of their work), made over to Peninnah and the children within her gates, the portion of goods that fell to thee, and I cannot reverse it. The Peninnahites can still, when their incomes fall due, in town or country, send unto their debtors and search their houses, and the houses of their servants, and whatsoever is pleasant in their eyes, they can put it in their hand and take it away. If taking away the cloak is not sufficient to meet their demand,

they cannot be forbidden to take the coat also. Is thine eye evil because I am good? Art thou at last come to thy sober senses, and prepared to say, I will return to my husband (instead of following after my lovers), for then it was better with me than now? Between us and you, there is now a great gulf fixed; so that they cannot pass to us, that would come from thence, unless they send an ambassage, and desire conditions of peace. I trust, that since thou sawest meet to put thyself out of the stewardship, thine acquaintance have not been verily estranged from thee, nor thy familiar friends forgotten thee, but having received thee into their houses, are devising liberal things, and largely ministering unto thee of their substance."

It cannot be denied, that in regard, at all events, to titles and temporalities, the want of an "apostolic episcopacy" has been, during the last two centuries, a great misfortune to our kirk, or at least to the moderate party, which so long presided over its destinies. Dr Robertson, for instance, would probably have been Primate, instead of Principal, and the booted presbyters, who forced down the throats of wry-faced congregations the bitter bolus of an intruded ministry, would have graced the lists of the prelates and prebendaries, or deans and minor canons; whilst Moncrieff and Chalmers, or Gordon and Hanna, would have been included in the "mixed multitude" of curates, "which went up also with them" (Ex. xii. 38), or, perhaps, even have been refused ordination on the score of heterodoxy or low-churchism. During some part, however, of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, which constituted the golden era of clerical wealth and worldly-mindedness, or even, perhaps, in the present day, it is not unlikely that some Most Reverend Jacob Graspall, presiding at St Andrews or at Glasgow, whilst conferring "goodly heritages" upon his other children, and taking care that the "lines should fall to them in pleasant places," would have said concerning his favourite, "Joseph shall have two portions,

(Ezek. xlvii. 13) ; and having given him "one portion above his brethren" (Gen. xlviii. 22), would have extended his patriarchal solicitude to Joseph's "lads," and pray that "his name might be named on them, and that they might grow into a multitude." After having determined concerning Manasseh, that "he also shall be great," inasmuch as I shall reserve for him the first golden stall that becomes vacant, he would have added, "But Ephraim shall be greater than he," for he shall be registrar of this arch-diocese, rector of two livings, dean of the chapel royal, and I think I may obtain for him a snug sinecure canonry at Dunkeld or Dunblane. We may conceive, that when all these family compacts had been accomplished according to due order, the venerable dispenser of good things would not have been unmindful of his other "kinsmen according to the flesh." A voice (though not perhaps that of an angel) would have said, as to Lot of old, "Hast thou here any besides—son-in-law, and thy sons and thy daughters?" (Gen. xix. 12.) The palmerworm of *generism* would have come into play as soon as the cankerworm of *filialism* had eaten and was satisfied; and the comfortable words would have been spoken to each of the holy metropolitan's "sons-in-law which married his daughters," "Up, get you out of this place," where you are only curates with a paltry £100 per annum, "I will make thee ruler over many things."—(Matt. xxv. 21.) It is easy to imagine, that Christmas day or Trinity Sunday would have often found the mitred Jacob (with Joseph and Ephraim to assist him) taking his stand, with a dignified air, when arrayed in the white robes of innocence, at the altar, meekly presenting the oblation of their respective half-crowns at the offertory; and whilst the churchwardens were handing round the plate at the doors of the pews, the "saint-in-lawn" would say, with becoming emphasis, "Let your light so shine before men, that others seeing your good works may glorify your Father which is in heaven." The very reverend and very

rubicund dean (who had returned from the metropolis by the express train late on Saturday night, after having invested the proceeds of an enormous fine in long annuities), would then "take up the wondrous tale," and, looking first at his portly sire, and then at his prosperous son, exclaim, with much solemnity, "We brought with us nothing into the world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out." The thin and thoughtful registrar, whom his most reverend grandsire, during their drive in a splendid equipage from the palace to the cathedral, with two purple-clad lacqueys behind, provided with cocked hats and gold-headed canes, commended because he had done wisely, in remitting his quarter's income of £3000 to the "exchangers, that he might receive his own with usury" by vesting it in Turkish scrip, then directs a bland and benignant smile towards a corner of the aisle, in which are assembled a weather-beaten, wooden-legged pensioner, a long-remembered beggar, "impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb," and who has been wheeled into the passage on his frail and faded leathern chair; together with three superannuated, scarlet-hooded spinsters, from the parish workhouse, one of whom, like Ahijah, (1 Kings xiv. 4), "cannot see, for her eyes are set by reason of age"—whilst her purblind neighbours on either side have carefully adjusted their spectacles, and

. "All forlorn,
Are fumbling their prayer-books, all tatter'd and torn."

Addressing himself to this interesting group, the reverend moralist sums up the conclusion of the whole matter by subjoining, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt."

We may imagine the case of some youthful high-church traveller, belonging to the category of the curious in apostolic succession, and engaged in an archæo-ecclesiastical tour, holding such a colloquy as follows with the venerable prebendary whipper-snapper and expe-

rienced *cicerone* at St Andrews:—"Pray, who have been the incumbents of the venerable church of St Demas during the chief pastorate of the present most venerable primate?" "Why, sir, his grace has worthily presided over the diocese during the last thirty-eight years, and is blessed with a very numerous offspring. There were seven brethren; and the first, when he was appointed to that wealthy parish, deceased, and left the living to his brother. The second and third all were nominated in succession, unto the seventh. In short, sir, 'they all had her;' for two died, and the other five were translated, as occasion served, to other spheres of enlarged emoluments, and more extensive usefulness." "Pray, what is that spacious edifice, which I see yonder, set on an hill?" "It is the parish church of St Mammon." "Is that, perhaps, a peculiar of the archbishop?" "No, sir, it is a valuable piece of preferment in the gift of the Duke of Church and State, and has been filled, with rare interruptions, during the last two centuries, by the tutors or junior branches of that distinguished family." "I was not aware that his grace had any landed property in this neighbourhood." "Nor has he, sir; you are quite right—his extensive estates are situated about two hundred miles from hence; and I don't believe that one of the patron-dukes has set his foot within the doors of the church since the purchase of the advowson." "I have not the honour of being personally acquainted with his grace; but his third son, Lord Algernon, is a very particular friend of mine—he is, like myself, an old Etonian, and now commands a troop in the 10th Hussars—and, though he is rather a fast man, he is the best-hearted spark that ever lived; his "governor" must also be a good sort of a fellow, for he has paid his son's debts three times, besides making him a liberal allowance. Lord Algernon is quite an oracle at the Jockey Club, and I heard the Archduchess Sophia declare at Vienna, that she never saw a foreigner dance the Polka in such perfection. I have been sojourning in Egypt

during the last ten months, and have, consequently, lost sight of him, but I believe he is quartered at Weedon." "No, sir, I can set you right upon that point—his lordship is now in Edinburgh." "Indeed! well, I certainly was not aware that the 10th had been removed to Scotland." "His lordship, sir, has just received orders." "Orders! O, what! I suppose he has been ordered to join the battalion that is now at the Cape?" "O, no, sir." "Or, perhaps, he has received orders to proceed to Rangoon?" "By no means—his lordship has just received deacon's orders from the Bishop of Edinburgh." "Lord Algernon in holy orders! You surely must be either dreaming, or trying to play a hoax upon me." "Quite the contrary, sir. You are, I perceive, not aware of the sad accident which plunged his noble family in mourning seven months ago. Lord Algernon's elder brother, Lord Christopher, was incumbent of yonder parish, and also of St Magus, another opulent rectory in the immediate vicinity of Church and State Castle. His lordship was a very amiable young man, and distinguished by his devotedness to fox hunting; he most unfortunately broke his neck at a steeple-chase, and the duke was very loath that two such lucrative livings should go out of the family. Lord Algernon had studied during several years at college before he entered the army, and only needed six months additional residence to *qualify* him for ordination. He was accordingly prevailed upon to sell out; and, after passing a winter at the university to complete his terms, has been ordained to the deaconate by his uncle the bishop. His grace, meanwhile, has named the Reverend Dr Thomas Parr (who was his father's tutor) to St Magus, and old Dr Henry Jenkins, who had been curate there for sixty-one years, to St Mammon, and as soon as these two experienced Elis step off, Lord Algernon will step in, as successor to their respective preferments. I most devoutly hope that his lordship may be enabled to tread in the steps of his ever-to-be-lamented brother, who was as right-minded a

churchman as I ever knew. He seldom made any deduction from his tithes, because, he said, he did not like to set a bad example, and bring neighbouring brother clergymen into bad odour with their parishioners, who could not so well afford to submit to a similar sacrifice ; and the instances were consequently rare in which, when his tithe proctor said, ' How much owest thou unto my lord ? ' (Luke xvi. 5), and the answer was, ' One hundred measures of wheat,' the righteous exactor was authorised to reply, ' Take thy bill and write fourscore.' No one, I am sure, was more concerned for his lordship's premature decease, than his old friend and *factotum* Sir Humphrey Helter-skelter, who resides as incumbent at the contiguous rectory of St Phygellus and St Hermogenes." " I have been hand-and-glove years and years with Sir Humphrey, before he was in holy orders." " Why then, of course, you know even better than I do that the worthy baronet was, like your *harum-scarum* schoolfellow, Lord Algernon, one of the best-natured fellows in the world, scattering his wealth around him, with all the munificence of a ' fine old English gentleman.' He had, however, outrun the constable, as they say, and was obliged to put his estates to nurse, and sell the next presentation to both his English livings, one of which is held* by the Bishop of Rochester's chaplain, and its great advantages were duly set forth in order to catch some clergyman who wanted to live in first-rate style, with little ecclesiastical duty to perform. It is ' situated in a healthy and pleasant part of the county of Essex, within an easy distance of several market towns. The parsonage is a most superior residence, surrounded by well-timbered grounds, and containing noble dining and drawing-rooms, library, morning room, observatory, numerous bed-chambers, and suitable domestic offices. Adjoining are capital carriage-house, stabling, and other out buildings. The tithes have been commuted, and are paid by only fifteen

* Copied from the *Morning Advertiser*.

persons. The glebe, which comprises some of the richest land in the county, is let at £500, and the gross value of the living is upwards of £2000 per annum. The population, which is agricultural, amounts to about 1000. The incumbent is in his sixtieth year.' This very desirable piece of ecclesiastical preferment was very soon picked up, and the thousand agricultural inhabitants will have the full benefit of an aristocratic and spiritual instructor, with £2000 a-year, and all the other advantages above enumerated. The next living was a rectory in Wiltshire. It is worth about £1400 a-year, and is held by an aged clergyman, so that there is a prospect of an early vacancy, which, of course, enhanced the purchase-money. As Dr O'Lectern, our late worthy rector, happened, most unluckily, to die of cramp in the stomach, just when the next presentation was to have been submitted to the hammer, Sir Humphrey thought he might as well take orders, obtain a St Andrew's degree, and present *himself* to this lucrative preferment, which is worth about £2500 a-year. Of this sum, he has most liberally appropriated £1500 to the liquidation of his gambling debts, and clearing off his turf arrears, though not legally liable for either." "Such a sage and self-denying ordinance is really above all praise, and ought, for Sir Humphrey's credit, to be more generally known, than I believe it actually is. It deserves to be recorded in letters of gold—and I shall take care to get it properly noticed in the next number of *Bell's Life*; for it is quite refreshing, in our degenerate days, to be able to point to such a noble transaction, as a triumphant proof that the sterling old-fashioned, old English principles of honour and honesty, though rather rare than rife amongst us, are not entirely obliterated.

"What a pattern is thus exhibited of disinterested and self-sacrificing generosity! We see here a gentleman of ancient lineage, extensive landed property, and of age moral character, having elegant apartm

Albany—a leading member of Brookes's and the Travelers'—dining every now and then with Lady Jersey, and admitted to Lady Palmerston's most select *soirées*—driving four-in-hand every day in the year, both in town and country. Well; this worthy man finds himself embarrassed—it is not every fortune that can stand the expense of a French cook, and even the management of a subscription pack of fox-hounds, besides a run of bad luck for three successive seasons, both at Doncaster and the Derby. And what does he do? Why, instead of discreditably sneaking to the continent, like Lord Newmarket and Colonel Sweepstakes, he at once abandons the (I may well say) proud position which he has occupied during a long course of years, puts his estate in trust, sells off all his race-horses and hunters, disposes of the next presentation to two valuable livings in England; and because he is unable to conclude an equally good bargain for his Scotch preferment, makes up his mind to take orders himself, that he may the sooner discharge his debts of honour and other incumbrances. And even this, though much, is not all; for, being anxious to get out of the clutches of his creditors as soon as possible, he does the entire duty himself every Sunday, besides reading prayers on fasts and festivals; and not only dismisses both his predecessor's curates, but even parts with his under-butler, and pensions off his head-groom, who has lived with him upwards of twenty years, and sentences himself to be banished to this dull and distant Scottish diocese.

“Now, mark me, I don't mean to deny, that Helter-skelter has his foibles and *peccadillos* like any other man. Far be it from me (and not further, I am sure, than from himself) to cry him up as a piece of perfection. I don't puff him off as a ‘second Daniel,’ in whom ‘neither error nor fault is to be found’ (Dan. vi. 4.) If he were to enlist in the ranks of the Roman obedience as a subaltern officer, I should not say that he would be just the man to push his way up from the

ranks, and earn the *baton* of saintship, with which his holiness honours his 'brass band' of *ora pro nobis* men and women. But his worst enemy (if such there be) must admit, that he's a thorough-bred, high-minded gentleman. He abominates humbug and hypocrisy, as he does poison—and I'll venture to say, that he would a thousand times rather sweep a crossing in Ludgate Hill, or pluck out his right eye, than figure away as a groaner and grunter at an Independent meeting-house, or be seen ranting and raving, like such drivellers as Buchanan and Cunningham, in the pulpit, or I should rather say, pillory, of a Free Church conventicle.

"I am aware, that Helter-skelter is by no means given to the boasting mood; no man is less disposed to be his own trumpeter, when he does a good action; but I must add, in justice to my friend, that he deserves the greater credit for having turned parson, because I know that it went exceedingly against the grain. Although, for the sake of example, he was a very regular church-goer when in the country, he always made a point of steering clear of what is called the religious public, never figured away, as you may well imagine, amongst the No Popery 'brayers' at Exeter Hall, and was too much a man of the world to have any thing in common with your prayer-meeting canters, or tract-distributing district visitors. In this respect, I promise you, he was, at all events, no 'Tractarian.' I can vouch for it, that Helter-skelter has always had a salutary horror of Methodism, and could not bear the idea of being thought righteous overmuch. If indeed he had felt a very strong, or even a very slight, bias in favour of his new mode of life, why then, it would have been altogether a matter of plain sailing, and there would have been nothing marvellous or meritorious in the whole affair; but, in this instance, we have a man, with whom the whole matter is not one of mere choice or *gusto*, but of pure and praiseworthy conscientiousness—or, in other words, of debtor and creditor, and co-

quently of pounds, shillings, and pence, and whom, if his estate had been free, or his debts could have, by any other expedient, been liquidated in full, no earthly consideration would have induced to enter the church,—tearing himself away from his fixed habits and favourite haunts, embracing a calling for which he has little talent, and less taste, in order to maintain at Tattersall's and at Epsom his character as a man of honour, and pay off a parcel of creditors, few of whom could have recovered one sixpence in a court of law ! All I can say, for one, is, that if these men don't vote him a handsome piece of plate, or some other appropriate testimonial, why then, ungrateful as the world is well known to be, I shall think even worse of it than I have done up to the present moment. At all events, I can scarcely help envying him the enjoyment, which he must derive from the soothing emotions of a self-approving conscience ; and when that solemn hour arrives, at which all sublunary resources are of little avail, and nothing but the recollections of a well-spent life can prevent even the best prepared mind from quailing, I am sure, that the thoughts of this heroic sacrifice will enable him to face the prospect of rendering his 'great account' with equanimity and resignation." "Many a time did Lord Christopher and he take coffee together, and walk to the opera-house in company. Although sound to the very core as high-churchmen, and consequently quite opposed to the fanatical and revolutionary dogma of private judgment, they were both passionately fond of private theatricals, and never failed to attend all the player-meetings, both far and near. Sir Humphrey, I must add, is as yet by no means a first-rate hand at preaching. I often discover in his twenty minutes' discourses, how much he is indebted to Blair, Sterne, and Alison." "How should he, sir, be at once a Philpotts, or a Keble, when he has been so short a time in harness ? Rome was not built in a day." "Very true, sir ; it will all come right, and find its level by and by.

In the mean time, so far as regards the intoning of the Psalms and Litany—which (as we all know) is of much greater practical utility than the *mere sermon*—I would back the baronet against any clerk or clergyman in the United kingdom. When I saw him and poor Lord Christopher seated side by side as proctors at our last year's convocation, I little thought that, before the very next meeting, the one would be taken, and the other left.” “Was there any business of importance transacted on that occasion?” “O no, sir, every thing went on as snugly and as smoothly and as silently as usual. The primate, you know, is, at the same time, a man *in* authority, and (like the centurion) a man *under* authority; a certain staff of prelates, and a whole battalion of the second-class clergy, are subordinate to his jurisdiction, whilst he himself does homage to the most gracious head of our apostolic church. The annual *coup d'état*, or (as the chief pastor is the chief performer) I should perhaps rather use the phrase, *coup de grace*, is reiterated without any rebellion or resistance on the part of any section of the church. No presumptuous Korah, or self-willed Dathan, can ever venture to open their lips as gainsayers, nor is there any froward and factious Abiram, who ventures to speak evil of dignities. The reverend assembly reminds me of my old school-boy days at Rugby, when the youngsters used to play at speech-making, in preference to hop-scotch or hide-and-seek, and kept up long and elaborate debates; but when the little senate grew rather clamorous, refractory, and democratical, the usher (though not of the black rod) was deputed to interrupt the proceedings, or rather, to hinder them from even commencing, and sent us all, in the twinkling of an eye, to the right about. In the same way, our time-honoured convocation has exhibited, during more than a century, the most laudable and lamb-like docility,

‘And licks the hand just raised to shed its blood.’

I may perhaps be pardoned for just adding, that my excellent neighbour Professor M. Rubric, though himself a staunch and steady Episcopalian, is unfortunately married to a Presbyterio-puritanical wife (otherwise, I believe, a very unexceptionable woman), who never attends complines, or plays at cards. She lately persuaded the worthy doctor, when there happened to be no evening sermon in the cathedral, to go and hear, at the meeting-house, one of the great guns from Edinburgh, whose name I forget, but I know it begins with a G. This pert and shallow lay-teacher took for his subject the declaration, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church, and enunciated several startling propositions, which made my friend's hair stand on end. He said, that sinecurism *within* any Christian community, is much more perilous than socialism *without* it—he compared the Free Church Assembly to the sun, when he rises unfettered in the full orb of unclouded majesty, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race, none making him afraid. On the other hand, the earthly head of the 'apostolic church' goes far beyond Joshua, who could only command the sun to 'stand still'—whereas, at her most gracious Majesty's first summons, the obsequious luminary no sooner emerges above the horizon, than he not only stops when scarcely visible, but sinks at once retrogressively below the surface of the sea; so that the holy synod 'gives up the ghost' in a moment, and 'her sun is gone down while it is yet day.'—(Jer. xv. 9.) He observed, that, if the rash but resistless shock of the royal voltaic battery should resuscitate the entranced frame of an apostolic convocation, its awakening would resemble that of the magicians, who had, during consecutive centuries, been

'Enchantes et assoupis avec leur suite'—

'Alquif et Urgunde

Ah! jentends un bruit qui nous presse

De nous rassembler tous;

Le charme cesse—

Eveillous nous.'—(Quinault.)

And, in reference to the ‘doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, and perverse disputings’ (1 Tim. vi. 4), which would naturally and necessarily result from so reckless and ill-advised a procedure, he ventured to subjoin the following quotation from the same passage,—

‘Que le ciel annonce à la terre
La fin de cet enchantement—
Brillans eclairs, bruyant tonnerre,
Marquez avec éclat ce bienheureux moment.’—(*Ibid.*)

Any rash and undaunted proctor who longed for the opening of the consecrated lists, in order that he might confront and confute the antagonists of candles, crucifixes, and confessionals, was compared by him to Amaziah, king of Judah (2 Kings xiv. 8), when ‘he sent messengers to Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, ‘Come let us look one another in the face,’ which, in both cases, was synonymous with the ‘wager of battle,’ so rife in mediæval times, and manifestly implied (in more homely language), a falling together by the ears. The thistle ‘was in Lebanon,’ and the ‘cedar’ was in Lebanon also, just as the high-churchman and the evangelical belong to the same ‘order’ in the Anglican ecclesiastical herbarium, although each genus differs widely from the other, and embraces a very considerable, and often not easily discriminated, number of species, subspecies, and varieties. The far-sighted and fair-spoken orator, however, commended the cedar, because he spake wisely and temperately, saying, ‘Tarry at home; for why shouldest these meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest fall, thou and Judah with thee?’ If, however, unhappily (as in the instance recorded by the sacred historian), moderation and wisdom should be overruled, and that, acting as Absalom did at an important crisis (2 Sam. xvii.), her Majesty should say, ‘The worthy archdeacon of Middlesex hath spoken after this manner: shall we do after *his* saying?’—and that an eloquent

archite, yclept (it may be) Denison, should say, 'The counsel that my excellent friend hath given is not good at this time,' and that the Lord had 'appointed to defeat the good counsel' of the wise and wary Abithophel, why, then, the two parties would 'look one another in the face,' and one would be 'put to the worse' before the other. The vanquished party would 'fly every man to their tents'—the 'conquering heroes would come,' and have every thing their own way, and 'take all the gold and silver,' and all the vessels that 'were found in the house of the Lord,' and (so far as they are devoted to ecclesiastical purposes) 'in the treasures of the king's house' also.

"The Genevese minie rifle also discharged a broadside at the shovel-hat and apron of a distinguished prelate, who laid down, when addressing 190 children at the Eldad confirmation, a proposition in reference to holy baptism, 'at which the ears of every non-high-churchman that heareth it shall tingle.' His lordship declared, as he doubtless had not failed to do, at the preceding (perhaps Medad) celebration of a similar solemnity, when 799 'little ones' were 'attentive to hear him,' that 'they had humbly to thank God that he *had called them at their baptism into a state of salvation, having made them members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.* At their baptism they were all too young to know what was done. They could not then undertake any duties for themselves, but other persons undertook for them. If they had been baptized when they knew what baptism was, and what the duties belonging to baptism were, they would have made the solemn vows and promises for themselves. But they were not old enough to know what was done, and others were obliged to promise for them. *Had they died before they were unable to take upon themselves those vows, they would have been admitted to God's kingdom by reason of the promises made for them.* But far greater would now be their glory in having been permitted to

live till they were old enough to take those vows upon themselves.

“Our perverse and pragmatical ‘lay teacher,’ on the other hand, went so far as to assert, that, if a serious inquirer were to accomplish the most diligent search throughout the entire canon of Scripture, no more warrant could be found for a ‘godfather,’ than for a ‘father in God,’ and that the office of ‘godmother’ is as completely ignored as the title of ‘mother of God.’ He maintained that ‘none can, by any means’ (and consequently not by making a promise on his behalf), ‘redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him’ (Ps. xlix. 7), and that in none of the passages quoted to establish the practice of infant baptism are sponsors declared to be essential or even admissible, by any rite or rubric of the church, as constituted and administered during the apostolic age.

“The next volley which our great gun discharged, was levelled at the broad and bright target of apostolical succession. He alluded to the strenuous and successful labours of love, in which Independent and Presbyterian pastors have, during many centuries, been engaged preaching the Word, in season and out of season; keeping back nothing that was profitable, and first showing piety at home. It is (said he) not more absurd to withhold from such ‘fishers of men’ the name of accredited ambassadors from Christ, when they make full proof of their ministry by winning countless souls to his gospel, than it would be preposterous to assert that catchers of fish who can prove, on the respectable authority of Messrs Grove & Co.’s weekly returns, that they have largely supplied the West End of the town with skate and smelts, with mullets and mackerel, have (in an orthodox point of view) no right or title to mend their nets, or let them down for a draught, because they cannot establish, to the satisfaction of Sir Francis Palgrave, a lineal piscatory pedigree, through an unbroken line of qualified fishermen, from Zebedee or from Jonas.

“On the subject of ecclesiastical dilapidations and embezzlements, our Free Kirk declaimer further referred his auditors to Hume’s Essays, to Hall’s Chronicles, and to the caustic and crushing ‘leaders,’ with which some ‘great unknown,’ but unrivalled, modern Junius, has recently enriched the far-famed and free-spoken columns of the *Times*. He stated that Horsman has, not long since, been denominated ‘Edward the Confessor,’ because he has achieved a task, which none but an intrepid layman was willing to undertake, or competent to discharge. He has forced to the ordeal of the Parliamentary confessional, not a few Pauline sinecurists, and Barjonese pluralists, who, if in any sense entitled to be numbered amongst the ‘partners with *Simon*’ (Luke v. 10), have, in all probability, been junior (but not sleeping) partners, in the well-known firm of Simon Magus & Co. They have been constrained, said he, (however reluctantly) to ‘acknowledge and confess their manifold sins and wickedness,’ so as no longer to be able to ‘dissemble or cloak them before the face of Almighty God their heavenly Father,’ or even to shroud them, under the convenient veil of impenetrable mystery, from the stern condemnation of an astonished and exasperated community. It is to be feared, however, that few, indeed, have been led to ‘confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent, or obedient heart;’ for ‘the more part’ have been rather ‘willing to justify themselves,’ than to cry *peccavimus*, or to exclaim, with contrite self-application, in the emphatic and time-honoured language of their own admirable liturgy, ‘We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts, we have offended against thy holy laws, we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done, and there is no health in us.’ Instead of exhibiting such a meek and macerated spirit, when they ‘go up to the temple’ to intone, they ‘thank God that,’ being the consecrated office-bearers

of an apostolic and primitive communion, the sworn brothers of Thomas called Didymus, and the nearest of kin to Simon Zelotes, 'they are not as other men are,' Independents, Methodists, Moravians, Morisonians, or even as this schismatical Supralapsarian !

"He also ventured to assert, that, although the strength of Christianity has been in no small degree displayed by the energy with which she has resisted the open attacks of such foes as Julian and Porphyry, or Toland and Tindal, or D'Alembert and Diderot, the most striking proof of her vitality is derived from the fact of her not having been overwhelmed by the glaring anomalies and abuses, of which Popery has established so many, and Prelacy eliminated so few. Nay, he even 'was very bold, and said,' that a communion is, in a spiritual point of view, more primitive, and more prosperous, which relies for the subsistence of its ministers on the spontaneous liberality of a cheerful and attached population, than a church, whose enormous endowments are engrossed and embezzled by its own deans and dignitaries, so as to be diverted from the sacred and salutary purposes, to which the too credulous confidence of ancestral piety had intended them to be appropriated."

"I wonder that the professor could sit quietly and listen to these shocking and scandalous invectives. They manage things better in France, where such a presumptuous accuser of the brethren would have had his feet made fast in the stocks, or been expelled with ignominy from the land. There can be no peace within the walls of our cathedrals, and no prosperity within the palaces of our prelates, until such troublers of Israel as Hume, Hall, and Horsman are snugly located for life in Norfolk Island, and all the Independent or Presbyterian dispensaries of schism and heresy condemned and closed as nuisances, or turned to better account, by being converted into barracks, bridewells, or penitentiaries."

"No one is more convinced than Helter-skelter, and

his like-minded brethren, that, in regard to the prevalence of drunkenness in Scotland, the 'leavening' influence of our apostolic bishops, deans, priests, and deacons, is unhappily counteracted by the alarming growth of dissent. How many misguided congregations in this once pious and primitive land, have been led to 'reject the apostolic ministry, and the sacraments of divine grace!' and are hardened in this iniquity by 'the preaching of Calvinistic doctrine, which teaches, that man is impelled by an irresistible force, either to eternal life, or everlasting death!'* Alas! these perverse sectarians have never enjoyed the privilege of a *recitativo* litany, and are shut out from the sanctifying harmony of the organ, to which, in their blindness, they are as averse or as indifferent as to the soothing melody of the dulcimer or the sackbut! How deeply must the wise framers of our apostolic ritual and rubrics have felt, that *gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, (I mean, of course, during the holy and halcyon days of our

* Many ingenious etymologists, (and amongst whom I regret to specify our own eminent lexicographer), have somewhat fancifully, as well as fallaciously, traced the name of gin, to *genevee*, a juniper-berry; the fact being (although, I believe, it has escaped the research even of Bishop Tomline, and is, for obvious reasons, ignored by Dr M'Crie), that the appellation of that pernicious and inebriating liquid is derived from Geneva, the cradle of Antinomian fatalism, where it was invented by Calvin, whilst the sheets of the second edition of his Institutes were passing through the press. That dissolute heresiarch had no sooner embraced the demoralising tenets, from its connection with which, his name has derived an unenviable immortality, than he unhappily, but necessarily, became gluttonous and a wine-bibber; drank a bottle of barsac or burgundy alternately at breakfast every morning, and swallowed a pint of new "Geneva" at supper; after which he was generally carried to bed speechless, and died at last of *delirium tremens*. Luther is said to have made rather too free with the unwholesome and unhallowed beverage, whilst writing his treatise *De servo arbitrio*; and it was by "giving this drink to his neighbour Zwingli," and "putting his bottle" to Beza and Ecolampadius, that "made the archdeacon drunken also, that he might look on their nakedness."—(Hab. ii. 15.) "Hollands," it may be added, was by no means a "weak invention" of that distinguished Dutch Calvinist, Vitringa, with which he and his numerous students were in the habit of "overcharging their hearts with surfeiting and drunkenness" (Luke xxi. 34) after lecture.

Jameses and our Charleses, our Gledstaneses and our Sharpes, when the successors of the apostles employed against infatuated Nonconformists the weapons once used by persecutors against the apostles themselves). One hundred and four, and even seven hundred and thirty times in the course of each revolving year (besides the bissextile extra opportunities), wherever the morning and evening service is performed twice a-day, as it ought to be in every church, and chapel, and cathedral, we repeat, *totidem verbis*, the same confession of sin, and are comforted (unless a deacon unhappily officiates) by the renewal of the same absolution. But of what use can it be to shut up public-houses and gin-palaces on Sundays, throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, unless you go to the root of the evil, by closing all Dissenting, and especially Calvinistic, synagogues of schism! Think of the unparalleled effrontery displayed by such a man as Thomas Guthrie, in venting his 'pamphleteering slang' against ebriety, when, upon the '*qui facit per alium facit per se*' principle, he is himself one of the most incorrigible drunkards in the land! He disseminates continually and consistently the pandemoniacal Genevese blasphemies, which the right reverend fathers of our apostolic church 'rejected, condemned, and anathematised!' and which necessarily sanction every cruelty, and foster every crime! What right has he to feel surprised, if, after having mis-spent their Sunday afternoons in speaking perverse things amongst poor unoffending children, to draw disciples after them, his elders and Sabbath-school teachers congregate towards evening at a tavern, to indulge in prolonged and profligate orgies of 'bishop,' or brandy and water? or can we wonder, that sober-minded wives have so little influence over their dissolute Calvinistic husbands, who never (as in our more rational and refined communion) have solemnly promised to 'worship them with their bodies?' It is no doubt true, that although Ireland enjoys the rare advantage of harbour-

ing two apostolic churches within her bosom, there prevailed in that highly-favoured land an almost unparalleled amount of intoxication, until Father Matthew's temperance movement; and I regret to hear, that now, 'their latter end is,' in this respect, 'worse than their beginning'—and even in Episcopal and Arminian England, gin-palaces are met with here and there, though few and far between; but I conscientiously ascribe this Irish 'relapse' to the contagion of bad example, and worse doctrine, which, cholera-like, is wafted from Presbyterian Ulster, to the more primitive and apostolic provinces. It is also notorious as the sun at noonday, that, with scarcely one exception, all the publicans and dram-drinkers in England are Calvinistic Methodists; and it is only through hearing every Sunday the puritanical 'instruction which causeth to err,' that so many 'follow their pernicious ways!'

"If that good man Guthrie (for I really believe that he means well at bottom,) had but a single grain of common sense in his Calvinistic lay noddle, he would at once see, that in following out to their legitimate conclusions such doctrines as he is in the constant habit of *promulgating* (for I know better what is due to primitive antiquity than to dignify his 'exhibitions' by the name of *preaching*), he should rather busy himself in erecting rows of tippling-houses for the million, than set up for an establisher of ragged-schools. My heart is often touched with tender compassion, when I see so many hapless and helpless young creatures flocking so briskly to these unhallowed seminaries of fatalism, where they are sure to be made tenfold more the children of hell, than when they wandered, like sheep without a shepherd, unchecked, but at the same time uncalvinised, through the lanes and alleys of the modern Athens. The case of the heathenish adults in their Free Church meeting-houses is, if any thing, still more deplorable. Take, for instance, such a man as Gordon's congregation. I am perfectly certain that, if these poor people

could get fair play—if, for example, they were only privileged, in one single instance, (say on Easter-Sunday,) to hear Helter-skelter read prayers, (and I will say this for him, that, although I have heard ‘lighten our darkness’ repeated at least nine hundred times—aye, and that, too, by accomplished reciters, both reverend and right reverend, I never met with any one who was, in this respect, fit to hold a candle to him,) they would be quite nauseated at the bombastic balderdash of any flashy, florid, and flimsy extemporiser, however starch and however sanctimonious. I am also quite aware, that my late dear and sainted friend Lord Christopher’s twenty-minute lectures on our relative and practical duties, exercised a far more wholesome influence over the masses, than all the rabid rigmarole of Candlish and all the demoralising twaddle of Buchanan could achieve in a quarter of a century. The evil that one single perverted and perverting mind may accomplish is so awful as to baffle all human calculations. The case of poor Chalmers may serve as an illustration, and is very much in point. Not that I mean, however, to be unjust. It is true that I am not the man to be either daunted or dazzled by the frothy fustian of a puritanical proser, and he is, of course, not to be named in the same day with a Philpotts or a Wilberforce. But he had certainly contrived to scrape together a plausible smattering of general knowledge, which he well knew how to make the most of, and to show off on fitting occasions; besides which it cannot be denied, that he ranged far above the ordinary standard of highflying ‘kirk’ men, and was endowed with a more than average share of what the people in this country call *gumption*. But you may take my word for it, that, when he comes to find his level, it will turn out that I was far nearer the mark than any of the blind and bigoted *puffers*, who have been crying him up to the skies, and even had brass enough to compare him with our Moores and our Markhams, our Pelhams

and our Prettymans, our Norths and our Cornwallises, our Allens and our Sparkeses, and all our other mitred luminaries, every one of whom, I will venture to say, possessed in his day at least twenty talents for Chalmers's one! I certainly feel almost ashamed to have been arguing as if so decided a fosterer of schism were entitled to be named in the same day with our own apostolic worthies; but it is rather in the way of contrast than of comparison. He, poor dear man, in spite of all his cleverness, could no more devise any scheme for feathering his own nest, than he could discover the longitude, or find out the philosopher's stone. The mysteries of 'running lives,' and calculating chances, were far above the narrow range of his ken. When he plodded his weary way to the busy haunts of men, he was too glad to ensconce himself in the corner of a stage-coach, or now and then go shares with all and sundry in the hire of a hack post-chaise; and if he was not so fortunate as to *earn* upon some good-natured brother fanatic, he was fain to make shift with a second-floor parlour in some obscure street near the Strand. He, and such as he, were not the sort of characters to be spoken of to the king or to the captain of the host. Not a few of our venerable fathers, on the other hand, were as much *in* their element at a court or a concert, as they would have been *out* of it, at what they call a fellowship-meeting of these wild Free Kirk men. Most of them were wide awake to their own interests, and those of their families. They knew well what they were about, and, when they slept, it was always with one eye open to the main chance. To them no season was inconvenient to 'receive money, and to receive garments, and oliveyards, and vineyards, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and maid-servants' (2 Kings v. 26), and whenever they journeyed to discharge the senatorial branch of their primitive functions, and raise as peers their mitred fronts in Parliament, they borrowed a leaf from Naaman's book, and 'took with them ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes

of raiment' (2 Kings v. 5), and feasted in mansions of cedar, polished after the similitude of a palace. Welsh, Chalmers, and Guthrie, *et hoc genus omne*, were incessantly promoting the erection of heretical schismships (each of which is no better than a sort of half-way-house to the dram-shop); and by the employment of *noncommissioned* officers and privates, whilst they set at nought the authority of the hierarchical church militant, they profaned the holiest gospel mysteries, and represented our moral responsibilities as a chimera, so as to play into the hands of the smoker and smuggler, and sear with the red-hot iron of Calvinistic blasphemy the consciences of the drunkard and the debauchee. But our bright and shining lights had other fish to fry. Not that they were by any means slothful in business, they 'ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded.'—(Luke xvii. 28.) The sufferings they had most to do with were recoveries. They had fines to receive, trees to fell, hot-houses to enlarge. Some trusted in chariots, and some in horses; they had canonries to fill up, leases to renew, children, and chaplains, and cousins-german to provide for; and yet, to his credit be it spoken, one of their number (I, of course, allude to Tomline, the illustrious defender of Arminian truth) found leisure to enlighten the world with a minute and masterly refutation of those Genevese crotchets and crudities, which are, alas! to so fearful an extent spreading their cholera-like contagion throughout unhappy and infatuated Scotland! It is a wonder to many how the right reverend gladiator could quit, for a season (in presence, but not in heart), his labour in the turmoil of public affairs, and descend into the polemical arena; for he had, besides, the care of all the children, and fortunately it was not, in this instance, necessary to rob Peter for the purpose of paying Paul; to stint Richard, in order to make an ample provision for George. *Fortunata ambo!* because, *ARCADES ambo!* both canons of the same highly-favoured cathedral,

'Et cantare pares, et respondere parati,'

'Ever ready to chaunt, or intone the responses.'

Chalmers was, however, in one sense, wise in his generation too. For he must have been quite aware, that if he had tried to force his way, whilst encumbered with the deadweight of all his Genevese lumber, into an apostolic church, there is not a father in God in any of the three kingdoms, who would have felt justified in conferring upon him the Holy Ghost. I am told, that there is scarcely a public-house or gin-palace in Scotland, where the landlord has not on hand a large assortment of cheap tracts, containing the pith and marrow of Chalmers's Calvinistic reveries. Whenever any new customer makes his appearance, he is always 'called to the bar' to receive one of these papers; and if he reads it, there is scarcely a single instance in which the poor dupe is not induced to call for at least one extra mutchkin of spirits, and they all generally wind up their midnight jollity by drinking a strong tumbler of rum-punch or whisky-toddy to the health of Thomas Guthrie, or to the memory of Thomas Chalmers. But I shall conclude the whole matter by reading to you an authentic and important document. I look upon it quite as a *clincher*. Here is a return furnished to me by my active and excellent friend, Captain Linton, the superintendent of the police, who, at my request, was at great pains to ascertain the religious principles of 1000 drunkards, who were successively brought before him, when it appeared, that their persuasions were as follows:—

Supralapsarian Calvinists,	.	.	.	521
Sublapsarian do.,	.	.	.	302
Sandemanians,	.	.	.	81
Semi-Pelagians,	.	.	.	23
Baxterians,	.	.	.	17
Unitarians,	.	.	.	17
Roman Catholics,	.	.	.	16
Infidels,	.	.	.	21
Primitive Antiquity and Apostolic Successionists,	.	.	.	2

And it is not a little remarkable, and strongly corroborates my position, that, of the slump aggregate of 823 Calvinists, only 109 belonged to other Calvinistic denominations, whilst no fewer than 238 attended Guthrie's own ministry, including 4 elders, 7 deacons, 3 female collectors, and 1 city missionary. Whereas of the 2 apostolic votaries of Bacchus, one, who was for some time housemaid at the Dowager Lady St Ursula's, went regularly to Dr Fitzfaldstuhl's chapel, and, as long as she continued under apostolic direction, only got drunk occasionally; but no sooner was she discharged, than she took service at Guthrie's own residence in Lauriston Lane, and becoming ere long a red-hot Calvinist, has never been sober from that day to this.

"My case is, if possible, still more triumphantly made out by a tabular return of moral statistics, with which I have been favoured by Mr Mackay, the trustworthy and intelligent superintendent of the police at Dundee. Of two hundred toppers of both sexes, whom he examined between the 10th of August and the 1st of October, it was found, after a rigid and impartial scrutiny, that there were—

1. Free Church Supralapsarians, including one minister, three licentiates, four elders, and seven deacons,	64
2. Other Calvinistic Supralapsarians, including one matron of an hospital,	13
3. Free Church Sublapsarians, including the moderator of the synod, the presbytery-clerk, five elders, the inspector of the poor, and four district visitors,	71
4. Sublapsarians of other denominations, including two precentors and one deacon,	15
5. Morisonians,	13
6. Sandemanians,	15
7. Mormonites,	4
8. Nothingarians,	3
9. Roman Catholics,	2
10. Believers in Apostolic Succession,	0

 200

"To this interesting and conclusive document, the subjoined very important note is appended:—

"That intoxication should not be met with amongst the adherents of the Episcopal Church can excite no surprise. The discipline maintained in that communion is so strict in its application, and so uniform in its results, that every member, whether male or female, who departs this life, is "a dear brother" (or sister, as the case may be,) "whose soul it has pleased God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself;" and we know that no drunkards shall inherit the kingdom of God. I may here also notice, as an auspicious omen, that a great triumph of apostolicity is "looming in the future," and perhaps is (so to speak) on the very eve of its accomplishment; namely, that certain office-bearers of a Calvinistic communion have, under the influence of compunctious visitings, been admitting avowed Episcopalians, without scruple or scrutiny, to occupy chairs in the university, whilst they show their wise concurrence in our distrust and detestation of Calvinism, by protesting against the reception of a professor, who has signed their confession of faith, and is known to be "Genevese" in doctrine, to the very core. This is, unquestionably, a move in the right direction. We may therefore confidently hope, that they will ere long leap across the turbid and tortuous Rubicon of schism, and perceive that no man can be a saint in crape who has not been affianced to the church, or rather affiliated to the crossier, through the Holy Ghost-imparting manipulations of a "saint in lawn." Thus, the primitive church will "increase," and intemperance consequently "decrease" (as never fails to be the case) in an inverse ratio. "The day" of Arminian truth shall "break," "the shadows" of fanaticism and fatalism, of debauchery and drunkenness, shall flee away," and prelacy, in all its apostolical sanctity and simplicity, be "like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains."—(Canticles, ii. 17.)"

Does the recorded experience of our ancestors, my

friends, warrant us in believing, that if the "successors of the apostles" were restored to the power and pre-eminence, which they once possessed, the civil liberties, the religious rights, or the general happiness of the community would be largely augmented, or more firmly secured? "Prelacy in Scotland," says M'Crie, "was always combined and leagued with arbitrary power." The "prelates, to use an expression of one of themselves, (Archbishop Gledstones), were *the King's creatures*—they derived their power entirely from him—they were supported by him in opposition to the inclinations of the nation; and they uniformly showed themselves disposed and ready to gratify his will, and to sacrifice to it the liberties and best interests of the people."—(P. 424.) "You know," says an author, quoted by the same distinguished writer, "how much and how often I have contended for Episcopacy. . . . But I see them, both there and here, so knit to the bias of a court, that they will rather sell their souls, and the whole interests of the kingdom, than not swing to that side, right or wrong. I see them generally to be men altogether set upon their own profit and advancement, and that when once they can make their court well, they little mind religion, or the care of souls. I see they take no effectual course for curbing of profanity; and that if a man will but stand for their grandeur and revenues, they easily dispense with his being otherwise what he will. . . . I have not forgot their cruel, arrogant, and bloodthirsty stopping of his Majesty's gracious bounty, and keeping up of his remission after the business of Pentland, which, with their torturing and hanging of the poor people, after quarter given them in the field by General Dalziel, as it was a singular reward to him for his good services done them, so may it, to all honest hearts, be as palpable as it is an odd example of their faith and manners. I see the very offscourings of the earth employed by them, as their trustees and heroes, for propagating their conformity—and some of them, though base all over, and

despicable above all expression, yet owned and caressed by them as brave fellows, and chief promoters of their principles and interests; yea, so little choice make they on this head, whether as to profanity, Popery, atheism, or whatever else you can think on, that for aught that appears, as many devils out of hell would be welcome to them to prop their Dagon of Prelacy, and be a scourge to the fanatics.”—(P. 426.) “The soldiers were dispersed in companies through the nonconforming parishes. The curate read over a catalogue of his parishioners on the Sabbath-day, and having marked the names of such as were absent, gave them in to the person who commanded the company, who immediately levied the fines incurred by the absentees. In parishes, to which the nonconformists were suspected to repair, the soldiers used to spend the Sabbath in the nearest inn, and when warned by the psalm that public worship was drawing to a close, they sallied out from their cups, placed themselves at the doors of the church, told the people as they came out like a flock of sheep, and seized as their prey upon such as had wandered from their own parishes. Ministers, who had preached at conventicles, were, when apprehended, committed to prison, and banished; those who attended their ministry were severely fined, or subjected to corporal punishment. Masters were obliged to enter into bonds that their servants should not attend their meetings, and landlords to come under these engagements for all that lived on their estates.”—(P. 288.)

This, my friends, was the bloody era, during which persecution raged with unmitigated fury throughout the length and breadth of our fatherland, and was regarded as a heavenborn prerogative appertaining to kings and churches—

“ Her birth, her beauty, crowds and courts confess,
 Chaste matrons praise her, and grave bishops bless—
 In golden chains the suffering world she draws,
 And hers the gospel is, and hers the laws—
 Mounts the tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,
 And sees pale Virtue carted in her stead.”

Remembering, therefore, the miseries entailed upon our ancestors, whilst the religion, which they have handed down to us as an inestimable inheritance, was stigmatised as a heresy, and punished as a crime, I am persuaded, that every sober-minded and Bible-instructed Presbyterian will not only resist and repudiate Popery as a "strong delusion" of Satan, but exclaim, with emotions of devout and cordial thankfulness for the simple and scriptural form in which he enjoys the privileges of a pure and unadulterated gospel, *Nolo Episcopari*.

APPENDIX.

[THE following details as to the estrangement and aversion, with which the Greek Church regards that of Rome, ought to have been inserted in one of the previous letters ; but, as they have been omitted in their proper place, and the subject is one of great importance, it has been deemed advisable to subjoin them in the form of an Appendix.]

The claim of the Romish prelate to the power and pre-eminence of universal bishop, is not less groundless than it is arrogant and audacious. And I may here remark, that another title, which, in a spirit of voluntary mock-humility, the Romish usurper has assumed, traces its origin to a very high antiquity. We meet with it in Scripture immediately after the deluge, although it seems to have remained in a state of abeyance during many subsequent ages. It is declared (Gen. ix. 2, 3), that Canaan shall be a "*servant of servants*;" but the designation carries with it a curse, and not a blessing. The millions, who are in communion with the Greek Church, anathematise Rome's lofty pretensions with as much indignation as the most staunch and sturdy Protestant. In the most ample and authentic history of Russia, that of Karamsin, which I have carefully perused more than once, every fitting occasion is embraced for denouncing the crimes and heresies of the see of Rome. When narrating, that a deposed grand duke dispatched his son to the court of the notorious Hildebrand, who is represented as having "aimed at becoming the chief of an universal monarchy, or the king of kings" (ii. 100), the prince is charged with having "sacrificed to his ambition the orthodox religion of the Eastern Church, and the dignity of an independent prince" (*Id.*) The letter of the antichristian usurper is too characteristic to be omitted—"Your son, after

having visited the holy places at Rome, has humbly supplicated us to re-establish him in his principality, by the authority of St Peter, and has sworn to be faithful to the prince of the apostles. We have assented to his wishes, which, he assures us, are conformable to yours ; and *we have confided to him the government of the Russian States*, in the name of the chief of the apostles," &c. "Thus," says the historian, "the grand duke afforded to the haughty Gregory an opportunity of adding Russia to the *pretended* domains of St Peter, over which the *pretended* successor of the apostles declared that he had rights."—(P. 102) Neither Knox nor Luther, my friends, could have used stronger or more appropriate language than this.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, John Paleologus, emperor of the east, married to a Russian princess, repaired to the Council of Ferrara (afterwards transferred to Florence), accompanied by his brother, by the patriarch, and seven hundred of the most distinguished Greek ecclesiastics, in order to effect a union between the Greek and Latin Churches. The wily and dexterous metropolitan of Russia, Isidore, a personal friend of the "able and ambitious old man," Eugene IV., repaired thither for the same purpose ; but the grand duke, though he did not prevent him from going, said, "Our fathers and ancestors *would never hearken to any proposal for reuniting the Greek and Latin religions*, and it is not my intention to do so," (v. 335) ; and the Greek emperor, in consulting his patriarchs, found that "ancient prejudices still inspired them with an invincible aversion against any spiritual alliance with the proud Court of Rome."—(P. 333.) The imminent peril, however, to which the Greek empire was exposed, led to a hollow, precarious, and temporary union, which excited great joy at Florence, but a still more intense indignation at Constantinople, where "the people fled from churches where the partisans of the union celebrated mass—denouncing them as heretics and apostates."—(P. 346.) Isidore, on his return to Russia, for a brief season, imposed upon the bishops and nobles, so as at all events to silence them ; but the grand duke, "who had been instructed from his infancy in all the maxims of orthodoxy, and opinions of the ancient fathers," (p. 351), being "inflamed with a holy zeal, unmasked the *impiety*, and treated Isidore publicly as a false pastor"—in-somuch that his grandees addressed to him these words :—"Thanks are due to thee, O prince, who, during our sleep

hast watched for us, and who alone *hast saved the faith*, by discovering the truth ! The metropolitan has mutilated this august faith, *bartered it for the gold of the bishops of Rome*, and BROUGHT US HERESY IN EXCHANGE !"—(P. 352) Isidore escaped from a monastery, to which he was banished, and fled to Rome, where he was made a cardinal. "Such," says Karamsin, "were the results of the famous Council of Florence—a scene, during some years, of theological debates, quarrels, and anathemas, until at length the disasters of Constantinople terminated these discussions, and *the reiterated efforts of the ambitious court of Rome to bring the Greek Church under her yoke*. The Muscovite clergy, emerging victorious from such a scandalous struggle, *only became more strongly attached to the dogmas of orthodoxy*."—(P. 356.)

The intercourse between John the Terrible, and the "cunning Jesuit," Antony Poussevin, in 1582 (extracted from the Memoirs of the latter), is detailed by Karamsin (ix. 453–467) at great length, and tends to illustrate the attachment of that prince and his subjects to their church, and their metropolitan, as well as their aversion to the doctrines and domination of Rome. "Antony," said the Czar, "I am fifty-one years old, and have not long to live. Brought up in the principles of our CHRISTIAN Church, separated for ages from the *Latin Church*, can I become unfaithful to it, when near the term of my existence ?"—(P. 455). After a long and eloquent harangue delivered by the Jesuit in behalf of union, and in defence of the Romish Church, the Czar exclaimed impatiently : "You boast of your orthodoxy, and you shave the ancient beard ! Your pope causes himself to be carried on a throne, and exhibits his slipper to be kissed, on which is represented a crucifix ! What pride for a Christian pastor ! What a profanation of holy things !"—(P. 459). "Some popes have been true disciples of the apostles, but *he who assumes the title of companion of Jesus Christ, he who allows himself to be carried on a chair, like a cloud borne by angels, and does not live according to the doctrine of his Divine Master, is a wolf and not a shepherd*," &c.—(P. 460). The Jesuit was treated with the greatest respect and kindness, and was the bearer of a reply to the Pope's letter, but not a word was said in it as to the reunion of the churches.

About the close of the sixteenth century, Karamsin tells us, that, whilst a wise toleration prevailed in Russia, where Mahomedans and idolaters worshipped God according to their views, "the Christians of the Eastern Church were forced

to become *Papists*" (vii. 378), so that this term, my friends, is applied by members of the Greek communion, as well as by Protestants, to the adherents of the Romish usurper. The Jesuit Poussevin and the Popish king of Poland, Sigismund III., induced a portion of the Greek clergy in Lithuania to accept the decrees of the Council of Florence; two of their number were dispatched to Rome, and did homage to Pope Clement VIII., after the patriarch had in vain been exhorted "to suffer death rather than abandon his flock to the mercy of the *ravering wolves* of the Latin communion."—(P. 381). [Could Calvin or Andrew Melville have uttered a more emphatic exhortation than this!] There were great rejoicings at Rome, and a medal struck with the inscription, *Ruthenia receptis*. "But this joy was not of long duration;" a great council was held in Lithuania, which "only exasperated mutual enmity. The council divided into two parts, the one anathematized the other, and, from that epoch, there have existed two churches in Lithuania, that of the 'united' and that of the ancient orthodox [or, as Dr Wiseman would term it, schismatical] church. The former was under the dependence of Rome, the latter under that of Constantinople. The 'united,' under the special protection of the king and diets, strengthened itself, and OPPRESSED the *orthodox*, in its deplorable state of abandonment. For a long time, the sighs of our co-religionist brethren were lost in the air, finding neither pity nor justice in the supreme power. '*Our temples*,' said one of them at the diet, '*are every where closed, the priests exiled, the property of the church dilapidated, children are no longer baptized, the dying no longer confessed, the dead no longer buried. Their bodies are thrown into the fields, like unclean animals. All those, who have not betrayed the faith of their fathers, are expelled from civil functions—orthodoxy is a crime—the law does not protect us, our cries are not heard!* But let tyranny cease! or (which we cannot think of without terror) we may exclaim with the prophet, 'Let God be my judge, and let him decide my cause!'"—(P. 386). "This threat," continues the historian, "was accomplished at a later period, and it was these religious persecutions, which, under the happy reign of Alexis, facilitated for us the acquisition of Kief and Little Russia. It is thus that the Jesuit Antony, King Sigismund, and Pope Clement VIII., acting with great zeal in favour of the Church of the West, contributed involuntarily to the aggrandisement of Russia."—(*Ibid.*)

My chief reason for transcribing the last quotation at such

length, is for the purpose of demonstrating, that Popery, like the plague, is indiscriminate, implacable, and insatiable in its ravages; sparing neither age nor sex, neither Greek nor Jew, neither Barbarian nor Scythian, neither bond nor free.

The entire history of the Greek Church, so far as I am acquainted with it, breathes a consistent spirit of hatred and hostility to the power and pretensions of Rome. Karamsin is at great pains to convince his readers, that Russia did not derive its Christianity from so profane and polluted a source. "Greece," says he, "was to us, so to speak, a second country. The Russians always remembered with gratitude, that to *HER* they were indebted for Christianity, the fine arts, and different advantages of social life. At this time (1453), Constantinople was spoken of at Moscow, as Paris was in the time of Louis XIV.," &c.—(v. p. 436.) Nor does he fail, when instituting a comparison between the Greek and Romish clergy, to speak of the latter in terms of grave and merited disparagement. "Notwithstanding the splendour of our church—notwithstanding the important part which it played, our clergymen never showed that *unmeasured ambition, with which history so justly taxes the Romish clergy*. By the mutual consent of the parties, but without any legal right, the metropolitans served as arbiters in the quarrels of princes—they guaranteed the sincerity and the sanctity of oaths—while they spake to the consciences, *they abstained from wielding the temporal sword, with which the Popes generally menaced those who dared to brave their pontifical will*. In fine, *it was a happiness for us, that Vladimir preferred Constantinople to Rome*."—(P. 463-5.) An old Russian annalist, who wrote in the fifteenth century, says, "*There remains now no other orthodox empire but that of the Russians*."

Even the prospect of imminent and otherwise inevitable destruction could not induce the Greeks to adopt the errors, and submit to the yoke, of the Papacy. "Before his death," says Gibbon (vi. 481), "the Emperor John Paleologus had renounced the unpopular measure of a union with the Latins—nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. A legate was more easily granted than an army, and about six months before the final destruction, the Cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character, with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of

the clergy and laymen, subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the Council of Florence. But the dress and language of the Latin priest, who officiated at the altar, was an object of scandal—and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament! A national historian (Phranza) acknowledges with a blush, that *none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity.* Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revisal; but the best or the worst of their excuses was in the confession of their own perjury. A rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. *No sooner had the church of Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was deserted as a Jew's synagogue or a heathen temple by the clergy and people.* THE LATIN WERE THE MOST ODIUS OF HEATHENS AND INFIDELS; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomed, than the Pope's train or a cardinal's hat."—(P. 483.) It is even asserted by Ducas, one of the Byzantine historians, that "had an angel offered to exterminate their foes, if they would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment [of capture], they would have rejected their safety, or have deceived their gods."—(P. 501.)

Even in their amicable intercourse with the Papacy, the Russian sovereigns were always on their guard against being duped or overreached by the wily policy of Rome. In 1525, an envoy from Clement VII. to the Grand Duke Vassili, endeavoured to persuade him to agree to a union between the Greek and Latin Churches, and, "by way of compensation, offered to him" (as Leo X. had done) "the royal dignity. This experiment was not more successful than the preceding ones. Vassili, satisfied with the titles of Prince and Czar, cared little for being styled King, and had not forgotten the disastrous results of the Council of Florence."—(Karamsin, vii. 176.) The Papal ambassador was honourably treated during a two months' residence at Moscow, and an envoy from Russia accompanied him, for whom the Pope "prepared a richly decorated apartment at the Castle of St Angelo." "The magnificence of the divine service, and the music of the Pope, excited his admiration; but the Pope had the chagrin of hearing him declare, that he had no

order from the Grand Prince to enter upon any negotiation relative to the affairs of the state or of the church.”—(P. 177.)

It is not a little curious to perceive in what light the Reformation was viewed by the Russian historian:—“For a long time,” says he, “the spiritual power, or the *Papal authority*, polluted by so many abuses, had weakened itself in the kingdoms of the west; but, obstinately attached to its arrogant pretensions, refused, notwithstanding the progress of enlightenment, to return to the true spirit of Christianity. A poor monk then appeared, who, throwing aside the cowl, ventures to treat the Pope as Antichrist, to accuse him of imposture, greediness, and profanation; and, in spite of the thunder of the church, in spite of councils, and the anger of Charles V., Martin Luther founds a new religion, equally based on evangelical morality,” &c.—(vii. 245.) The prejudice and ignorance which Karamsin displays in reference to Luther and his followers, when he states, that “the bold reformer limited himself to preaching only Christian morality,” and “set himself up as chief of the church” (p. 246), only renders his testimony against the Papacy the more valuable and important, inasmuch as we thus see, that he was in no degree influenced by Protestant prejudice, when he speaks of the “yoke of the proud, intriguing, and ambitious court of Rome.” He asserts, indeed, that “the Catholics were as well entitled to tax the Lutherans with hypocrisy, imposture, and illegal conduct;” but he premises, that “the enemies of the Latin Church justly reproached it with being unfaithful to the true spirit of Christianity.”—(P. 247.) My object, of course, has been, not to establish the existence of any sympathy in respect to doctrine, government, or discipline, between the Greek and Protestant Churches, but to demonstrate, that the millions, who belong to the former communion, instead of having ever recognised the pretended supremacy of the Romish usurper, not only now concur with, but anticipated by many ages, the various Protestant denominations, in resolving to have no fellowship with Rome’s unhallowed works of darkness, but rather to reprove and stigmatise them as intolerable, unfounded, and inadmissible.

But the most striking instance of Rome’s unprincipled audacity, so far as Russia is concerned, remains still to be noticed. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, a daring and reckless adventurer, during the reign of Boris Gudounoff, assumed the name and character of Demetrius (son of John the Terrible), who had been murdered a few years before. The

romantic and almost incredible adventures of that impostor, who surmounted every obstacle, and reigned for several months at Moscow, after the sudden decease of Boris, and the murder of his son, Fëdor (1605-6), occupy nearly half a volume of Karamsin's history (pp. 160-425). But I merely invite your attention to the share which the Papacy took in these transactions, for the purpose of showing, that it is just as much opposed to, and as much detested by, the dignitaries and adherents of the Greek Church, as by us Protestants, and just as unscrupulous in its devices for effecting their subjugation. Otrèpieff (for such was the impostor's real name) entered into the service of a Lithuanian nobleman; and feigning a dangerous malady (p. 169), discovered his pretensions to his patron's Jesuit confessor, and his cause was immediately espoused "by the Papal nuncio and the intriguing Jesuits, who then reigned in Poland, governing the conscience of the feeble Sigismund. *They thought not of the truth, but solely of the advantage to be derived from these intrigues.* The nuncio was already intimately connected with the impostor, and the indefatigable Jesuits conducted the negotiation. The false Demetrius pledged himself, in writing, to unite himself and all Russia to the Latin Church, and the nuncio to be his advocate, not only in Poland and Rome, but throughout Europe. The abjuration took place in the house of the Jesuits at Cracow. The unfrocked monk was covered with the rags of misery, and hid his face, that he might not be recognised. He selected a Jesuit confessor," &c. After he had accomplished his triumphant entry into Moscow, and obtained possession of the supreme power, "his inconsistencies soon cooled the love, which the people felt for him. He would not make the sign of the cross before the images. Nor were the Russians less scandalised by the preference which he showed for the Jesuits, to whom he gave the finest house in the Kremlin to celebrate the Latin mass."—(P. 294). "No one served the impostor's interests with more zeal than the Pope's nuncio. Addressing his congratulations to him on his accession, in an emphatic and pompous letter, he praised God, and said, 'We have conquered!' and expressed his hopes *that the reunion of the churches would be the fruit of his immortal actions!* Your portrait is already in the hands of the holy father," &c.—(P. 310). "It appears that the impostor's zeal to render the Russians PAPISTS was much abated, for in spite of his natural

want of forethought, he understood the danger of *so absurd a project*; and it is doubtful if he would have been willing to have executed it, even if he had reigned longer."—(P. 313). The impostor married a Polish lady, belonging to the Romish communion. "Notwithstanding all the inconsiderate acts of the unfrocked monk, the Muscovites were persuaded, that he would not dare to give the title of Czarina of Russia to a woman of a DIFFERENT RELIGION, and that Maria would adopt ours; but she was seen decorated with the diadem and the imperial crown, and did not ~~ABJURE~~ the Latin Church, although she had kissed the holy images," &c. —(P. 365). "This appeared to be a new SACRILEGE," and, a few days thereafter a general conspiracy broke out, which found the impostor (in spite of many warnings) quite unprepared; he jumped out of a window, and was put to death; his body, dragged from the tomb, was reduced to ashes, then mingled with gunpowder, and a cannon being loaded with them, "was fired in the direction, by which the impostor had entered Moscow, in all his magnificence."—(P. 408).

The arts and machinations of Rome, and of the priests, had essentially contributed to the success of the impostor—the horror which the Muscovites cherished against these very confederates was the chief cause of his ruin. "In the name of the Eternal, march against the odious HERETIC!" was the language of Schouisky, his adversary and successor (p. 386). The people pillaged the houses of the Jesuits (p. 394); and "amongst the most cruel executioners," who attacked his Polish allies, "were disguised priests and monks, who cried on all sides, '*Massacre the enemies of our religion!*'"—(P. 395).

These facts, my friends, and the occasional commentary of the enlightened historian, by whom they are narrated, are sufficient to demonstrate, that the Greeks are as much opposed as the Protestants to the arrogant pretensions and monstrous usurpations of the Romish antichrist; and that, instead of fraternising or sympathising with the "Papists," the Russian Church regards them as involved in the guilt of heresy and schism.

Although "the disciples were first *called* Christians at Antioch" (Acts xi. 26), they *were de facto* Christians prior to that period. Although the opponents of antichristian usurpation were first *denominated* Protestants at Spire in 1520 it is a great mistake to designate that

the origin of Protestantism. The first Protestant, so far as I can recollect, was Pope Pelagius, who, in the sixth century, "protested" against the assumption of the title of universal bishop, on the part of the Prelate of Constantinople—as did also his successor, Pope Gregory I., who has been gazetted long ago in the saintly court calendar of Rome, and holds, I believe, a high rank in the celestial army of occupation, now implored to co-operate with the Popish conspirators in attempting to subjugate the British empire. But soon thereafter the tables were turned, and the patriarch of the Byzantine capital became a "protestant," in stern and strenuous hostility to the daring pretensions of his Roman "brother." The millions who, since that period (604), have belonged to the Greek communion, from the all-powerful Czar to the lowest of his subjects, whether lay or clerical, have throughout successive generations (and that during more than nine hundred years before Luther appeared) been confirmed and consistent "Protestants," not only repudiating the Papal yoke, but anticipating and rivalling the reformers of the sixteenth century in the energy with which they have denounced his holiness's "arrogance and ambition." In fact, from the moment when an "infallible" general council decreed, that, inasmuch as Constantinople was the second seat of empire, its patriarchs should be equal in rank, and next in precedence, to the bishop of the more ancient imperial city, these two prelates ought to have been regarded (and always have been so by the Greek Church) as coequal and co-ordinate powers. They should stand in the same relation to each other as their graces the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, neither of whom has any jurisdiction over the province or suffragans of the other—the only difference being, that the former has precedence of the latter when they happen to meet at her Majesty's drawing-room, and takes his place at the right hand of the Lord Mayor, or of the Prime Warden of the Goldsmith's Company, at a grand civic banquet, whilst his most reverend brother (if the Lord Chancellor be absent) is seated on the left.

[The following passage should have been inserted in Letter IV., where mention is made of Wolsey.]

It may perhaps be surmised by some, that the object of Wolsey, in aspiring to supremacy and infallibility, was to rectify the glaring abuses, which had kindled a flame of righteous indignation throughout the world, and to extinguish

the luxury and licentiousness, of which so many preceding pontiffs had left such signal and scandalous examples. If such was his eminence's "most excellent and most praiseworthy" intention, it is not probable that he would, by way of a suitable preliminary step, have erected at Hampton Court so magnificent a palace, "that Grotius calls it a fit habitation for the gods. Two hundred and eighty gilded beds with silk curtains, were constantly kept ready for the accommodation of the guests; the table utensils were of silver, and drinking cups of gold."—(*Karamsin's Travels*, iii. 303.) It should also be borne in mind, that a large proportion of the cardinals, who elect the "Bishop" of Rome, are themselves Episcopal "saints in lawn," or at all events in purple and fine linen. Using the phrase in a metaphorical acceptation, very few of them were "husbands of one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2.) Polygamy, in respect of dioceses, was almost the universal rule, and many seem to have trodden in the steps of Rehoboam, concerning whom it is recorded (2 Chron. xi. 23), that he "dealt wisely, and he desired many wives;" nay, not a few of their eminences, and even some of the supreme pontiffs, imitated the Jewish monarch in the literal sense, and "dispersed all their children throughout all the countries."—(*Ibid.*) On one occasion, however, when Wolsey was a candidate (though not present at the conclave) for the tiara, the "Sacred College," after the death of Leo X., chose Cardinal Adrian, a native of Utrecht, who had been preceptor to Charles V., a prelate of strict moral character, who enjoyed the special advantage of never having been at Rome, and was himself absent at the time of his election; the cardinals "were wellnigh dead with fright at what they had done." "On a worthier man, the choice of the conclave could not have fallen."—(*Ranke.*) He was sincerely desirous to reform all abuses; frugal in his habits, and in every respect a complete contrast to his celebrated but luxurious and worldly-minded predecessor, respecting whom a contemporary letter, written a few days after his death, declares, that "never did a pope die in worse repute, since the church of God had existence."—(*Ibid.*) Adrian's virtues, however, were of so primitive and apostolic a character, as totally to disqualify him from being a suitable occupant of Barjona's chair. There is a letter of his extant, in which he declares, "that he would rather serve God in his priory at Louvain, than be Pope." "Whatever he did was unpopular and disapproved."—(*Ranke.*) "His death was a source of incredible

pleasure to the Romans, as he had been universally disagreeable to the whole court ;” because “ his beatitude’s mode of life was very different from that grandeur, magnificence, and splendour, which had been exhibited by his predecessors during their pontificates, although in truth he approached nearer to those good qualities, which used to be sought for and desired in the choice of pontiffs, in times less remote from the primitive church” (*Conclavi*, p. 151) ; and it is afterwards stated, that when a large stone fell from the top of the door of the Papal chapel, after his holiness had passed through, and killed some Swiss soldiers of his guard, and the Pope scarcely escaped, MANY PRELATES, who were present, were much disappointed, and one of them, who expressed his regret to a cardinal, “ was not reproved for the words of malediction which he employed.”—(*Ibid.*) No such palpable blindness has been again committed by their eminences ; no genuine friend to reform has ever since worn the triple crown. He is the last *non-Italian* ever chosen to enlighten and govern the world. Truly Wolsey was much better suited to have been the successor of the profane and voluptuous Leo, and to have preceded Clement VII., whose conduct and character were as different from those of Adrian, as were Adrian’s from those of Leo. The name of Adrian VI., the honest and “ ascetic” reformer, has never (apparently) ceased to be obnoxious and unpopular, amidst the festering corruption and unblushing selfishness which predominate without intermission or obstacle in Romish courts and conclaves. Never has an Adrian VII., or any candidate endowed with the same unbending and “ primitive” rectitude, although bearing a different appellation (with the exception perhaps of Urban VII. and Marcellus II., each of whose reigns was circumscribed within the brief space of three weeks) been numbered in the catalogue of Christ’s vicars, and adored on the centre of God’s altar. But the crimes and cruelties of Alexander VI. have not rendered that title more dishonoured, or more distasteful. Rome has been since favoured with both a seventh and an eighth Alexander, who, though not stained with blood, like their notorious namesake, have vied even with him in the scandalous recklessness of their nepotism, and the consummate adroitness of their dissimulation.

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